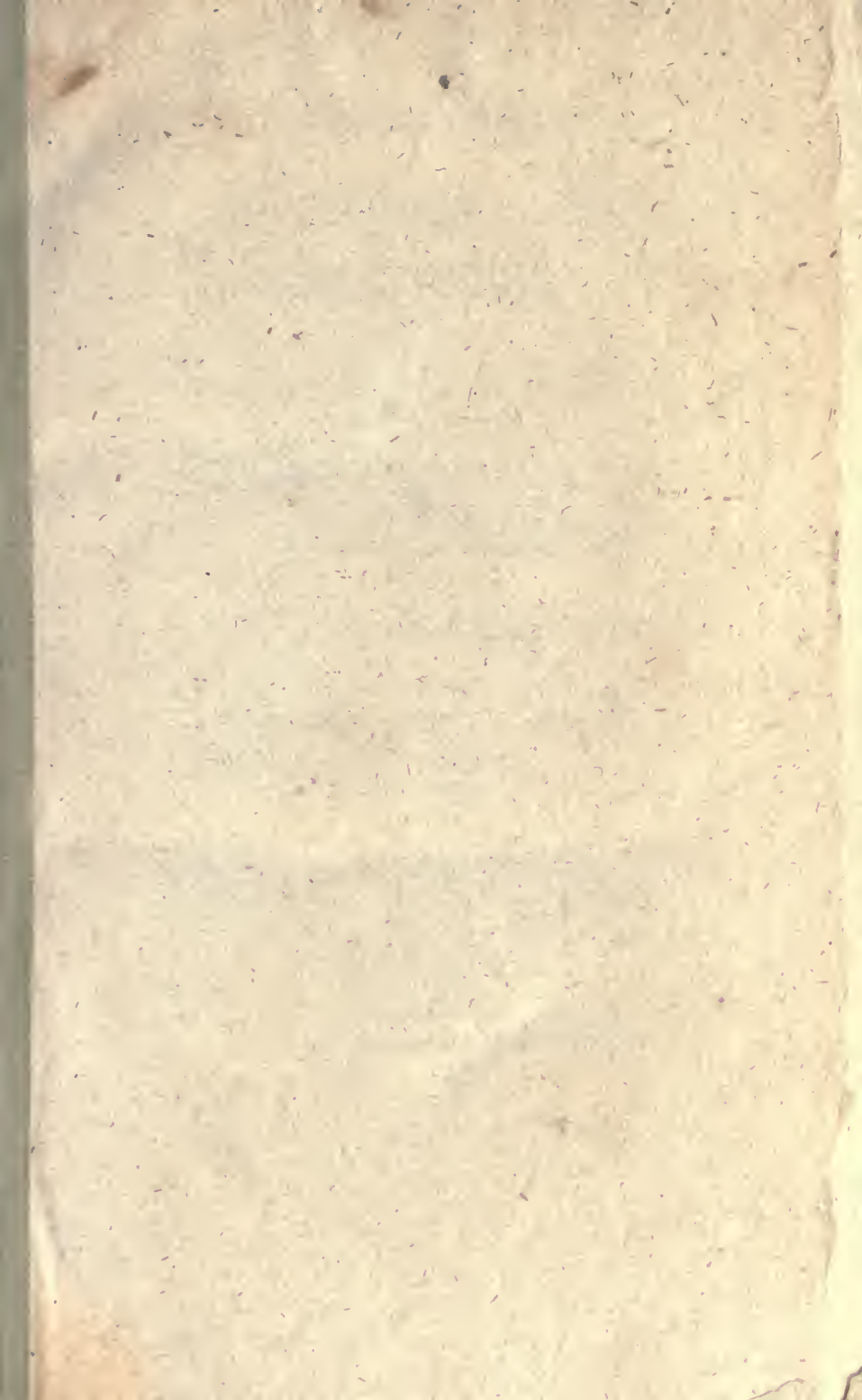


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[Almon, John]

BIOGRAPHICAL, LITERARY,
AND
POLITICAL
ANECDOTES,
OF SEVERAL OF
THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS
OF
THE PRESENT AGE.

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

WITH AN

APPENDIX ;

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINAL, EXPLANATORY, AND SCARCE
PAPERS.

BY THE

AUTHOR OF ANECDOTES OF THE LATE EARL OF CHATHAM.

HISTORIAM, OMNIUM SECRETORUM MEMORIAM DICO.—*Cicero.*

IN THREE VOLUMES:

VOLUME II.

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1797.

MICHAEL LEAL, FARMER

TESTAMENT

AND HIS WIFE

OF THE

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

IN THE YEAR 1777

BY WILLIAM

AND

WILLIAM

OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

WITNESSES

AND

THE SIGNED AND SEALED

IN THE PRESENCE OF

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THE

CLERK

OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

1777

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BIOGRAPHICAL, LITERARY,
AND
POLITICAL ANECDOTES.

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THE LATE EARL TEMPLE.

PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE OPPOSITION TO
THE EARL OF BUTE.

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Advice to Mr. Wilkes. Mr. Webb's Account of Lord Temple. Negotiation concerning the Duke of Leeds. Mr. Pitt's Interview with the King. Lord Holland's Negotiation with the Duke of Bedford. Lord Bute's Mazarinade. Intended Motion on the Seizure of Papers. The Club called the Coterie formed. Opposition divided. Lord Temple's Declaration to the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Cumberland's Negotiation with Lord Temple. Terms offered by Lord Temple. Lord Northumberland proposed; rejected. The Duke of Cumberland visits Mr. Pitt. Remarks. Certainty of Lord Bute's secret Influence. Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville reconciled. Lord Lyttelton applied to. Lord Holland's Advice to the Duke of Cumberland. Ministers restored: they dismiss Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, and others. The King sends for Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt. They refuse to accept the Terms offered by the King. The Rockingham Administration formed: they ought to have dissolved the Parliament. Particulars of the Meeting at Lord Eglintoun's. Lord Temple amused by another Negotiation. Remarks. Duel prevented between Lord Temple and

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Lord Talbot. Lord Chatham seduced: confesses in the House of Lords that he had been duped. Lord Temple and Lord Chatham reconciled. Lord Temple refuses the Offer of being made Lord Privy Seal.

THE vigorous opposition that was made to the measures of the Earl of Bute, during that noble Lord's administration, and some years afterwards, was considerably animated by the spirit and zeal of Lord Temple. So true it is, that in all great points of public interest, where the union of individuals is necessary, there must be, if not a leader, at least a person of weight sufficient, not only to form the union, but to give energy to its measures. In this instance, Lord Temple was that person. Perhaps it would be strictly correct, to style him the leader of the opposition.

The persons who composed this opposition were of the first rank, family, and fortune in the kingdom. They were zealously attached to the constitution, as it was established at the revolution, and to the family on the

throne. There has not been, since the accession of the house of Hanover, an opposition to ministerial tyranny formed upon purer principles of public happiness and interest. All former oppositions were tinged with Jacobitism. This was the first against whom that charge could not be brought; and the phenomenon is increased, when it is observed, that the notorious friends of the house of Stuart, and the descendants of those, who, in their day, had been the notorious friends of the same house, and who avowedly professed all the slavish principles and doctrines of the Stuarts, now publicly filled the court of the King, and several of the principal departments in the state. The Earl of Bute was omnipotent. He not only dismissed the great ministers, who had conducted the war with unexampled vigour and success, but he turned out every friend of the house of Hanover, who held any office or place under the crown. These circumstances were sufficient to suspect a design in the prime minister to renew the measures of the second Charles and James. His conduct created hatred, and his principles produced alarm.

At this time was inculcated that unhappy lesson, "That the more unpopular a King's minister becomes, the more firmly he ought to be supported——Kings must never recede." If ever there was a time, when this doctrine was more pernicious in its effects than at another, it was at this time. Ample experience has convinced every person, of the losses, disgraces, and miseries, which are to be ascribed to this source.

The principal, and almost only fact, urged in his behalf, was, that he was the *Favourite* of the King. Those who made this apology were exceedingly indiscreet. *Royal favourites* have always been odious in all countries. Their invariable design constantly is, to reduce the people to a state of insignificance, in order that they may establish their own power with impunity.

A few weeks after he had driven Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt from their offices, he made a pointed and personal attack upon Lord Temple, in the House of Lords, before any system or plan of opposition to him had

been formed, or probably even thought of; for they resigned in the month of October 1761, and this attack was made in the succeeding month of November, which was a considerable time before the general dismissal and proscription of the Whigs took place. Lord Bute sought the first opportunity to make it. He saw in Lord Temple, that rising spirit he might have most cause to dread. He had solicited conciliation with his Lordship about ten days before, and had failed. Warmed with resentment, and flattered with the hope of obtaining a triumph over his opponent,—upon the motion for the papers relative to the rupture with Spain, Lord Temple, after recommending unanimity in the strongest terms, begged to make but one observation upon all that had been said concerning the family compact, which was, that it had been signed in August, had been ratified in September, and the written advice to his Majesty was given and dated on the eighteenth of that month. Upon which, Lord Bute rose in great heat, and gave to Lord Temple the most flat and unqualified contradiction. He declared upon *his honour*, that there was *no* intelligence

telligence of such a fact so constituted, at that time. These words brought up Lord Temple again; who likewise declared upon *his honour*, that there *was* intelligence of the highest moment relative to those matters at that time; that he was not at liberty to declare it publicly, but would *refresh* his Lordship's memory in private: and then beckoned Lord Bute to follow him out of the house; who did: and in the private conference between them, Lord Bute admitted that he recollected the facts, as they had been stated; but when he returned into the House of Lords, he did not, which, as a gentleman, he ought to have done, stand up in his place, and acknowledge his mistake. The reader will not think it improbable, that Lord Temple's enmity to Lord Bute was embittered by this circumstance. Nor will it perhaps be improper to take notice of another circumstance, which was indeed of lesser moment, but not less personally insulting to the feelings of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt. On the first court-day, after the accession of the present King, and while the late King lay dead in his palace, Lord George Sackville made his appearance at St James's,

and was admitted to kiss the King's hand. This was such an outrage on the memory of the late King, and on the honour of those servants who had the conduct of the war, that they were perfectly astonished at it, and made inquiry into the cause of it; when, to their no less surprize, they found that Lord George had been invited to court by the Earl of Bute. They remonstrated strongly against it; and Lord George did not appear again at St. James's during Mr. Pitt's administration.

In the month of May 1762, Lord Bute having advanced himself to the head of the Treasury, and dismissed many of the principal Whigs from their offices, the great families were convinced of the dangerous designs of the Favourite, and embraced the recommendations of Lord Temple, to unite, and to form a powerful opposition to his measures and conduct. In order to prevent this union becoming established, to an extent that might be fatal to his influence, he opened all the floodgates of corruption. Sixteen peerages were created; the Lords of the Bedchamber were doubled; the Grooms of the Bedchamber
were

were doubled; the salaries of other places were doubled; obsolete places were revived; many were pensioned out of offices, to make vacancies for others. In a word, the whole power and patronage of the crown were exerted to the utmost to support his administration. This dominion, great and absolute as it was, did not content him. He was conscious, that though the power of the crown was amply sufficient to give him all that he wanted in parliament, he saw there was something else wanting. This was the favour of the people. And in order to obtain this, he hired a considerable number of writers; Smollett, Murphy, Mallett, Shebbeare, Ruffhead, Cleland, Guthrie, and many more. On the day that he mounted the Treasury steps, a paper called *the Briton* made its appearance in his favour, written by Smollett; and in a few days followed another, called *the Auditor*, and several more. In these papers, the characters of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were repeatedly reviled, in terms the most opprobrious and scurrilous. And though it was not probable, that such writings could have much effect on the public mind, yet it must have

have been observed by those persons who have given some attention to this literary species of belligerent operation, that an impression may be made by numerous and constant efforts. Add to this, the writers in behalf of the ministry have always a great advantage over their opponents; they can indulge in asserting the most infamous falsehoods, with impunity.

To counteract the poison of these papers, a gentleman of talents and erudition, who was a warm and sincere admirer of Lord Temple's patriotism and virtues, commenced another paper; which was called *the North Briton*. The elegance of the composition, the keenness of the satire, and the brilliancy of the wit, with which almost every paper abounded, very soon attracted the public attention; and secured to the paper a very extensive circulation. Lord Temple was not ignorant of his friend's design, before he put it in execution; and certainly approved of it. But the severity of some of the national reflections upon the Scots, on account of their attachment to Lord Bute, and their enmity
to

to Mr. Pitt, did not meet with the entire approbation of his Lordship ; not from any personal considerations of his own, but from an apprehension of thereby weakening the national force. However, it must always be remembered, that in the language of a temporary periodical paper, the bent and humour of the times must be considered ; and to give such a paper popularity and consequence, sacrifices must be made to the caprice of the day. At this time, a great part of the Scots were exceedingly illiberal to the English ; and a great part of the English were no less offended with the Scots. Lord Bute was undoubtedly, by his partiality to his countrymen, the primary cause of these jealousies.

Lord Temple frequently assisted his friend in the production of these papers ; not indeed with his pen, but with his information and line of reasoning. All the Whigs highly approved of these papers : the public mind was strongly impressed by them : the language and argument were always judicious, and directed to the objects of the moment : while the papers of Lord Bute's writers, were chum-
fily

fly put together; were disgusting by their scurrility, and contemptible by their dulness.

This literary assistance from Lord Temple and his friends, gave additional weight to his Lordship's recommendation of a union; and the measure was completely accomplished in the month of February 1763.

To give a signal to the nation of this union, to contradict the assertions of the ministerial writers that the persons in opposition were totally unconnected, and to inspire the public mind with the hope of relief, from the all-grasping power and insolent domination of a Favourite; the principals agreed to dine together, once a week, at each other's houses. The first dinner was at Lord Temple's in Pall-Mall, about the end of February 1763; the next was at the Duke of Newcastle's, in March following; others succeeded. The parties were chiefly the Dukes of Bolton, Devon, Grafton, Newcastle, Portland; Marquis of Rockingham; Earls of Albemarle, Ashburnham, Besborough, Cornwallis, Hardwicke, Scarborough, Spencer, Temple; Lords Abergavenny, Dacre, For-

tescue, Grantham, Sondes, Walpole, Villiers; Right Hon. W. Pitt, Sir George Savile, C. Townshend, C. Yorke, James Grenville, &c. &c. This flag, as it was called at the time, for the names were constantly given every week in the newspapers, was a testimonial to the whole country, that there was an opposition formed, composed of many of the first personages in the kingdom. The Favourite was their object. To correct the mischiefs he had committed, and to prevent the continuance of his power, were their avowed designs. After the second meeting of the party, when he saw the measure likely to be pursued, he was seized with timidity: he caused an offer to be made to Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Hans Stanley, that if they would withdraw from the Whigs, he would make an opening for them to return to administration. They treated the proposal with the utmost indignation; they considered it an insult offered to their integrity; and refused it with a firmness that was worthy of imitation. They had made their engagements, they said, and were incapable of breaking them.

This

This attempt to divide his opponents indisputably shews, that he was afraid of their united strength, and that whatever other reasons he might have, he was, from this moment, entertaining thoughts of retiring from before the curtain. He was by this time, also, become afraid of other adversaries; who were his coadjutors in the negotiation of peace. They had been duped, and began to threaten him. Therefore, thus finding his offers rejected by his *public* opponents, he made offers to his *private* enemies; by whom they were accepted. This was the true cause of that sudden succession of Mr. Grenville, and the Lords Halifax and Egremont, to the unprecedented copartnership of premier; for when Lord Bute resigned in April 1763, it was immediately signified to all the foreign ministers, by authority, "That his Majesty had been pleased to place his government in the hands of Mr. Grenville, the Earls of Halifax and Egremont; and that in all cases of importance, they were not to act separately, but in an agreement of the *three*: And to them all applications on business were to be directed." This is the first time that the
office

office of prime minister was put into commission. Lord Bute, in the most solemn manner, assured his successors, that he renounced all pretensions to public business in every shape whatever.

During the arrangement of this change of ostensible ministers, the weekly publication of the North Briton was suspended, from April 2 to April 23. When the new ministry were declared by authority, the writer of that paper attacked them with great asperity; and in the same paper animadverted on the King's speech, which had been delivered a few days before at the close of the session of Parliament. These animadversions provoked the court exceedingly; and it was instantly resolved to take advantage of this pretended insult on the King, and under colour of that pretence, to exercise the extremest vengeance on all parties concerned in the North Briton. Lord Bute urged his substitutes to do what he durst not attempt himself: he was smarting under the wounds inflicted by former papers. He therefore eagerly seized this first moment to gratify his desire of revenge. The crown lawyers
seconded

seconded his wishes. Prerogative lawyers are always ready to denominate any political paper a libel. But the better opinion is that this was a constitutional paper : the King was treated with the greatest personal respect, his ministers only were condemned.

A little time afterwards, Lord Temple wrote, or, perhaps it will be correctly stating, that his Lordship dictated to an amanuensis, a fair and constitutional defence of this paper of the North Briton. A few copies only of this defence were printed ; it was not published. The following extracts are taken from one of the copies :

“ Every one does not know exactly the principles of the constitution, by which we are to judge with what degree of authority a speech from the throne is stamped, whether it is to be considered as personal to the King, or ascribed to the ministers ; and how far it is sacred above any other act of administration whatever, and exempt from the freedom of discussion with which all ministerial transactions may be treated. The rights of Majesty

jeſty are venerable; and no good ſubject would wiſh to offend againſt that perſonal reſpect that is due to the Sovereign. It was therefore very artful to raiſe a cry againſt the alleged author of the *North Briton*, that he had affronted the King, and to proclaim aloud, that whoever countenanced him, or avowed what he advanced, was a partaker of his offence. Perhaps ſome were ſtunned with this at firſt: duty to his Majeſty might be too ſtrong for the rights of liberty, and fear of being diſreſpectful to the King might ſilence the claims of truth. But when people recovered from the firſt ſurpriſe, and examined the affair coolly, it was impoſſible not to ſee through the miniſterial artifice. There are of thoſe, who will have no ſuperiors in loyalty, and cannot be exceeded by any in perſonal reſpect, duty, and affection to the King, and yet will not eaſily yield the freedom of examining what miniſters are pleaſed to put into the ſpeeches they make for the throne. Nor will they join in a cry againſt any man, were he ever ſo culpable in other reſpects, as affronting the King, for doing what they think is the privilege of every ſubject to do.

That is wounding the constitution, under pretence of regard to royalty. The respect due to his Majesty, in that matter, is to distinguish him from the Ministers; to exculpate the King, as the constitution does, from any wrong; and to lay the fault, if there is one, upon the Ministers, whose, most indisputably, it is.

“ It is a question of too much magnitude to be confounded with any thing else, what liberty the constitution allows to be taken with the King’s speech; and therefore it ought to be considered by itself: but the strongest prejudices cannot carry any man, who will use his own eyes and understanding, to believe that the author of the *North Briton*, number forty-five, meant an insult to the King. All he has said, is levelled against the ministers, and he expresses, in a variety of sentences, the utmost respect for his Sovereign; a heart-felt duty and affection to his person; a high veneration for his qualities; and an undissembled attachment to his royal house, and the succession to the crown in the Protestant line.

“ The author has waged perpetual war with Toryism and disaffection. Nothing has been more complained of in the whole course of the paper, than that, ever since the *Favourite's* influence became predominant, the staunch, known, and tried friends of this royal family, have been depressed; and the avowed enemies of it unreasonably elevated. It is not reasonable to think that such a writer should mean to give a personal affront to the King. But nothing can be further from every expression in the paper; about which so much noise has been made. It is impossible to torture it into an insult to Majesty, unless the word *Minister* is the same with the word *King*; and unless the strongest expressions of regard for the Prince upon the throne are not only to have no meaning at all allowed them, but are even to be interpreted into invectives against the Sovereign, whose applause they sound.

“ The paper begins with laying this foundation, that ‘ the King’s speech has always
‘ been considered by the legislature, and by
‘ the public at large, as *the speech of the Minis-*
C 2 ‘ *ter.*’

‘*ter.*’ The speech, there treated of, is called an instance of *ministerial effrontery*. It is expressly named in every part of the paper, the *Minister’s speech*. The author signifies his ‘doubt, whether the *imposition* he complains ‘of, is greater *on the Sovereign*, or on the Nation.’ The lamentation he makes, is ‘that ‘a *Prince of the excellent character he describes*, ‘can be *brought* to give the sanction of his ‘sacred name to unjustifiable public declarations from a throne, renowned for truth, ‘honour, and unfulled virtue.’

“ It is *the Minister*, who, it is said, is held in contempt and abhorrence for it. *He*, it is said, *has made our Sovereign declare* that in which lies the *fallacy* inveighed against: it is called a strain of insolence in the *Minister*, to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent. After asserting that no hireling of the Minister had been hardy enough to dispute what he had advanced, it is said, ‘Yet *the Minister* himself *has made our Sovereign declare*,’ &c.—‘The *Minister’s speech* (it is said) dwells on the approbation ‘given by Parliament to the Preliminary Articles.’

‘cles.’—‘*The Minister* cannot forbear, even in the King’s speech, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word œconomy,’ and ‘in vain will such a *Minister* preach up in the speech that spirit of concord,’ &c. In short, it is the *Minister*, and nothing but the Minister, which runs through the whole paper; and all the wrong complained of is charged upon the *Minister*.

“ A political paper wrote a great many years ago, to expose the danger of making writings criminal by *inuendoes*, proved a treatise on the small-pox to be the blackest treason; by translating the word *variol* to mean *government*, and adapting every other term according to the same dictionary. Sure no other method can succeed in proving that there is an insult aimed at the King in this paper.

“ It is a different affair, whether the author of the *North Briton* is right or wrong, in what he has advanced in the several places of the paper, where he uniformly pursues the above dialect; or whether the fundamental principle, on which he proceeds, be a just one

or no. But, is he arraigning the *Minister*, or insulting *Majesty*?—Is it the *King*, or the *Minister*, that he charges with what he alleges is wrong? Can any man lay his hand on his heart and say, that the person who wrote that paper, has said the *King* is the author of a fallacy; because he has charged the *Minister* with having imposed on the Sovereign, and, by imposition, made him declare a thing which is a fallacy? We may confound *Majesty* and *Ministers* as we please, when we wish to destroy the distinction, for the purpose of making *royal veracity* a protection to *ministerial fallacy*; but this writer separates them with the plainest discrimination—He gives to each his part—The one, he says, is *imposed upon*; the other is *the author of the imposition*. Which of these is the crime? Any person may be imposed upon, but he is innocent; none can impose upon another without being criminal. Royalty does not deify human nature; and what man, or what King, so wise and so able, as not, in some instance or other, to have been imposed upon? It is the common lot of humanity to be liable to deception: but that sort of imposition that
springs

springs from misinformation, or want of just information, it is not in the power of any man to secure himself against; and, of all others, Kings are most liable to it.

“ The author of the *North Briton*, number *forty-five*, is not contented with the most explicit language that the English tongue affords, to point out, beyond a possibility of being mistaken, that it is the *Minister* he accuses; and that, so far from charging *Majesty*, the very charge itself is, having *imposed upon the King*—Not contented with this, he gives the King’s character, in terms full of respect, as a *Prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres*.—This is not the language of insult.

“ The regard he expresses in this very paper for the late good King, is an irresistible proof of the affection and attachment of the person who wrote it, to his present Majesty, and all the royal family.—Part of his indignation against the *Minister*, is for not shewing a due regard to the honour, either of our late gracious Sovereign, or of his present Majesty.

‘ Was it (says he) a *tender regard* for the honour of the late King, or of his present Majesty, that invited to court Lord George Sackville?’ Nobody is at a loss to know what branch of the royal family he describes, as *the most amiable Princess in the world*, who, it is supposed, is to make happy a distinguished Prince of the same illustrious line. Is that the style of the enemies of his Majesty’s family? How does he speak of the *security of the house of Hanover*? ‘ What a shame (says he) was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away, *contrary to the opinion of royalty itself*, and sacrificed to the prejudices, and to the ignorance of a set of people, the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on a matter relative to the security of *the house of Hanover*.’ He speaks, with high satisfaction, *of a loyal and affectionate people*; an idea that could give no pleasure to a person disaffected to his Majesty’s august family, or inclined to affront the King. No man, that is not a hearty friend to his Majesty, and to the Protestant succession of the crown in his family, would write in such a strain. The

words

words are stronger than a thousand arguments. Such things do not look like a design to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects, or stir up traitorous insurrections against his government. *That* belongs to those who have no good-will to the house of Hanover; whose loyalty is attached to an exiled and abjured family. When the author of the *North Briton* speaks of that family, (as he does in this paper,) he uses another kind of tone. 'The *Stuart line* (says he) has ever 'been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of 'the absolute, independent, unlimited power 'of the crown.'

The several particulars of the prosecutions of the printers, publishers, and supposed author, with all the other circumstances concerning them, have been so fully and repeatedly given to the public, it is not necessary to say any thing of them here; except only such matters as have been either mistated or omitted in the former accounts.

The first, and most material of these, is the conduct of some individuals in the body of
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the Whigs, whom Lord Temple had taken such pains to unite. These individuals were headed by the Earl of Hardwicke. As soon as Mr. Wilkes had been discharged by the Court of Common Pleas, they immediately paid their devoirs at St. James's, to shew to the court they disapproved of Mr. Wilkes, of his friends, and of his cause. This scandalous desertion was treated, even by the court, as it deserved. They were not the persons whom Lord Bute wanted. Finding this offered treachery not sufficient for their purpose, they entered into a league to uphold and defend general warrants; and because Mr. Wilkes had been discharged upon his privilege, as a member of parliament, it was another condition of the leaguers, in order to cast an odium on the Chief Justice of the Commons Pleas, to vote away privilege of parliament in the case of a libel. This latter fact was not known, until that vote had passed. The Duke of Newcastle mentioned it at a meeting of the party at Devonshire-house, which meeting was held for the purpose of settling the words of a protest against that vote. This protest was principally

pally written by Lord Temple. And when they came to the consideration of signing it, the Duke of Newcastle excused himself, on account of his friend Lord Hardwicke: and then explained the nature and extent of their engagement.

Lord Temple's spirit and firmness in support of the cause of Mr. Wilkes, whose cause was that of every man who had any regard for constitutional liberty, deserved, and met with, the highest applause from every part of England. It was his purse which carried on the several law-suits against the King's messengers, and others. It was his liberality, munificence, and activity, which decided this great cause, in favour of the public. The cause must have sunk under the weight of ministerial influence and oppression, if it had not been supported by his intrepidity and perseverance. In this he was alone—even Mr. Pitt thought his spirit was too high. But if it was a fault—it was a virtuous fault—it was a fault in behalf of the people;—whose cause, upon all occasions, he dearly loved and cherished. When Mr. Wilkes was committed, his Lordship offered

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to bail him in any sum; if one hundred thousand pounds were required, he declared his recognizance was ready.

This public espousal of Mr. Wilkes, brought upon his Lordship the most distinguished marks of ministerial insult and malice; yet such was his complacency to the necessary dignity of government, that he permitted the first Lord of the Treasury to be re-elected for the town of Buckingham, rather than suffer the King's first Minister to mendicate a seat in parliament. His mind was influenced by public considerations, not by personal ones. Few men's characters have been more mistaken, or more misrepresented, than his Lordship's. When a Great Personage said of him, "That he was undoubtedly a great man; but that he loved to embarrass government;" he only shewed that he had been misinformed. No man could be more zealously attached to a constitutional government than he was. But he detested, with fervency and sincerity, a government of secrecy, hypocrisy, and treachery.

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This conduct of Lord Temple restored unanimity to the opposition, except Lord Hardwicke, and two or three more; and opposition became cordially united, in the general wish of bringing all the late proceedings before parliament.

Mr. Wilkes employed the space of time between his enlargement from the Tower, and the meeting of parliament, in printing the North Britons in his house. This circumstance gave Lord Temple much concern: he begged Mr. Wilkes to lay aside the design; and when he had begun to put it in execution, his Lordship implored him to desist. Mr. Wilkes, however, would not; he said many of his friends in the city had desired to subscribe for a neat and correct edition of the North Briton. It should here be stated, that the ground of Lord Temple's objection to Mr. Wilkes re-printing the North Briton in his house, was this, that amongst all the printers and bookfellers, whom the ministry had attached on account of the North Briton, there was not to be found a tittle of evidence that could reach Mr. Wilkes; "Consequently," said Lord Temple to Mr. Wilkes,
"you

“ you ought not to furnish your enemies now with the means of obtaining that evidence which you have hitherto had prudence to prevent: and as to the plan of subscription, he added, particularly, that Mr. Wilkes could not name the extent of the sum of money he was ready to advance, if Mr. Wilkes would but send away his printing-press.” Mr. Wilkes was deaf to all entreaties. He printed the North Briton; and the event justified Lord Temple’s apprehensions. The ministry bribed one of Mr. Wilkes’s journeymen to become evidence against him; he was tried for *re-printing* and *re-publishing* the North Briton; upon that evidence *only* he was convicted: there was no evidence at all against him upon the *original* publication. Had he therefore followed Lord Temple’s advice, the victory of public liberty must have been complete; the ministers must have been dismissed; and censured at least, if not impeached. Lord Temple often lamented this unfortunate part of Mr. Wilkes’s conduct.

When parliament met, the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Warburton) suddenly rose in the House of Lords, and complained of a breach
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of privilege; his name being printed to a note in an obscene poem, called an *Essay on Woman*; a few copies of which had been printed by Mr. Wilkes, at the press in his own house. The same journeyman who had been bribed to rob and betray him, was the evidence against him in this matter also. This complaint perfectly astonished Lord Temple: he knew nothing of the poem. But when he heard that it came from Mr. Wilkes's private press, he was so sensibly affected, he was obliged to leave the House. Upon the charge of the North Briton, he had prepared to defend that paper, and also the conduct of the Chief Justice, (Pratt,) who had discharged Mr. Wilkes upon his privilege, as a member of parliament. On these two points he had determined to combat the arguments of the ministers and their lawyers.

In the debate on Mr. Wilkes's expulsion in the month of January 1764, Mr. Rigby spoke of Lord Temple's public manner of approving, supporting, and defending the conduct of Mr. Wilkes, in terms of asperity and harshness.

harshness. He was answered with great ability and spirit by Mr. James Grenville; who drew a picture of the Duke of Bedford in such strong colours, that the House was obliged to interfere. Mr. Webb, Solicitor of the Treasury, acknowledged that Lord Temple's conduct had, in one point, been much misrepresented; for amongst Mr. Wilkes's papers seized at his house, he had found a letter from Lord Temple to that gentleman, expressing the strongest disapprobation of the abuse of the Scots in the North Britons.

When the ministers had gone through the first part of the storm concerning Mr. Wilkes, they began to perceive that their late proceedings would be vigorously attacked in parliament; and that they should meet with a powerful opposition there. On this account, they began to consider of filling up some vacancies which had happened, and of strengthening themselves with some alliances. The president's chair had been vacant from the beginning of the year 1763, by the death of Earl Granville: this they proposed filling with the Duke of Leeds; and they consulted
Lord

Lord Bute upon it. This very circumstance of consulting Lord Bute, which is an undoubted fact, clearly shews that they had no influence in the closet.

Lord Bute, who had gone to Harrowgate to be out of the way of the storm, returned to London upon this business: he instantly put his *veto* on the proposition respecting the Duke of Leeds. Whether he had some other person in contemplation, or whether he began to repent of having made the present ministers, and was looking out for another set to succeed them, is not certain; but if we may judge from what soon after appeared, the latter seems to have been the case. This disagreement between the ministry and Lord Bute was not settled when Lord Egremont died at the beginning of August 1763: this unexpected event brought the dispute to a crisis. There being now two seats in the cabinet vacant, which in the small number of five, for the cabinet at that time consisted of no more, was nearly equal to a suspension of public business; a situation that could not last long.

Lord Bute was still desirous of gaining Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, but as Lord Temple had refused his applications twice before, the first time early in the month of November 1761, and the other in the month of March 1763, he resolved to make this third application to Mr. Pitt. And having found Mr. Pitt more civil than Lord Temple had been, he brought Mr. Pitt to the King, for the purpose of forming a new administration. But Mr. Pitt having stated to his Majesty in the way of explanation, his inviolable union with the great Whig families, and in effect, what had been given, in the way of answer, to Mr. Stanley in March last, Lord Bute took fright, and broke off the negotiation entirely. Lord Bute's view in this business did not extend beyond a partial change: he wished to bring in Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, and two or three others, but not more; and to continue to hold the reins of government by his secret influence: and when he had made them odious and insignificant, as he did every body else, he could turn them out at pleasure, without offending the nation. They knew all this: and he knew, that Lord Temple
and

and Mr. Pitt, with the great body of the Whigs, would form an administration of such power and strength, that his influence would be totally annihilated. To his vanity, and lust of power, was sacrificed this opportunity of forming a strong and popular government. The particulars of the conference between his Majesty and Mr. Pitt have been already printed in the Anecdotes of Mr. Pitt, chap. xxv.

The Favourite's next resource was to Lord Holland for advice in his present critical situation; for by his last manœuvre he had made both parties his enemies. Lord Holland advised him to continue the present ministers in their places, and to fill up the vacancies with the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich. But as this was a negotiation in which Lord Bute could not appear, Lord Holland undertook it for him, and managed the matter very adroitly; by which he blunted the Duke of Bedford's enmity to Lord Bute, on account of the late peace; and the ministers were allowed to make a sort of proscription of Lord Bute on account of the late

indignity he had shewn them, in offering to displace them for Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple; and to compensate the Duke of Leeds, they were permitted to offer him an adequate pension, which his Grace accepted. The Duke of Bedford insisted upon Lord Holland promising, in the name of Lord Bute, (for which he had Lord Bute's authority,) that his Lordship would not in future interfere, intrigue, or disturb the present ministers, in any department of their offices, in any of their recommendations to the King, or in any of the measures of government.

When the arrangements were all made, Lord Bute retired to his estate in Bedfordshire; and the ministers boasted that they had exiled him: Lord Temple called it a *Mazarinade*; alluding to a similar conduct of Cardinal Mazarine, who governed France as absolutely when absent from court as when in it.

The question respecting general warrants, which was brought forward in the succeeding session of parliament, is well known; but there was another question, which Lord Temple

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ple was very anxious to have had brought on; this was concerning the seizure of papers. He was not less desirous of obtaining a strong condemnation of this practice, than he was of the condemnation of general warrants. But Mr. Charles Yorke first, and after him several others of the minority, declared their entire disapprobation of the intended motion, so it was never brought forward. It is impossible to account for their objections; Lord Temple was somewhat chagrined by the refusal: and he wrote a tract upon the subject, or at least dictated the greatest part of it, intitled, "A Letter to the Secretaries of State, on the Seizure of Papers." The reader will find an extract from it in the Appendix, marked H.

Many of the gentlemen who composed the opposition, or minority as they were at this time more frequently called, saw with concern and pain these occasional divisions: and to prevent, if possible, the mischiefs arising from them, they agreed to institute a club, or society, consisting of the minority. They were called the *Coterie*; and met at a house in Albemarle-street. The object of the in-

stitution was singly *to preserve union*: but after subsisting about five or six months, the number of members began to diminish, the meetings were seldom, and at length the project was abandoned. At the commencement of this institution there was a quarto pamphlet published, called, "A Letter from Albermarle-street to the Cocoa Tree, on some late Transactions," which, though not literally written by Lord Temple, was entirely written under his eye, and nearly every line dictated by him. One design of it was, to proclaim the creed, or what he hoped was and would continue to be the creed of the minority, from the head-quarters; that the nation might know the doctrines they professed, and the principles they avowed. But though the pamphlet was generally approved by the nation, yet there were some persons in the minority who thought it declared too much. The reader will find some extracts from it in the Appendix, marked I.

This was the last effort Lord Temple made to preserve unanimity among the noblemen and gentlemen who had formed themselves into an opposition, in the hope, as they said,
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of rescuing the government of the country from the influence of the royal Favourite. When the club in Albemarle-street ceased, the minority, as a party, nearly ceased also. The leader was discomfited; he was in earnest against Lord Bute; but many of the others were not: they were ready to enlist under his banners whenever he was disposed to receive them. Mr. Charles Yorke accepted of a patent of precedence, which shewed his readiness to enter into the ministerial service. At length this schism came to an explanation between Lord Temple and the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Temple, in the plainest terms, assured his Grace, that if the only object of opposition was the possession of *places*, if nothing was intended for the public, if his Grace and his friends would neither propose nor support any measure for the security of the liberties of the people, he would continue no longer a cover to that design. With this declaration the opposition, or minority, totally ceased as a body.

During the succeeding session of parliament, which commenced in the month of January

1765, Mr. Pitt did not attend. Upon the Regency bill, which was brought in towards the end of the session, the minority consisted of only thirty-seven members. The ministers now thought themselves perfectly secure; and having submitted in several instances to Lord Bute's interfering in the patronage of their departments, the minority being broken and dispersed, they began to assume an independence of spirit and character; they remonstrated strongly against Lord Bute's conduct, against his breach of promise, against his secret advice of measures; they complained of being kept in total ignorance of those measures, (the Regency bill, &c.) until called upon to carry them into execution; of recommendations of persons to high and lucrative situations without their participation or even knowledge; and lastly, of the King's confidence not being placed in the constitutional channels.

This conduct of theirs determined their fate: it was resolved to remove them. Lord Bute applied to the Duke of Cumberland; no doubt with his Majesty's knowledge and approbation. His Royal Highness sent for
Lord

Lord Temple on the 15th of May 1765. It will occur to the reader's observation, that notwithstanding the unfortunate state of the late minority, Lord Temple still continued to be the *first* person the court were desirous of obtaining. In the conference which followed between his Royal Highness and his Lordship, the Duke informed Lord Temple, that his Majesty was resolved to change his servants; and wished to engage his Lordship, Mr. Pitt, and their friends; and then very graciously condescending to acknowledge his Lordship's public virtues, and public spirit, his Royal Highness requested to be informed of the terms which his Lordship had in contemplation to propose, previous to his undertaking the administration. Lord Temple, with the greatest decency and humility, solicited to represent to his Royal Highness,

First, concerning continental affairs, the making of certain foreign alliances :

And a removal of some misunderstandings in those already made.

Secondly,

Secondly, concerning domestic affairs; his Lordship required the restoration of officers, civil as well as military, who had been barbarously dismissed from their places and situations without cause, or charge of crime. A complete condemnation of general warrants: and his Lordship added with a strong emphasis, a full condemnation of the seizure of papers, except in a charge, upon oath, of high treason.

His Royal Highness paused a moment, and then said, "the terms were *perfectly just*, and *must* be agreed to."

This answer fully exhibits that great trait in the Duke's character, that he was sincerely and faithfully attached to the interests and honours of his family; and to the lineal succession to the crown; which all must allow is best secured by the affections of the people.

His Royal Highness having heard Lord Temple's conditions, then began to state his own. The first was, that it was the King's desire that Lord Northumberland should be placed

placed at the head of the treasury. Here Lord Temple begged leave to interrupt his Royal Highness, and to say, that if this was a *positive* condition, there was no occasion to go any further. Lord Northumberland had been made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Lord Bute. Lord Temple answered, "That he would never go into any office under Lord Bute's Lieutenant." The determined tone in which these last words were spoken put an end to the conference.

Four days afterwards, (May 19, 1765,) his Royal Highness requested Lord Temple to meet him at Mr. Pitt's house, at Hayes in Kent. But though his Royal Highness was there first, and had had some conversation with Mr. Pitt before Lord Temple came, yet he found that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were one: Mr. Pitt having fully rejected the same condition, respecting Lord Northumberland.

This negotiation might have succeeded, if Lord Northumberland had not been named; but that circumstance marked the hand of

Lord Bute so strongly, it was impossible not to dread in it all the mischiefs and versatility of the continued influence of the Favourite; against which, repeated experience had shewn that the most solemn promises and protestations were no protection.

Lord Temple's firmness in these conferences with his Royal Highness did not meet with the entire approbation of some of the principal persons of the late minority: in particular the Marquis of Rockingham most ardently entreated his Lordship to accept of the Duke of Cumberland's proposals; and added, that he spoke also in the name of the Duke of Newcastle, who desired nothing for himself, but that his friends might be considered.

At this time Lord Temple and his brother, Mr. Grenville, became reconciled, through the good offices of their mutual friends; the first application was from Mr. Grenville. Neither their private honours, as gentlemen, nor their public characters, as politicians, suffered by this reconciliation. Each adhered to the opinions he had already avowed: the
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union only regarded what might occur in future. But it is very probable, that now agreeing in opinion, of the danger to every administration from the omnipotence of Lord Bute's secret influence, they might cordially join in any measure that promised to procure his complete overthrow.

Lord Temple's refusal of the Duke of Cumberland's offers was ascribed by many persons to his reconciliation with his brother; Lord Temple would not accept, they said, because his brother was not included in the offers. This objection to Lord Temple's conduct, in those refusals, was repeatedly urged in various shapes. Sometimes in pamphlets, but oftener in letters, essays, and paragraphs in the public prints, until at length the opinion strongly prevailed. It must be confessed, that the suspicion seemed plausible, and such is the possibility of making a lasting impression by reiteration, it has continued to be a suspicion with some people even to this day. But no suspicion, or opinion, could be more totally unfounded. It is only in justice to the memory and character of this noble Lord that the circumstance

cumstance is mentioned, in order to undeceive those who have been misled. Lord Temple always disavowed any influence of his brother over him; and Mr. Grenville himself repeatedly desired that he might not be named to the King.

In the tract intitled "The Principles of the Changes in 1765," written under Lord Temple's own eye, and the greatest part of it dictated by him, this matter is fully explained.

"We may (says the writer) without being in Lord Temple's counsels, or pretending to unravel mysteries, safely say, he did not want inducements to accept of the great post, that presented itself as a supplicant at his gate; a post that has often been sought, but seldom, perhaps never, refused, and to him added gracious importunity to the powerful arguments of interest. One capable of such refusal cannot be supposed to be wholly destitute of that laudable ambition natural to great minds, which prompts as well as enables them to shine in elevated stations. Laying aside the
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the ties of allegiance, in a trial it is seldom put to; it were strange, if any subject could be deaf to the voice, or indifferent to the wishes of the people of England, in a distinction so peculiarly honourable to himself. Not only the noble passions, but resentments of a lower kind, natural to humanity, if these were worthy of a place in such a consideration, might have moved him not to decline a triumph over injuries. In short, duty to his King, his country, as well as to himself, and his friends, had all their several claims for his acceptance. To weigh down all this, the writer (of a letter in the newspapers) has found one motive, which he puts in the opposite scale; but one that, upon cool reflection, must appear to have been the least capable of having any influence at all: and that is, Lord Temple's desire (as he calls it) *to save his brother, Mr. Grenville, in consequence of their reconciliation.* The chance of that was worth no price at all: and the difference of the elder brother, *without* issue filling the office of the younger *with*, could be an object, it should seem, of small consideration between themselves. It is not really so hard to find
out

out the true reason of Lord Temple's refusal, as it is to assign any other that bear the test of reason. What could it be, but an apprehension of the impossibility to do his King and country that service, which an honest man would wish to do in the station he declined? His apprehensions were groundless. It is true, that Lord Bute denies that he has intermeddled since he quitted office. But why does he deny it? In defence against the charge of the late ministers, of breach of solemn engagements, he came under to them, even to remove from the King's presence, which engagements he cannot dispute. The denial has gained more credit to the assertion, than ever itself did: but it has not made the fact deemed in the least doubtful. Nobody, who knows any thing of late transactions, is ignorant that, even in public and national concerns, the late minister (Mr. Grenville) was openly thwarted by Lord Bute's friends, whenever his partial affections gave them their tone: and no influence whatever is to be seen but Lord Bute's, in the whole business of the late change. Who else could have suggested the proposition of Lord Northumberland for the head of the treasury?

treasury? and that first modest proposition is a *master-key* to all that followed. Stronger evidence cannot be required of the continued ascendant of Lord Bute, and that his aim was still to maintain an absolute dominion over this country, by being master of any ministry, to decide their fate, not according to their conduct towards the nation, but according to their submission to him. This must resolve all government into the mere arbitrary will and pleasure of the Favourite, and make the best administration that could be formed unstable as water. Who does not feel that this instability has already made us the scorn of all Europe? Nor can there be an end of it, or of its unhappy consequences, but by the annihilation of the influence of the Favourite. The title has been inauspicious in all examples; and those who now decline the service of their country, may with great propriety make their defence in the words of Charles the First's parliament, concerning the Duke of Buckingham, when they said to that unhappy King, *We protest to your Majesty, and to the whole world, that till this person be removed*

from intermeddling in the affairs of state, we are out of hope of any good success."

The Duke of Cumberland's negotiation with Lord Temple having failed, his Royal Highness next applied to Lord Lyttelton. But by the advice of Lord Holland, who had many years enjoyed the confidence of his Royal Highness, the condition respecting Lord Northumberland was relinquished. His Royal Highness offered Lord Lyttelton the treasury. This change, in the complexion of the negotiation, was made too late. The original projector was discovered. Lord Lyttelton answered, that he acted in perfect coalescence with Lord Temple.

In consequence of these refusals, Lord Holland recommended to his Royal Highness, to advise his Majesty to continue his present servants. On the twenty-first of May, his Royal Highness waited on the King at the Queen's house, and having stated the answers he had received from Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, and Lord Lyttelton, concluded with
advising

advising his Majesty to continue his present ministers.

This advice was injudicious and imprudent. Lord Holland and Lord Bute must equally suppose, that the ministers were filled with indignation and resentment, by this second attempt to dismiss them, and that one of them at least (Mr. Grenville) had adopted Lord Temple's hostility to Lord Bute.

The King followed the advice he had received from the Duke of Cumberland. He informed the subsisting ministers they were to continue in their offices. They instantly demanded the dismissions of Lord Northumberland from the lieutenancy of Ireland, of Lord Holland from the Pay-office, and of Mr. Mackenzie, Lord Bute's brother, from the Privy-seal of Scotland: and the Duke of Bedford made use of a language in the closet, that was, if possible, more provoking than these demands. There was no alternative, Lord Bute was obliged to yield. But it was only for a short time. The King himself came forward in the next negotiation. His

Majesty sent for Mr. Pitt; who waited on the King at the Queen's house, on the twentieth day of June 1765. Mr. Pitt desired to have the concurrence of Lord Temple, who was next sent for. On the twenty-fifth they waited on his Majesty together. The King proposed to put his government into their hands, upon the following conditions: The restoration of Mr. Mackenzie, the appointment of Lord Northumberland to the office of Lord Chamberlain, and all the King's friends to continue in their present places. This last condition was so undefined and unlimited, it was impossible to ascertain who it included, or who it excepted. Therefore, Lord Temple gave to the whole a decided negative; in which Mr. Pitt acquiesced.

Recourse was then had a second time to the Duke of Cumberland; who resolved to try those who had never yet been tried. These were that part of the late minority who had separated from Lord Temple.

It is not necessary in this place, to give the history of that negotiation. His Royal Highness

ness succeeded in recommending an administration, which was called the Rockingham administration, from the noble Marquis of that name being placed at the head of the treasury. But if they had not accepted of the offers of the court, the absolute and entire expulsion of Lord Bute must have been effected. The new ministers said they did not feel, nor could they discover, any symptoms of his influence. And they condemned Lord Temple's repeated refusals of the offers made to him by the Duke of Cumberland, and by the King himself, in a great number of publications, written by their friends. At length Lord Temple dictated, or nearly so, but did not write any of it himself, a pamphlet in vindication of his conduct, called "The Principles of the late Changes impartially examined;" in which a retrospect was taken from the negotiation with Mr. Pitt, in August 1763. To those who desire accurate information of this period, there are some parts of it interesting. The reader will find some extracts from it, in the Appendix, marked K.

The new ministers did not protect themselves against the manœuvres of the court, so completely as they might have done. By an omission they committed a great fault. This omission was, not dissolving the parliament when they came in. Ample experience had shewn them the power of the court in parliament. And though, by accepting of places, they had answered the purpose of the Favourite, in the hour of his distress, yet they could not be ignorant of the want of cordiality in the court; a want, which made the necessity greater, of either diminishing the strength of the court, or increasing their own. Lord Shelburne committed the same fault in July 1782. Parliament ought to have been dissolved on both occasions.

On the great measure of the repeal of the American stamp act, which was the first parliamentary measure of the new ministers, Lord Temple adopted his brother Mr. G. Grenville's opinion. He thought that repeal was nothing short of an absolute surrender of the authority of Great Britain over the colonies.

lonies. This opinion, coinciding with that of the court, Lord Bute thought made a favourable opportunity for opening a fresh negotiation with Lord Temple, to form another administration. He first applied to Mr. W. G. Hamilton, who at that time stood so high in his Lordship's estimation, that Lord Temple had resolved to make him his Chancellor of the Exchequer, if ever he accepted of the treasury; but Mr. Hamilton gave very little encouragement to the proposition. This check did not abate Lord Bute's ardour. He next consulted Lord Eglintoun, who was one of Lord Temple's friends, and one of Mr. Grenville's also. Lord Eglintoun suggested an interview of the parties, which Lord Bute approved of. Lord Eglintoun proposed, that the parties should be Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Temple, and Mr. Grenville. Lord Bute objected to the Duke of Bedford. But Lord Eglintoun thought the surest way to gain Lord Temple was first to gain Mr. Grenville, which he was certain could not be accomplished without the concurrence of the Duke of Bedford. Upon this explanation Lord Bute assented; and

Lord Eglintoun engaged to bring the parties together. Mr. Cadogan being supposed to have more influence with Mr. Grenville at this time than Lord Eglintoun, that gentleman was requested to state the matter to Mr. Grenville; which he did, and Mr. Grenville requested Lord Suffolk to acquaint the Duke of Bedford. Lord Eglintoun undertook the management of Lord Temple. But before Lord Eglintoun had an opportunity of conversing with his Lordship on the subject, Mr. Grenville had informed his brother of Lord Bute's intention, and asked him his opinion upon it. Lord Temple, in the most strong and positive terms, disclaimed for himself every possible kind of connexion with Lord Bute, immediate, remote, and eventual; but that he, his brother, might do as he pleased. This was in the month of January 1766. And when Lord Eglintoun solicited his Lordship to meet Lord Bute, at Lord Eglintoun's house, Lord Temple replied that he would not; but Lord Eglintoun pressing his request very earnestly, Lord Temple repeated his refusal in terms of warmth and indignation. Before Lord Eglintoun had opportunity

to inform Lord Bute of Lord Temple's refusal, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Bute, and Mr. Grenville, came to his house, according to appointment. The conference was very short. Mr. Grenville said afterwards in the House of Commons, that their conversation was confined to one subject, which was the repeal of the American stamp act, and that they all agreed it was a measure fatal to the authority of Great Britain.

Whatever was the kind of change of administration which Lord Bute had in contemplation at this time, Lord Temple's refusal to see him, or to hold any communication with him, effectually prevented the design being attempted; for though it should seem that the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville had no objection, yet as the party he most wanted was not present, he made no proposal to them.

Lord Bute was now fully convinced, that in any future negotiation with Lord Temple or Mr. Pitt, he must be perfectly concealed.

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When the repeal of the American stamp act was accomplished, the ministry made overtures to Mr. Pitt to join them, not simply in gratitude, because he had assisted them in that repeal, and without which assistance they could not have carried it; but because they were conscious of their own weakness, and wanted the insignia of potency, which they felt and saw he possessed. They offered him any situation he would condescend to accept. These overtures alarmed Lord Bute exceedingly. He was perfectly sensible that Mr. Pitt would not accept without Lord Temple. By the assistance of a Great Lady at Carlton-house, he contrived to amuse Lord Temple, during the months of March and April 1766, with the daily expectation of a *carte blanche*. Lord Temple was for several weeks the dupe of this device; and notwithstanding Lord Bute's visits at Carlton-house were notorious, yet this matter was so unreservedly declared to be totally independent of him, that had not, by accident, the "cloven foot," as Lord Temple called it, appeared unexpectedly, the deception might have been artfully continued

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some time longer; until perhaps some measure, or arrangement, might have been produced by it.

In the present disposition of mankind, and standing so near the time as we do, when unjust prejudices are not yet allayed, and the effects of falsehoods are not yet obliterated, a writer reluctantly offers his observation, that Lord Bute must have estimated the acquisition of Lord Temple of the utmost consequence to himself, or to the country. If he had any of that affection for the King, which the King's attachment to him had so eminently deserved, he ought, and he would, if he had been sincere, to have yielded to the happiness of his master, and the interests of the nation; and to have abandoned every thought of personal consideration. But while he remained obstinately attached to the continuation of his secret influence, Lord Temple, who was always furnished with correct information of certain secret visits and meetings, received with suspicion, and examined with jealousy every proposition that came from the court. To this sedulous attention, he owed
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the peculiar honour of being the only English nobleman, who had not been seduced and deceived by the intrigues of Lord Bute.

During the recess of parliament, a letter written by Mr. Wilkes to Lord Temple, containing a gay account of a duel between Lord Talbot and Mr. Wilkes at Bagshot, had been published. A little time after parliament met, Lord Talbot, in a manner that was extremely abrupt, and in terms which were extremely rude, accused Lord Temple of handing this letter to the press. A duel was very near being the consequence. The seconds prevented it. Lord Talbot was mistaken in his suspicion. The letter was sent to the press by Mr. Wilkes, unknown to Lord Temple.

Notwithstanding the many disappointments Lord Bute met with in his negotiations with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, he was resolved to persevere, until he had gained them, or one of them at least. Accordingly, a few weeks after the close of the session of parliament, the King ordered Lord Northington, who was at that time Lord Chancellor, to send for

for Mr. Pitt. That gentleman waited upon his Majesty on the 12th day of July, at Richmond: the King told him he put himself entirely into his hands; and that he was to form such an administration as he thought proper, together with Lord Temple, who he desired might be immediately sent for.

The particulars of this negotiation having been fully and accurately stated in the "Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, Chapter xxxi." it is not necessary to repeat them here; and therefore it is only proper to observe, that after Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had disagreed, the state of parties became exactly what Lord Bute wished.

The ministry who were dismissed to make room for the administration which had been formed by Mr. Pitt, who was now created Earl of Chatham, were attached to no set of men, they stood alone. Lord Temple, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Grenville, and their friends, were precisely in the same situation.

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These two parties could not unite, for they held opposite opinions on the most important measures, and had so frequently and so publicly avowed those opinions they could not recede. Lord Chatham's new ministry was a motley group; it was composed of fugitives from all parties. Lord Bute's friends, or the King's friends as they were more honourably styled, continued in their several places. Thus every party was in so detached a situation, nothing formidable could be raised against him; and he could always lend his friends to the support of whatever party he chose to favour.

Lord Chatham thought, from the high authority that commenced the negotiation with him, that Lord Bute had no concern in it: but he found himself deceived. In the House of Lords on the 2d of March 1770, he publicly confessed that he had been duped, that there was something behind the throne greater than the King himself. He could not pay to Lord Temple's virtue and penetration a greater compliment.

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At length these two great men were reconciled; but not until after Lord Chatham had quitted the court. Lord Bute enjoyed his triumph in having gained one-half of the measure he had been so long contending for. The reconciliation gave him no concern: his system at that time was too firmly established to be shaken by any party whatever.

Lord Temple continued in opposition to the measures of the court, which he considered to be those of Lord Bute, or his delegates; particularly the proceedings concerning the Middlesex election, and the war with America. His sentiments on both those subjects may be seen in the parliamentary debates. When Mr. Grenville died in the year 1770, and that gentleman's friends went over to the court, the post of Lord Privy Seal was offered to Lord Temple, which he rejected with indignation. In the year 1775 it was again signified to his Lordship that he might have it if he thought proper. But he always said, he never would wear Lord Bute's livery. His Lordship died in the year 1779.

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[Some particulars in this article have so close an affinity with the anecdotes of Lord Chatham's life, that the Editor has in one or two places been under the necessity of repeating the fact in order to connect the matter.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE GRENVILLE.

Connection with the last Chapter. Negotiation for Peace. Sir Charles Knowles's Plan for taking the Havannah; presented to Mr. Grenville, to Lord Temple, to Mr. Pitt, to Lord Anson, to the Duke of Cumberland. Fortunate Escape of Admiral Pococke. Mr. Grenville differs with Lord Bute on demanding an Equivalent for the Havannah. Mr. Grenville removed to the Admiralty, and Lord Halifax made Secretary. Mr. Grenville complimented with a Tellership of the Exchequer for his Son. Correspondence of the Negotiation for Peace supposed to be lost. Ministers took their Papers away when removed. Mr. Grenville appointed First Lord of the Treasury. Lawyers not Politicians. Persecution of Mr. Wilkes. Lord Bute's Letter to the King. American Affairs. Project of new-modelling all the American Governments.

ments. The Outlines of the Design. True Cause of the Stamp Act. Mr. Grenville not the Author of that Act. Impolicy of it. Mr. Mauduit's Account of a Conference with Mr. Grenville. Remarks on that Paper. Governor Bernard's Letter. Trade and Connection with America explained. Mr. Grenville deceived; removed. Stamp Act repealed. The Plan of subjugating America continued. Montcalm's Letters. Mr. Grenville saves the Public Credit of all Europe. The King's Esteem for Mr. Grenville expressed upon two Occasions.

THIS Chapter follows the preceding with such particular propriety, that it may almost be called a part of it; and to be separated from it only for the sake of distinction and perspicuity. But it is not the Editor's intention to enter into the memoirs of this gentleman; but only to state some particulars of his conduct, during the present King's reign, which have either escaped the notice of other writers, or have been much misrepresented by them.

He was appointed Treasurer of the Navy in the late King's reign, but notwithstanding his family resigned their places in the month of October 1761, he continued in the same office until May 1762; when he was made Secretary of State in the room of the Earl of Bute, who went to the Treasury. In this situation he was necessarily a member of the cabinet at the commencement of the negotiation for peace; which soon after followed in the same year. In the progress of this negotiation, a circumstance occurred which induced him to quit the cabinet and his office. An accommodation however was made for him with the Earl of Halifax, who was First Lord of the Admiralty, for an exchange of places: Mr. Grenville went to the Admiralty, and Lord Halifax became Secretary of State.

This circumstance was the capture of the Havannah; an acquisition that was totally unexpected. As there are some curious and interesting particulars concerning this conquest, which have not been laid before the public, it may not be improper to insert them here.

The merit of the plan of this conquest belongs to the late Admiral Sir Charles Knowles; who, in his return from Jamaica in the year 1756, prevailed on the captain of the man of war, in which he was coming home passenger, to put in at the Havannah. Admiral Knowles's stimulation at that moment was no more than curiosity, to obtain a view of this celebrated place. Being a time of peace with Spain, he was permitted to go through all the fortifications, and through all parts of the town and environs.—A few weeks previous to Mr. Pitt's resignation, which was in the early part of the month of October 1761, when a war with Spain was supposed to be more than probable, Sir Charles made a correct copy of all his plans and papers, taken and written upon the spot, relative to the Havannah, and recommended in a very strong memorial an immediate attack upon that place, in case of a war. These plans and papers he put into the hands of Mr. Grenville, accompanied with a request to recommend them to Mr. Pitt. But Mr. Grenville, in order to give the project the best support he could, begged leave to refer it to Lord Temple, his Lordship being more in the confidence

fidence of Mr. Pitt than any other person. Lord Temple highly approved of the proposal, and gave to it his warmest recommendation to Mr. Pitt. A war with Spain was not at this moment quite certain; yet very nearly so: but Mr. Pitt so eagerly embraced the whole plan, that in case the war with Spain had commenced during his continuance in power, his fixed determination was, to have ordered the fleet and army he had sent against Martinico, as soon as they had reduced that island, to go immediately against the Havannah; and to have sent to them timely reinforcements sufficient to ensure the success. And in order to have every necessary preparation ready for the undertaking, he sent the papers to Lord Anson, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty. But the expulsion of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt from the State following almost immediately after these consultations, the plan and the design lay dormant; until Sir Charles Knowles some time after the war against Spain had been declared, sent another copy of the whole of his papers to the Duke of Cumberland: thus the matter revived. Notwithstanding the entire approbation, and

the respectability of those great persons who had recommended this plan yet Lord Anson declared it to be in many parts injudicious and improper; he therefore framed another; or at least new-modelled the first. But the delay and unwillingness manifest in executing every part of the plan, were very nearly proving fatal to the expedition. Mr. Pitt's idea of sending the force from Martinico was adopted; but with a most malicious view. The reinforcements sent from England, consisting of only four ships of the line and four regiments, did not sail from Portsmouth until the month of March 1762; though they might and ought to have sailed six weeks sooner; and consequently would have arrived before the sickly season, by which they suffered dreadfully, and would have found the Spaniards almost unprepared. But what is most extraordinary, and wholly inexplicable, is, that when they arrived at Martinico, they were ordered, in case that island was not subdued, to abandon the attempt, and to take away the whole of the British force there, and proceed to the Havannah. But it fortunately happened, that General Monckton had completed the

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the conquest of Martinico before Lord Albemarle arrived; and thereby the hopes of those who would have rejoiced in a miscarriage at Martinico were disappointed. There was another circumstance not less fortunate: when Admiral Pococke sailed from England with the four ships and the four regiments, the French had a fleet of twelve sail of the line lying at Cape François, under the command of M. Blenac. If the French officer had been vigilant, he might have intercepted Admiral Pococke and captured him; and why he did not, was the surprize of every body in France and England at that time.

When the intelligence of the conquest of the Havannah arrived in London, which was in the month of October 1762, the negotiations for peace between France, Spain, and England were far advanced; and many, if not all the principal conditions were agreed upon: but a very extraordinary negligence, or something worse, appeared in these negotiations; for though all the powers knew of the expedition gone against the Havannah, yet no mention was made of it in the negotiation.

tiation. It seems to have been understood, confidentially no doubt, that whatever might be the event of the expedition, it should make no change in the conditions of peace; it was to be restored, if taken. It is only in this manner that the conduct of Lord Bute on this point can be explained. Fortunately the preliminaries were not signed when the news came. In the first council after the receipt of the intelligence, Mr. Grenville immediately proposed that the Havannah should be included in the *uti possidetis*. Lord Bute insisted that the negotiation was too far advanced to admit of any alteration; that though the event was in our favour, yet he very much dreaded that our making any fresh demand on this account would prevent the peace taking place for some time. Mr. Grenville said he did not object to restoring the Havannah to Spain; all he contended was, that Spain or France, or both, should make a compensation for it: either Porto Rico and St. Lucie, or Florida and the entire property of Jucatan, should be demanded for it. Lord Bute refused to consent to either of these propositions being made: upon which

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Mr. Grenville declared his resolution of quitting the cabinet; and, upon an accommodation being made with Lord Halifax, he went to the Admiralty; which removed him from all farther concern with the negotiation. However, Lord Bute, in a very little time, either changed his sentiments, or began to be afraid of the consequences, as he thought proper to make the demand of Florida only; which was readily granted. But if the interests of Great Britain had been considered, Porto Rico and Jucatan were infinitely preferable; and if any estimation is to be put on the facility of gaining Florida, it will not be doubted that Porto Rico, Jucatan, and St. Lucie might also have been obtained if they had been firmly insisted upon. Spain would have bought the Havannah at any price; and perhaps she gave more for it than the world is yet acquainted with.

Mr. Grenville's accommodation on this point did not pass without its reward. He was complimented with the reversion of the first vacant tellership of the Exchequer, for his eldest son; who succeeded to it in the month of April 1763, upon the death of Lord Waldegrave.

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There were several other parts of the treaty of peace with France and Spain not less interesting to the public; and had the correspondence relative to the negotiation been laid before parliament, which it ought to have been, a clue to certain transactions might have been found, that would have led to some discoveries which might have astonished the British nation, and perhaps all Europe. But probably this correspondence is not now in existence; or if it should be found, it is probable that it will be in some private scrutoire; for at this time the cabinet ministers considered all their official correspondence as their private papers, and their own property; and when they or any of them quitted their situations, they took from the offices all such original papers and letters as had come there during their administration. This practice might be prudent, in the apprehension of consequences, but it was unjust to the government, and to the country.

When Lord Bute resigned the place of First Lord of the Treasury, which has been explained in the preceding Chapter, Mr. Grenville

ville was appointed his successor on the 16th of April 1763: the fortuitous circumstances of the times placed him in this situation; which, though he filled with integrity and unblemished honour, as a gentleman, he wanted that species of genius which is most useful to a minister—a comprehensive mind. He had been bred to the law; and had he been permitted to continue in that line, there is no vain opinion hazarded in offering a probable conjecture, that he would have committed to posterity a more honourable character than either Lord Hardwicke or Lord Mansfield. But Lord Cobham thought otherwise, and made him a statesman: when his Lordship joined the Pelhams in the year 1744, Mr. Grenville was made a Lord of the Admiralty; therefore he could no longer appear at the bar. But there is something in the habit or practice of the gentlemen of the law, which seems to confine the mind to distinct points; whether it is from the cases of individuals claiming their daily attention, or the peculiar contraction of their studies, certain it is, that scarcely one lawyer in an age can be called a politician, though so many assume the
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the name. They are too apt to limit their principles and ideas to the focus of an act of parliament. In the great debate on the repeal of the American stamp act, Mr. Grenville maintained the narrow ground of a legislative authority: Lord Chatham took the broad ground of constitutional right.

Even Mr. Knox, who had obligations to Mr. Grenville, and was consequently partial to him, speaks very coldly of his general knowledge. His words are these:—"He (Mr. Grenville) was not well acquainted with the internal state of Ireland; and he knew still less of the circumstances of the American colonies." This is not very like the language of a friend, whatever it may be of candour.

The principal features of Mr. Grenville's administration are the persecution of Mr. Wilkes, and the oppression of North America: neither of which can, perhaps, be strictly called his own. But it was not until after his death that it was authentically known these measures had not originated with himself; that they had been suggested to him by others
—by

—by the confidents of Carlton-house, and the confidents of Lord Bute. So true it is, that ministers have often been seduced into paths, without seeing the hand that led them. He had too much of reserve in his temper, and of what the French call *hauteurs* in his manner, to open himself freely even to his friends; so that he became his own enemy as to his real disposition, and wholly so in bearing the odium of these measures.

In the persecution of Mr. Wilkes he was probably sincere. That gentleman had treated him with some severity, on account of his having attached himself first to Lord Bute, and afterwards to the Duke of Bedford; and thereby having totally separated himself from his family. They felt the loss of him; and therefore could not stomach what they naturally called a desertion of them. In families, these divisions, though not of a private nature, are too frequently spoken of in terms of acrimony. The friends of the parties are too prone to adopt the language of the principals; which, in the course of circulation, soon reaches the ears of ministers, who never forget

forget the *divide et impera*, nor to practise, improve, and apply the case of the moment to the existing circumstances of the period. It is a matter extremely to be regretted, that political persecutions in England have seldom had their true foundation in the pretended crime assigned. They have originated in some personality, or opposition to some line of politics pursued by the Minister. The persecution of the North Briton was generally supposed to have been occasioned by the *fifth* number of that paper, which was published many months before Mr. Grenville became Minister.

In the first overtures of the negotiation, which Lord Bute opened with Mr. Pitt, in the month of August 1763, he shewed a partiality for Mr. Grenville. His first proposition was to continue him at the head of the treasury; but Mr. Pitt would not consent to it. Lord Bute finding that his plan of a coalition was impracticable, had recourse to the expedient of introducing Mr. Pitt to the King, who proposed Lord Northumberland for the treasury; to which Mr. Pitt also refused

fused his assent. The negotiation broke off, and Mr. Grenville was entreated by the King to continue in his situation. The ministers were exceedingly offended with Lord Bute for his attempt to displace them. The notoriety of the fact revived and confirmed the general suspicion of Lord Bute's secret influence. Upon this occasion it was that Lord Bute wrote a letter to the King, soliciting his Majesty's permission to withdraw himself from all public and private counsels. One of Lord Bute's friends, who seems to have been well-informed, has given the following account of this letter :

He wrote a letter to his gracious Sovereign, "humbly stating the resolution which, for the King's service as well as for his own ease, he had thought himself obliged to take: and then to remove all occasions of jealousy, he retired to his house in Bedfordshire for the whole ensuing winter 1763-4. The letter gave Mr. Grenville no claim to expect of the Earl of Bute his retirement from the concerns of state; no right to complain of breach of faith, if he should afterwards have

stepped forwards, and been received by the crown into the management of affairs, either open and avowed, or secret and confidential; because that letter had nothing in it of the nature of a compact with Mr. Grenville or any other person. The letter was not written until after Mr. Grenville had agreed to stay in the King's service. There was a passage in the letter which expressly mentioned Mr. Grenville's determination to keep his employment, as an event that had actually taken place. The letter, as I have said, was declaratory of the Earl of Bute's wish and intention to withdraw from the King's business, for reasons which concerned the quiet of his Majesty's government, as well as the repose of the Earl of Bute himself." *Interesting Letters, vol. ii. page 69. edit. 1767.*

There needs no stronger proof of Lord Bute's secret influence than this letter. He resolves upon a temporary absence from the capital, to his own house, very little more than thirty miles distant, with the silly hope of changing appearances. He renounces nothing: on the contrary, his advocate says, that

that it is no breach of faith, if he should step forward again in the management of affairs, either open and avowed, or secret and confidential. The last Chapter is the fullest commentary on the text.

With regard to the affairs of America, Mr. Grenville had no concern whatever in the first causes of the disquietudes there. They originated in the projects which were formed while Lord Bute was in office. It was obvious, from the successes of the war, that the continent of North America must belong to Great Britain. A plan was recommended by a naval officer from Boston, of new-modelling the governments of that country. This scheme commenced, in idea, before the conclusion of the peace in 1763. The project was flattering to the Minister, because it gave him an immense increase of patronage, and if any cause can be assigned for his preferring Florida to Porto Rico, it must be the further increase of patronage, and making Florida into two governments. A junto of sycophants and confidants, whom Lord Bute encouraged, and with whom he principally ad-

vifed, eagerly embraced this project of diftributing the American revenues amongst their relations and dependents.

When the peace was concluded, the British army was not withdrawn. Several pretences were made for keeping it in America; fuch as an Indian war, and the neceffity of having garrifons in the back fettlements. The firft meafure was a divifion of the country into military diftricts, with a brigadier-general in each, all of them depending upon the commander in chief, who was totally independent of the civil power.

This fcheme of new-modelling the governments in America, in order to increafe the power and patronage of the crown, was the fole caufe of the war, and the lofs of America. It is true, that occasional circumftances were the immediate caufes of particular events; but it is always to be remembered, that thofe circumftances, and every inftruction fent to America, from the refignation of Mr. Pitt in the month of October 1761, to the defeat of General Burgoyne in the month of October

1777, originated in the great design of rendering America subservient to the purposes of the Minister.

The prominent features of the grand plan were these: First, to raise a revenue in America by act of parliament, to be applied to support an army; to pay a large salary to the governor, another to the lieutenant-governor, salaries to the judges of the law and admiralty: thus, the whole government, executive and judicial, was to be rendered entirely independent of the people, and wholly dependent on the Minister. Second, to make a new division of the colonies, to reduce the number of them by making the small ones more extensive, to make them all royal governments, with an aristocracy in each. This order of aristocrats was not intended to be hereditary, but something like the Lords of Session in Scotland, for life only. But in a little time they would doubtless have become hereditary, like the nobility of France, whose origin is similar. See the article in the Appendix marked L. Amherst was the first person who suggested the idea of an American

peerage; at one time he had thoughts of being created an American peer, with precedence of all others.

In order to support this military system, which was only the basis of the plan, it was necessary to create a fund to establish a revenue, which would soon have been followed by a system of corruption. This gave rise to the American stamp act.

The American stamp act forms the other principal feature of Mr. Grenville's administration. The great zeal with which he defended this act, gave rise to a general opinion that the act was his own measure; and it was not until near seven years after his death that the public were undeceived in this matter. On the fifteenth day of May in the year 1777, Mr. Charles Jenkinson, who had been private secretary to Lord Bute, and is now Earl of Liverpool, said in the House of Commons, "That the measure of the stamp act was not Mr. Grenville's; if the act was a good one, the merit of it was not due to Mr. Grenville; if it was a bad one, the errors

errors or the ill policy of it did not belong to him."

Whether the account of the speech is perfectly correct, as to the exact words of it, may be uncertain: but it is unquestionably true, that the speech assured the House, that Mr. Grenville was not the author of the stamp act. He adopted it, because it was agreeable to his ideas of raising a revenue in America. Those who flattered him with this unhappy notion, were refugees from America, who were driven from thence for misconduct, and who, in motives of resentment, offered their several plans for distressing America. Unfortunately this project of a stamp act was adopted, without reflecting that a greater revenue was obtaining from America by an increasing trade, and an increasing population, than was practicable by any direct mode of receiving it. Commerce gave it copiously, but circuitously; and though this abundantly increased the wealth of both countries, and, as Lord Chatham said, carried us triumphantly through the great seven years war, yet it was not intelligible to the country gentlemen,

nor so flattering to the friends of prerogative, as the patronage of an army of revenue officers.

Although Mr. Grenville fell into this fatal system, yet he was not at first particularly attached to the measure of the stamp act. His ardent desire was to gain a revenue from America. His wishes went no further; and as to the mode, he was then indifferent to it, whether it was by stamps or any thing else. In the month of March 1764, he proposed in the Committee of Supply a number of resolutions concerning America; one of which was this stamp act; the other resolutions all passed, but this was put off till next year. At the end of the session, the American agents went to him in a body. Of the conference which took place between the Minister and the agents, Mr. Israel Mauduit has given an account; but as the paper is in few hands, it will not be improper to print it here.

“ I shall give a plain narration of facts, which fell within my own knowledge, and which I think it a debt due from me to Mr. Grenville's memory to relate.

“ In

“ In the beginning of March 1764, a number of resolutions, relative to the plantation trade, were proposed by Mr. Grenville, and passed in the House of Commons.

“ The fifteenth of these was: ‘ That, towards the further defraying the said expences, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations.’

[The agent for Georgia, in his account of this conference with Mr. Grenville, explains this resolution in these words: “ In the year 1764, the colonies were made acquainted through their agents, that a revenue would be required from them, *towards defraying the charge of the troops kept up among them.*”]

“ The other resolutions were formed into the plantation act: but the fifteenth was put off till the next session: Mr. Grenville declaring, that he was willing to give time to the colonies to consider of it, and to make their option of raising that, or some other tax. The agents waited separately on Mr. Grenville

upon this matter, and wrote to their several colonies. At the end of the sessions we went to him, all of us together, to know if he still intended to bring in such a bill. He answered; he did; and then repeated to us in form, what I had before heard him say in private, and in the House of Commons: ‘ That the
‘ late war had found us seventy millions, and
‘ left us more than one hundred and forty
‘ millions in debt. He knew that all men
‘ wished not to be taxed; but that in these un-
‘ happy circumstances, it was his duty, as a
‘ steward for the public, to make use of every
‘ just means of improving the public revenue:
‘ that he never meant, however, to charge
‘ the colonies with any part of the interest of
‘ the national debt. But, besides that public
‘ debt, the nation had incurred a great annual
‘ expence in the maintaining of the several
‘ new conquests, which we had made during
‘ the war, and by which the colonies were so
‘ much benefited. That the American civil
‘ and military establishment, after the peace
‘ of Aix-la-Chapelle, was only 70,000*l.* per
‘ ann. It was now increased to 350,000*l.*
‘ This was a great additional expence incurred
‘ upon

‘ upon an American account: and he thought,
 ‘ therefore, that America ought to contribute
 ‘ towards it. He did not expect that the
 ‘ colonies should raise the whole; but some
 ‘ part of it he thought they ought to raise.
 ‘ And this stamp duty was intended for that
 ‘ purpose.

‘ That he judged this method of raising
 ‘ the money the easiest and most equitable;
 ‘ that it was a tax which would fall only
 ‘ upon property; would be collected by the
 ‘ fewest officers; and would be equally spread
 ‘ over America and the West Indies; so that
 ‘ all would bear their share of the public
 ‘ burden.’

“ He then went on: ‘ I am not, however,
 ‘ set upon this tax: if the Americans dislike
 ‘ it, and prefer any other method of raising
 ‘ the money themselves, I shall be content.
 ‘ Write therefore to your several colonies;
 ‘ and if they choose any other mode, I shall
 ‘ be satisfied, provided the money be but
 ‘ raised.’

“ Upon

“ Upon reading over this narration with Mr. Montagu, who was then agent for Virginia, and present at this conference with Mr. Grenville, I have his authority to say, that he entirely assents to every particular.

“ All these particulars I had before heard from Mr. Grenville, in the House of Commons, and at his own house; and had wrote to the Massachusets's assembly accordingly,

“ The following extracts contain their answer on this head:

SIR,

Boston, June 14, 1764.

‘ The House of Representatives have received your several letters, &c. * * *

* * * * *

‘ The actual laying the stamp duty, you say, is deferred till next year, Mr. Grenville being willing to give the provinces their option to raise that, or some equivalent tax; desirous, as he was pleased to express himself, “ to consult the ease
‘ and

‘and quiet, and the good-will of the colonies.’

‘If the ease, the quiet, and the good-will of the colonies are of any importance to Great Britain, no measures could be hit upon, that have a more natural and direct tendency to enervate those principles, than the resolutions you inclosed.’

‘The kind offer of suspending this stamp duty in the manner, and upon the condition you mention, amounts to no more than this, that if the colonies will not tax themselves, as they may be directed, the parliament will tax them.’

‘You are to remonstrate against these measures, and, if possible, to obtain a repeal of the sugar act, and prevent the imposition of any further duties or taxes on the colonies. Measures will be taken that you may be joined by all the other agents.’

“One of these measures was the printing this letter, and sending it the other colony assemblies.

“ After

“ After their own express acknowledgment therefore, no one, I suppose, will doubt; but that they had the offer of raising the money themselves; and that they refused it. Which is all that I am concerned to prove.

ISRAEL MAUDUIT.”

This paper is insidious. The insinuation is obvious; it is this, that America refused to give any aid or assistance to Great Britain: no insinuation could be more unjust than it was. Because the Americans refused to tax themselves in the year 1764, when they were deeply in debt, does it follow that they never would comply with *any requisition* from the mother country? They often had done it. The point in dispute was, *not* whether the Americans would be taxed, but whether they should be taxed as the British and Irish are, by an assembly chosen by themselves; or by an assembly in which they never had a single representative. At the time the stamp act was passed, America was in such a situation as made the attempt to tax her, not less *unjust* than impolitic: the testimony of Governor Bernard upon this subject is decisive. The following extracts are made from his ninth letter:

“ Boston,

.....“ Boston, Nov. 23, 1765.
“ A little consideration would have made it *at least doubtful*, whether an inland taxation of the Americans was practicable or *equitable* at this time. If I had had the question put to me, I think I should have proved the negative in both particulars. It must have been supposed, that such an *innovation* as a parliamentary taxation would cause a great alarm, and meet with much opposition in most parts of America. *It was quite new to the people, and had no visible bounds set to it.* The Americans declared they would not submit to it before the act passed; and there was the greatest probability that it would require the utmost power of government to carry it into execution. Was this a time to introduce so great a novelty as a parliamentary inland taxation into America? Nor was the time less favourable to the *equity* of such a taxation. I don't mean to dispute the reasonableness of America contributing to the charges of Great Britain, when she is *able*; nor, *I believe, would the Americans themselves have disputed it at a proper time and season.*

But

But it should be considered that the American governments themselves have, in the prosecution of the late war, *contracted very large debts*, which it will take some years to pay off, and in the mean time occasion *very burdensome taxes* for that purpose only. For instance, this government, which is as much beforehand as any, raises every year thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling, for sinking their debt, and must continue it for four years longer, at least, before it will be clear. It were much to be wished that America could be brought to the state it was in two years ago, when there was a general disposition to submit to regulations and *requisitions*, necessary to the reformation of the governments, and ascertaining their relation to Great Britain. But that time is *past*, and *not to be retrieved*."

Without entering into the wisdom, the policy, or the interest of the American stamp act, which would now be nugatory, and labour lost; it may not be unuseful, as history, to add, that Great Britain had confined all the American trade to herself; that the Americans had

had submitted to this limitation, because it was for the general good of the empire. And here it would be uncandid not to admit their argument, in the way of balance, to the charge made against them of refusing to be taxed. They said that they ought to be allowed as credit, in the account of the national income and expences, the sum of money which they lost by being obliged to sell their commodities *cheaper* to Great Britain, than they could get for them at foreign markets: this difference they averred was a tax upon America, for the good of the empire. They were obliged likewise to take commodities from Great Britain, which they could purchase *cheaper* elsewhere. This difference they insisted was also a tax upon America for the good of the empire. And they further asserted, that three millions of Americans, (which at that time was the supposed number of them advanced to the state of maturity,) by being obliged to export to Great Britain only, and to import from Great Britain only; and the quantities of British manufactures which they consumed, ultimately paid more taxes and duties than any three millions of persons in Great Britain

or Ireland; and they appealed to the public accounts for the truth of this assertion.

If the features of this very short statement are acknowledged to be those of justice and truth, it must follow, that the impolicy of attempting to tax America, at this time, is established: but here it is to be remembered that policy made no part of the consideration. A great design had been formed of altering the government of America, and this distinct measure was only a *gradus* in the elevation. Mr. Grenville was the dupe of the designers, without perceiving it. His idea was to gain a *revenue* from America, it went no further: but their idea was to make a *new conquest* of America, which extended to every thing, and did not leave to the inhabitants any thing which they could call their own. If this plan had succeeded, the Americans would have been as absolute slaves to the minions of Lord Bute, as the English were to the soldiers of William the Conqueror.

In the year 1765 Mr. Grenville was removed from the administration, in the manner that
that

that has been related in the preceding Chapter; and many of the subsequent events having also been related in the preceding Chapter, it is not necessary to repeat them here. In the year 1766, during the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, the stamp act was repealed, not with a view of crushing the intended colonial system, but as a measure of expediency to restore tranquillity. The ministry do not seem to have viewed the stamp act as a part of a plan of subjugation; but Lord Chatham seems to have viewed it in that light, when he said, (in the debate upon the repeal,) "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

In the same session that the stamp act was passed, another bill was introduced, making it lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in *private* houses. This was indisputably with a view of enforcing the grand design of entire subjugation. The colonists were all alarmed: the agents and

American merchants all opposed it, declaring, that under such a military power no one could look upon his house as his own, or think he had a home, when soldiers might be thrust into it, and mix with his family, at the pleasure of an officer: upon which this part of the bill was dropt. But there was another clause in it which obliged the assemblies to find quarters for the soldiers, and to furnish them with firing, bedding, candles, beer, rum, and other articles, at the expence of the colony, which passed into a law; and was not repealed with the stamp act.

Notwithstanding there were frequent changes of ministers in the subsequent years, yet the junto of confidants, who had been originally entrusted with a plan against America, persevered throughout every administration, (except Lord Chatham's,) in making advances towards the attainment of the grand object; until at length the colonies were driven into rebellion, independence, and separation. Philip the Second lost the Netherlands in the same manner.

Assurances were made to Mr. Grenville, that America had entertained thoughts of independency so early as the year 1757; and to confirm these assurances, some letters, written, it was asserted, by the Marquis de Montcalm, Governor of Canada, in the years 1757, 1758, and 1759, stating these opinions, were put into his hands. Mr. Grenville gave full credit to these papers: after his death they were published. All the Americans reprobated them as forgeries, they insisted that Montcalm never wrote them, that they were fabricated to deceive and provoke the English government against America. This opinion prevailed with the public, and the letters were in general discredited.

There is another circumstance of Mr. Grenville's administration which it may not be improper to take notice of.

A little time after the conclusion of the war, the base money which had been coined, and forced into circulation during the war, by the King of Prussia, and some other powers, having come into the hands of merchants, bankers, and traders, who had been

obliged to receive it; the depreciation of it, on the return of peace, fell upon, and ruined many of them; and would have extended the same fate to many more; and to several in England, who were connected with the houses in Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and Berlin, which were the greatest sufferers, had not Mr. Grenville zealously interposed with his whole weight and authority, as minister, in their favour. He requested the British merchants to give a liberal credit to the houses abroad, which were injured by this depression, and instead of limiting, to increase their exports to them; and he requested of the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England, to give their full countenance to the English houses by an ample discount of bills. By thus lending the assistance of the British government in a critical hour, he stopped the alarm of a general failure, which might spread throughout Europe in a very little time. Mr. Grenville was entitled to great praise for the personal exertions he made in this important business. It may be truly said of him, that he saved the credit of almost every bank in Europe.

Mr.

Mr. Grenville's spirited behaviour on the French seizing Turk's Island in the year 1764, his Navy bill, his bill for trying controverted elections, together with several other circumstances of his conduct, are traits of his character, which reflect great honour on his memory as a minister, and particularly as a legislator. But these matters have been all stated in other books, and it is not the design of this work to repeat what has been already printed; except the extracts and papers in the Appendix, which are explanatory and scarce.

Two months after his decease, which happened in the month of November 1770, several of his friends, who had been attached to him in the hopes of his return to power, offered themselves to Lord North, and were accepted. When the Earl of Suffolk came to kiss hands on being appointed Lord Privy Seal, the King soothed him, with saying, "That he lamented very much the loss of his Lordship's friend, that great and good man Mr. Grenville, who was an honour to human nature." And upon another occasion, the

King expressed the same sentiments of Mr. Grenville: this was on the delivery of the Spanish rescript in the month of June 1779; when his Majesty ordered all his cabinet ministers to attend him at the Queen's House in St. James's Park. They were shewn into the library, where there was a long table, and chairs for every one of them, and an armed chair at the top for himself. They were desired to be seated, which being done, his Majesty made a long speech to them. He began with expressing his regard for Mr. Grenville, and his concern for the loss of him; and afterwards declared his resolution to carry on the war against America, France, and Spain; and if they approved of it, he gave them an assurance of his firmest support. They all acknowledged their perfect devotion to his Majesty's commands.

CHAPTER XIX.

THOMAS WHATELY, Esq.

His Tracts. Letters to him from Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Oliver, shewn to different Persons; sent to America by Dr. Franklin. Resolutions in America upon them. Petition to remove the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Duel between Mr. Temple and Mr. William Whately.

THIS gentleman was Secretary to the Treasury during Mr. Grenville's administration. He was the author of two tracts written in defence of Mr. Grenville.

The first was called "Remarks on the Budget." An pamphlet had been published, called "The Budget," which contained a severe attack on Mr. Grenville's measures of finance, and the Remarks were a defence of those measures in answer to it.

The other tract was called "Considerations on the Trade and Finances of this Kingdom, and on the Measures of Administration, with respect to those great National Objects since the Conclusion of the Peace." This is another defence of Mr. Grenville's system of finance, and of the principal measures of his administration, in which there is a good deal of useful information,

The most remarkable circumstance concerning this gentleman is relative to his American correspondence, on account of the consequences which attended it. In the years 1767, 1768, and 1769, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and Andrew Oliver, Esq. Lieutenant Governor, wrote several letters to Mr. Whately, giving very full accounts of the state of the province, the dispositions of the principal inhabitants, the measures which they conceived most proper to be taken, and their own opinions and sentiments upon all these at considerable length. The subjects of all these letters being the public affairs of America, which at that time engaged the public attention in England,
and

and being written by persons in high authority, Mr. Whately shewed them to Mr. Grenville, who shewed them to Lord Temple, and they were seen by other gentlemen. When Mr. Whately died, which was in the month of June 1772, these letters came into the possession of a gentleman, who put them into the hands of Dr. Franklin, at that time agent for the province of which they gave so full an account: Dr. Franklin sent them to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay. In the month of June 1773, the Speaker laid them before the House. On reading them, the House was highly offended with the Governor and Lieutenant Governor; several strong resolutions against them were agreed to; two or three of which will be sufficient to quote, to shew the sense of the House.

“ Resolved, That it clearly appears from the letters signed Tho. Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, that it was the desire and endeavour of the writers of them, that certain acts of the British Parliament for raising a revenue in America might be carried into effect by
military

military force. That there have been for many years past measures contemplated, and a plan formed by a set of men, born and educated among us, to raise their own fortunes, and advance themselves to posts of honour and profit, not only to the destruction of the constitution of this province, but at the expence of the rights and liberties of the American colonies. That the said persons have been some of the chief instruments in the introduction of a military force into the province to carry their plans into execution. That this House is bound in duty to the King and their constituents, humbly to remonstrate to his Majesty the conduct of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. Governor, and the Honourable Andrew Oliver, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of this province, and to pray that his Majesty would be pleased to remove them for ever from the government thereof."

Conformable to the last resolution, the House agreed to a petition to the King to remove the Governor and Lieutenant Governor for writing the letters to Mr. Whately. This petition was heard before the Privy Council

Council at Whitehall, on the 29th day of January 1774; when it was dismissed after a long speech made by Mr. Wedderburne, now Lord Loughborough, in defence of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, in which he reproached Dr. Franklin with great severity and bitterness for sending the letters to America.

When it was known in England that the letters to Mr. Whately had been laid before the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, the suspicion of sending them to America fell upon Mr. John Temple, an American gentleman at that time in England; and there were some circumstances, which, before they were explained, seemed to give foundation to the suspicion. This matter brought on a duel between Mr. Temple and Mr. William Whately brother of Mr. Thomas Whately. As the circumstances were singular, the reader will find an account of them in the Appendix, marked M.

Mr. Whately also wrote a tract on laying out pleasure grounds and gardens.

CHAPTER XX.

*CHARLES LLOYD, Esq.**Names of the Tracts written by him.*

THIS gentleman was private secretary to Mr. Grenville, during the time that gentleman was First Lord of the Treasury, and author of many political tracts, chiefly written in vindication of that minister's conduct. They were principally the following:

“The Anatomy of a late Negotiation.” The negotiation here spoken of, is that which Lord Bute brought on between the King and Mr. Pitt, in the autumn of the year 1763. The facts are purposely misrepresented, to make Mr. Pitt appear haughty and Lord Bute versatile.

“A Vindication of the Conduct of the Ministry in the case of Mr. Wilkes.” This relates

relates to the apprehension of Mr. Wilkes by the general warrant, his commitment to the Tower, and his discharge by the Court of Common Pleas; highly commending the ministry for their zeal in defending the honour of the King.

“ A Defence of the Majority in the House of Commons, on the Question relating to General Warrants.” This was an answer to Mr. Townshend’s Defence of the Minority on the same question. It was in reply to this Defence of the Majority that the celebrated “ Letter on Libels and Warrants” was written.

“ An Honest Man’s Reasons for declining to take a Part in the New Administration.” This was the administration of 1765, commonly called the Rockingham Administration. The reasons assigned are, that Lord Bute removed the late ministry, and in a little time would remove the present. It was ascribed very generally to Lord Lyttelton, because his Lordship had refused the offers which were made to him.

“ A Cri-

“ A Critical Review of the New Administration.” This is an answer to two pamphlets written by Sir Grey Cooper ; one was called “ A Pair of Spectacles for short-sighted Politicians ;” the other, “ The Merits of the New Administration truly stated.” See the article of Sir Grey Cooper.

“ The Conduct of the late Administration examined, relative to the Repeal of the American Stamp Act.” This tract (which is upwards of two hundred pages) is an able composition, and the greatest part of it, if not all of it, was dictated by Mr. Grenville himself. Those persons who wish to see a defence of the stamp act, and a display of what the writer considers the impolicy of repealing it, will read this work with pleasure.

Mr. Burke having written a little tract called “ A short Account of a late short Administration,” Mr. Lloyd wrote an answer to it, which was called “ A true History of a late short Administration.” These small tracts contain all the features of the Rockingham administration in miniature.

“ An Examination of the Principles and boasted Disinterestedness of a late Right Hon. Gentleman; in a Letter from an old Man of Business to a Noble Lord.” This tract was written upon the change of the ministry in the year 1766, when Mr. Pitt, who is the right honourable gentleman alluded to, was created Earl of Chatham. The noble Lord to whom it is pretended to be a letter was Lord North. It is a vindication of Lord Temple’s conduct in rejecting the offers of the court, and blames Lord Chatham for accepting them.

“ A Word at Parting, to his Grace the Duke of Bedford.” This small tract was occasioned by the Duke of Bedford’s friends joining the ministry at the end of the year 1767, and abandoning Mr. Grenville.

Besides these, he wrote many Essays and Letters in the public papers, on political temporary subjects, which are now lost. He was brother to the Dean of Norwich.

CHAPTER XXI.

WILLIAM KNOX, Esq.

Advocate for the American War. Secretary to Lord George Germaine. His State of the Nation; assisted by Mr. Grenville. Other Publications.

THIS gentleman was another of Mr. Grenville's friends; and was a very strenuous and persevering advocate of the British measures against America. He was agent for Georgia; and Under Secretary of State to Lord Hillsborough, and to Lord George Germaine, during the American war. To his zeal and suggestions, many of the unfortunate measures against America were ascribed, and he sustained much hatred from the Americans on that account. He was the author of several tracts on American subjects, the principal of which was,

“ The

“ The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies reviewed.” It is obviously a work of much labour, and contains extracts from many papers. The writer’s view is to support the right of Great Britain to tax America.

He was also the writer of a tract intitled “ The Present State of the Nation; particularly with respect to its Trade, Finances, &c.” This pamphlet was, at first, ascribed to Mr. Grenville; and Mr. Burke, by his pamphlet intitled “ Observations upon it,” gave a temporary currency to that opinion. Mr. Grenville undoubtedly assisted the writer with materials and arguments, but the composition belongs entirely to Mr. Knox. It consists principally of a defence of Mr. Grenville’s ministry and measures, and a condemnation of the Rockingham ministry, and their measures.

Mr. Knox has also published two small volumes, called “ Extra-official State Papers;” which contain many useful hints.

The two following Letters are not unworthy of the reader's notice :

“ SIR,

5th March. 1783.

“ Letters having been written to the Secretary of the late Board of Trade, and to my colleague, for the last six months, as Under Secretary of State in the American department, and to all the clerks who have been deprived of their situations in those offices by their suppression, acquainting them, that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had made them all allowances in compensation of the incomes they had been deprived of; and no such letter having come to me, I am constrained to give you the trouble of this letter, to request the favour of you to move their Lordships to permit you to inform me on what account it is that I, who had served as Under Secretary to every Secretary of State that has filled the American department, from its institution to its suppression, and even attended the Earl of Shelburne when that department was absorbed in the domestic, until his Lordship was more ably served, should be the only person passed over upon this occasion

occasion without compensation, and even without notice.

“ I am, Sir, &c.

“ WILLIAM KNOX.

“ GEO. ROSE, Esq.”

Copy of Mr. ROSE's Answer, dated 17th of
March 1783.

“ SIR,

“ Upon reading to my Lords Commissioners of the Treasury your letter, dated the 5th instant, respecting a compensation for your office of Under Secretary of State for the American department, I am directed to acquaint you, that my Lords are of opinion that you have no claim whatever to a compensation for the loss of your office, you having already a pension of six hundred pounds a-year for yourself, and the like sum for Mrs. Knox.

“ I am, Sir, &c.

“ GEO. ROSE.”

CHAPTER XXII.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

Public Prejudice. His Conduct in early Life, and Character. Behaviour at Fontenoy. His Quarrel with Prince Ferdinand. His Conduct at Minden. Observations upon it. Antient Virtue. Modern Indifference. Commencement of the American War. Letter of the late Sir Joseph Yates. Answer to it. Lord George Germain appointed Secretary of State. Management of the London Gazette. Surrender of Lord Cornwallis. Disagreement in the Ministry. The Misfortune of Lord Cornwallis imputed to Lord Sandwich, and to Lord George Germain. This Disagreement appears in Parliament. Conduct of Mr. Dundas and Mr. Rigby. Application to Sir Guy Carleton. Substance of his Letter to the Lord Chancellor. Meeting of the
Secret

Secret Cabinet. Lord George Germain removed.

AN unfavourable opinion, hastily adopted, was formed of the character of this noble Lord, from his conduct at the battle of Minden; and, like most precipitate opinions of character, was not wholly just, for whatever reprehension his conduct on that day might deserve, it ought not to extend to every other circumstance of his life.

At an early age he shewed himself worthy of his ancestors. Nature had been to *him* a generous, a partial parent: she had equally bestowed her striking ornaments on his external form, and on his mind. To a graceful person, and to an agreeable, manly, and expressive aspect, she had joined an accurate judgment, acuteness of thought, and elegance of imagination. Without these properties, in some degree, learning and manner, however elaborately impressed on the body and on the intellect, produce but cold effects.

During his youth, he became conversant with the manners of the court. There he soon acquired that instantaneous politeness, that habitual ease and flexibility of behaviour, which, within the limits of strict moral honour, improve and refine the man. But to deceive and to betray, those barbarous arts which are daily taught, and consummately practised in the circle of a court, he never would adopt.

This encomium is not taken from vague report; nor is it the language of adulation. It is the opinion of officers who served under him, and who were his intimate acquaintance. The picture of him which they drew did much honour to the original. They have affirmed, that in his behaviour as a man, and in his deportment as a commander, dignity was most happily tempered with ease, and the strictness of military discipline with mildness and affability;—that he was a most instructive and engaging companion, a most faithful and zealous friend, and a most humane protector of his dependents. And from whom are we
to

to expect, rather than from those by whom he was thus represented, a true account of his social qualities? He has been accused of pride and haughtiness, but the charge is more invidious than true. As from great abilities naturally proceeds an energy of existence, they are generally attended with at least a temperate majesty of manner, and elocution, which may be very remote from pride; the sordid vice that commonly occupies a frivolous or a stupid mind. Besides, as it is the peculiar property of pride to hurt and disgust, and as vigorous and fine talents are sure to hurt and disgust understandings of a low class, the undistinguishing pigmies confound ideas, and as they are alike affected by pride and genius, they mistake both for the same object. There are likewise pressing junctures, in which the truly great man will break through the established forms, the polite moderation of the world, and ardently assert his natural and inalienable prerogatives. He will repel impertinence or insolence with an air and eloquence that petrify, with a lightning that withers his aggressor. The puny soul shrinks back into its little dark cell, appalled and con-

founded. No wonder if, ever after, it attributes the just and spirited reproof to habitual pride, that immoral and despicable quality. It would be impossible for a man of extraordinary mental endowments, to atone to the vulgar of the human race for his incommunicable pre-eminence, without sinking to a timid and abject behaviour. Most exorbitant are the demands of dull, vain, and selfish mortals. They are for inverting the order of the intellectual creation, and would have us cringe to *them*. But certainly the lines in which our species is distinguished by Ovid from the other animals, may be applied, with a singular propriety and emphasis, to the man of transcendent capacity—

Os HOMINI sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad Sidera tollere vultus.

At the battle of Fontenoy, which was fought in the year 1744, he was wounded by a musquet-ball. The wound was accidental, and only affected his body. His collected and manly behaviour, on that memorable day, was courage and principle. And it is well known that in his duel with Governor Johnstone

stone (the particulars of which the reader will see in the Appendix, marked N.) he acquitted himself with a firmness and spirit which were never excelled on a similar occasion. From these facts no doubts can be entertained of his personal courage.

In the affair of Minden, it is not proper to view him with a prejudiced or an indulgent eye, but with impartial and accurate observation. And the appeal is made to those whose habitual and uniform benevolence is not merely the consequence of an ingenuous nature, but likewise of expanded thought and reflection; to those whose active and spirited candour flows from an enlarged and comprehensive knowledge of mankind; who in analysing the conduct of a man, never forget that the generous virtues are connected with strong passions; and that though there have been many bright characters, there was never one immaculate. No honest man can hesitate to pronounce him faulty. He ought to have advanced with the British horse, to complete the rout of the French infantry; he was not restrained from advancing by fear,
but

but by a *personal resentment*. He had not been properly respected by the commander of the allied army; and he had *determined*, when opportunity should offer, to check the luxuriant growth of Prince Ferdinand's laurels. Phlegm, fullness, inhumanity, and a most inordinate love of power, are the characteristics of a German mind. He only delights in riot and homicide, like his Thracian god, Mars, to whom he sacrifices many human victims, and to whom he pours many profuse libations. As Prince Ferdinand's ideas were confined to the Gothic system, he felt not, he knew not what respect was due to a son of one of the first families in England, and to a soldier adorned with the arts of the milder Minerva. He was likewise exasperated against Lord George Sackville, who had counteracted the rapacity of this commander in chief, and had opposed his measures in councils of war, whenever he thought them injudicious. It is not necessary here to enter into a scrutiny of Prince Ferdinand's conduct; but it may be observed, that officers have said that he owed his military fame far more to fortune than to prudence,

and

and a consummate knowledge in the art of war. Indeed in every department of life, it is not so much our merit as our success that gains us applause.

His free sentiments on the plans and operations of the campaign, and his watchful and penetrating inspection into military avarice, necessarily brought on him the extreme hatred of the commander in chief; who therefore was industrious to deprive him of that esteem and deference to which he was well entitled from the army. And if Lord George, with a susceptible constitution, and conscious of his natural and acquired superiority, as a man, over a high-rated myrmidon, retaliated the malice of the petty Prince with a permanent and keen disgust; the circumstance shews, that it is possible a man not wanting in courage, may suffer his private passion to influence his public duty. Such differences have frequently happened in every service, between great officers; and have as frequently been highly injurious to the public interest. It ought to be in the penetration of a minister to discover these differences; and

and whenever they happen, he should always withdraw one of the parties.

The keenness of irritation and the smart of insult may offer some apology to the generous heart and the enlightened mind, though it cannot excuse the fault. Passion is constitutional; but it is better that a character should be shaded by a warm and vigorous feeling, than by one that is cold and pusillanimous. It must give more pleasure to an Englishman to find, that it was resentment, not cowardice, that suspended the march of the cavalry in the plains of Minden.

If we review the lives of eminent men in private and public station; whose actions, on the whole, were good or great; we shall meet with some palpable offences against moral rectitude, and perhaps some crimes. In the virtuous times of those illustrious republics, Carthage and Rome, both the states were injured by the private animosities of some senators and commanders, who, notwithstanding, had many excellent qualities, and did signal services to their respective countries.

A truly

A truly wise man will dignify his life with sobriety, diligence, and integrity, whether he be in a public or private capacity, for his own sake; to secure those inestimable rewards, which are the consequences of virtue. But to say that an Englishman ought to toil or bleed for every system of politics that a minister thinks proper to adopt, is almost the rant of insanity. Corruption, both public and private, is in its zenith; yet we talk as if we lived in an antient and simple commonwealth, whose wants were limited by nature; where every passion was cool, except ardour for the public good; where that ardour was earnestly inculcated by precept, and emphatically enforced by striking examples; and where it consequently animated every member of the state. We talk as if we lived in Old Rome (long before she was decorated with her glaring magnificence); but when she had risen to the summit of real grandeur; when Curius boiled his turnips at his Sabine farm; when Cincinnatus held his plough; and when a hostile king could neither frighten Fabricius with the new sight of his elephant, nor allure him with his gold.

It is this deception of ourselves that has brought us into so many difficulties. An attention to what we affect, and a regard to what we owe to ourselves, and to posterity, might have prevented many evils. The American war was unnecessary, unjust, and unprovoked. It is impossible the people of this country could have been duped into an approbation of that war, if they had given a proper attention to the measure at the beginning; but that blind confidence to which they have habituated themselves, gives opportunity and facility to any minister to exercise a despotic authority, wherever he pleases.

The American colonies had attained the full vigour of manhood. They considered themselves as bound to us by the indissoluble ties of common origin, of common names, common language, religion, and interest; and there subsisted between us and them the happiest reciprocation of wealth, affection, and power.

In the year 1775 the British nation was precipitated into a war with these colonies;
the

the causes of which have been already related in Chapter xviii. under the head of Mr. Grenville. From this war, as from the womb of the Trojan horse, have issued a thousand calamities. It has been pregnant with disasters to all Europe; nor is it yet known what may be the extent of its effects.

Lord George Germain was one of those members of parliament who approved of this war at the commencement of it; he had adopted all those opinions which were hostile to America. He conceived that Great Britain had a right to lay taxes on America. He implicitly imbibed the whole extent of Mr. Grenville's opinions and principles. This was so perfectly agreeable to the secret and confidential cabinet of the court, that immediately after hostilities had been commenced against America, he was put at the head of the American department, and official spies were placed about him to betray his measures, and by every art and falsehood were used to confirm him in his opinions. These spies were the confidants of the secret cabinet; and were placed in every office to give information
of

of every thing that was transacting there, to suggest measures, to lay down plans, and to alter them at the pleasure of the secret, unresponsible, and unconstitutional ministers.

An opinion has prevailed, that his adoption of Mr. Grenville's ideas and principles respecting America, was in no small degree influenced by a letter written by the late Sir Joseph Yates, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, upon this subject. If it be true, that such letter was a primary cause of so much mischief, it is an historical curiosity; and will please all those persons who have been of opinion that Great Britain had a *right* to tax America. The following is a copy of it:

Copy of a Letter from the late Sir Joseph Yates, to Christopher Griffith, Esq. Member for Berks, relative to the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies.

“ The American colonies are the subject of every conversation—well may it be so, for the crisis is very alarming.

“ How

“ How far the taxation was prudent or unseasonable, or whether the rates would be too high or not, I will not take upon me to form any judgment; but the right to tax them is so clear and self-evident, that I am astonished there should be any doubt about it; those who doubt, contend that no tax can be imposed without the consent of the people by their representatives; that the Americans have no representation in parliament, &c.

“ But the true constitution is, That no money can be levied by the crown without the consent of the great council of the realm, that is, the parliament. To that council the rights of the subjects are entrusted as the barrier between the crown and the people: a barrier against the strides of prerogative, which, in the reign of King John, were enormous till his arbitrary laws were restrained by Magna Charta. By that charter it is ordained, that no talliage or aid shall be imposed but by the common council of the realm; in that body, the will of the whole people is reposed by the constitution; they

are the stated guardians of the rights and liberties of the subject; the platform that was laid when the constitution was framed, and to which all our ancestors assented. To talk of personal representation of every individual is absurd; for strictly speaking, no man is the personal representative of another, but who is actually chosen, and deputed by the person represented.

“ But how many millions are there in this kingdom who have not a vote for a member of parliament, and yet are as liable to be taxed as the largest freeholder? The truth is, that every subject of the British dominions, in whatever latitude the territory may be, is equally subject to the British legislature so long as he resides upon the territories, and enjoys the protection of the English government; he owes an allegiance and submission to its laws; and whatever the nature of those laws may be, if the legislature enact them, they are equally obligatory. Were it left to the Americans to distinguish between laws, and to desire what sort they would submit to,

and what they would reject, there would soon be an end of all their subjection.

“ The consent of parliament gives an equal sanction to all kinds of laws; and the same consent that is necessary to a money-bill, is necessary to any other law. And it is admitted, that all acts of parliament for the regulation of trade in the colonies, are binding upon them. In short, if the Americans are subjects at all, they are subjects to the laws and sovereignty of their mother country: and to controvert that power, to deny the obligation of its laws, is hardly consistent with subjection. And where is the injustice of taxing the Americans? Where protection is given, a tribute is due; and those who enjoy the benefit of a government, owe their share and contribution to the expences of maintaining it.

“ The Americans are allowed all the rights and privileges of an English subject; they are entitled to inherit any possessions here, and have their properties at home protected by our laws: why then should they be exempt

from the common burden of every subject; especially from those expences which their own protection occasions?

“ I have given you a sketch of my own sentiments in this matter, because I imagined it is a topic in the country, as well as in town.

“ Thursday, Jan. 30, 1763.

J. Y.”

There are a few words in one of Lord Chatham's speeches, which contain a full answer to this opinion of the Judge.

“ Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the Crown, the Barons, and the Clergy, possessed the lands. In those days, the Barons and the Clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what

was

was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what? Our own property?—No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms."

Lord George Germain having supported Lord North in the bills for altering the government of Massachusetts's Bay, and shutting up the port of Boston, was appointed Secretary of State for the American department; by which the conduct of the war against America was, in a great degree, put into his hands.

This was not a situation, at the time it was undertaken, for caution and timidity; for the chicane of a Mazarine, or the chimera of a Duke of Orleans; but for the bold and decided policy of a Richlieu and a De Retz.

How his Lordship succeeded in his new situation, it is not the design of this work to relate. The circumstances of the American war are in general pretty well known.

There was a paper ascribed to Richard Burke, Esq. (brother to Edmund Burke, Esq.) on the subject of managing the London Gazette, at least it was so intitled, in printing the accounts from America during the war, that was much taken notice of; and as it shews that those accounts are not to be depended upon, the reader will not be displeas'd to see it preserved. It is in the Appendix, marked O.

After waging war with America, by sea and land, from the beginning of April 1775, to the month of April 1782, at an immense
expence

expence of blood and treasure, the court, and people of Great Britain, discovered that the continuation of the war was impracticable.

Two fine armies had been captured, and more men could not be obtained.

When the intelligence arrived in London, that Lord Cornwallis and his army had surrendered, the ministry immediately quarrelled amongst themselves. They laid the cause of this disaster upon each other; but at length they settled it upon only two persons: these were Lord Sandwich, and Lord George Germain. And it was resolved, that one of these must go out.

Those who laid the blame upon Lord Sandwich, contended, that the misfortune was owing to the not having a sufficient naval force on the American station.

Those who laid the blame upon Lord Germain, contended, that the misfortune was owing to the plan of operations.

It is not necessary to state the facts, upon which these two opinions were founded. They have been published by Lord Cornwallis and Sir Henry Clinton, in vindication of themselves.

The contention upon the question, whether the Secretary of State, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, should be removed, lasted some time.

In this divided state of the ministry, parliament met; and on the first day of the session it was obvious to every one, that the dispute was not settled. In the debate on the address, Lord George Germain said, "That his opinion was, notwithstanding the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, that if Great Britain gave up the sovereignty of America, we were undone." Mr. Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland, contradicted, and reprobated this opinion severely; and Mr. Rigby, who was Pay-master, bluntly said, "We were beaten, and therefore must give up the plan of the war." When parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays, the dispute continued open.

It

It is certain, that when Lord George Germain delivered his opinion, he thought he delivered the opinion of a much greater authority than his own. But he was not entrusted with the *real secret*. There were other persons who were honoured with a larger share of confidence than he was at this time: and this party triumphed. They resolved to remove Lord George Germain from office; and to recall Sir Henry Clinton from America, who had requested it; and to make one measure the consequence of the other, although there was no connection between the two cases; but in order to make a connection between them, they applied to Sir Guy Carleton to succeed Sir Henry Clinton; they were perfectly well assured, that Sir Guy Carleton would not go to America, while Lord George Germain continued Secretary of State for the American department. The manœuvre succeeded. Sir Guy Carleton wrote a letter to the Lord Chancellor, (Lord Thurlow,) saying, in substance, that he could not accept the command under the American Secretary. The Lord Chancellor carried this letter into the closet.

On

On Wednesday the 2d of January 1782, previous to the levee, there was a meeting of Lord Mansfield, Lord Hillsborough, Lord Stormont, Lord North, and Mr. Jenkinson, now Earl of Liverpool, at his Lordship's house in Parliament-street. At this meeting, it was finally decided to remove Lord George Germain.

When Lord George was informed that his fate was decided, he desired leave to resign, to avoid the disgrace of being turned out, which favour was allowed him; and to lighten his fall, he was created an English peer.

After hawking the office about for some time, Mr. Ellis, now Lord Mendip, was prevailed upon to accept it: and, to preserve an appearance of consistency, Sir Guy Carleton was appointed successor to Sir Henry Clinton.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DAVID HARTLEY, Esq.

His Tract intitled "Right of Appeal to Juries, in Causes of Excise, asserted." The Budget. Intended Prosecution of that Tract. His State of the Nation. Letters to his Constituents of Hull. Acquaintance with Dr. Franklin. Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary. His Tract on the French Revolution.

THIS gentleman has written several tracts, which have been held in great estimation. The first was intitled, "The Right of Appeal to Juries, in Causes of Excise, asserted." This tract was occasioned by the extension of the Excise laws to the makers of cyder and perry, in Lord Bute's administration, in the year 1763. The reader will not be displeas'd with the following extract from it.

"The argument of those who support the principle of the cyder-act may be stated thus:

Cyder

Cyder made for the consumption of each private family, ought, by all principles of equality, to pay some duty; but such a tax cannot be raised by a constitutional mode of excise;" [the difference between the constitutional and unconstitutional mode he defines to be this, the former is limited to the trader, the latter is extended to every private house;] "therefore, we must seek our remedy by a capitation on the cyder drinkers. Well then, we are to hope that this capitation will be levied in a constitutional manner. Let us judge: the exciseman is to be armed with unlimited powers of search, from the barn without to the closet within; with an alternative offered to each person thus visited, of escaping all this vexation upon a certain composition for the duty. Now, because there is an alternative offered, this is said to be a law formed upon the principles of liberty; for no man is forced under this excise: the law only compels him under intolerable pains and penalties to a voluntary payment. I wish some clear-sighted man would explain to me the difference between these two cases: the ministry send me notice, that I shall have a troop of excisemen,

men, or a troop of horse, (no matter which,) quartered upon me; and in a postscript they subjoin, that a troop of horse is but (as the gentlemen of the long-robe say) a fiction in law; and if I will pay half-a-crown a-head for my family, I shall hear no more of the excisemen, or the troop of horse, till the next time. Another man (not so correct perhaps in his spelling) writes me word that he will set fire to my house, unless I deposit ten guineas under a certain tree. The argument of the ministry is, can you complain of a burden as intolerable, when we offer you so reasonable an alternative, as that of paying your half-crowns? My illiterate correspondent says, is not your house worth saving at so small a price as ten guineas? Shooting at you behind a hedge, or burning your house, are but fictions in law: pay your money quietly, and sleep in peace till it comes to your turn again. The principle in these two cases is the same; I wish their fates had not been different. The one is branded as it deserves in the black act; while the other stalks abroad in open and insolent defiance.

“ It is a grievance throughout the whole system of the excise laws, that cases of appeal at the suit of the subject, are not to be tried by juries. I shall examine the merits of the question, of allowing an appeal to juries, upon the following topics: whether it will tend to the diminution of the revenue, in such excises as only affect the trader; and whether it will not specifically apply a remedy to the intolerable grievances of an unconstitutional excise, and disappoint a farther extension of this horrid mode. As to the first, it is said, that in trials between the crown and subject, juries will soon get into a habit of deciding against the crown. To which I reply, that the revenue of the customs bears a constant testimony against this strange principle: for if this supposed infamous partiality of juries were so notoriously to be depended upon, why does not every man who has a duty of the customs to pay, leave the matter to trial for the chance of evading it? Ask the lawyers who have pleaded for the crown, whether juries do not feel the force of their arguments, that every fraud committed to the detriment of the revenue, and connived at, is
an

an act of oppression and injustice to the fair trader? There is no argument or experience to fix so detestable an imputation upon an English jury. What interest can a jury be supposed to have between the crown and a petty trader; a soap-boiler, for instance, or a tallow-chandler? Are these the objects of popular adoration, against whom no jury shall give their profane verdict? If not, where is the danger to the revenue of excise, as confined to the trader and retailer, if juries be allowed? Why should the Minister have power or influence to inflict any tax, (under the severest pains and penalties to be decided without appeal;) which no twelve jurymen in the kingdom shall think consistent with liberty? This is the touchstone of excise: will it endure an open appeal to juries? If it will, it is admissible; if not, no.

“ There are two kinds of excise, the one limited to the trader; the other, extended to the concerns of private and domestic life. The appeal to juries in the one is expedient, in the other indispensable; as well to prevent
the

the encroachment, as to defeat the tyranny of a general excise."

His next tract was intitled "The Budget. Inscribed to the Man who thinks himself Minister." For some time, this tract was attributed to Sir George Savile, and the late Right Honourable Charles Townshend, in his defence of the Minority, on the question relating to general warrants, gave currency to this opinion, for he said in it, "That Lord Halifax might issue out another general warrant under pretence of the last libel the Budget; and he may order, as he did before, six messengers to inquire for the author, and to seize upon any person whom they think proper, and his papers; and what law remains in allowed force to deter them from seizing, upon the ground of received opinion, the person of that honourable gentleman, whom some people allege they know, and many believe, to have been, in part at least, the author of that excellent and unanswered work? In this case it is true, the outcry would be great and general, from the character of the person
thus

thus treated; his ancient family; his extensive, though concealed generosity, and his popularity in that large manufacturing and wealthy county, which he represents with such entire satisfaction to his constituents, and so much reputation to himself." See the article in the Appendix marked P.

Perhaps Sir George Savile might give to Mr. Hartley some assistance, but the latter gentleman was undoubtedly the writer. The Budget was a very sharp attack upon Mr. Grenville's plan of finance for the year 1764. Mr. Grenville was very much hurt by it. There was a paragraph in it, near the end, upon which he intended to have instituted a prosecution. The paragraph was as follows:

" There is a degree of malice in the present ministry, against their country, that is beyond example. They forced themselves by violence and intrigue into the conduct of public affairs, at a time when the general voice of their country was loudly against them. They came in to expose the pretended nakedness of their country, to an

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enemy who was at the last gasp. They vilified our advantages; they falsified our situation; they proclaimed our distress in the most exaggerated terms, when that very distress, compared with the real calamities of our enemies, was triumph. Upon that fatal day, when this system of ministry came to the helm, was first promulgated the desolation and debility of this country. Instead of shewing to our enemies the hopelessness of their situation, they gave them encouragement to expect an universal confusion here; minister lying in wait to perplex minister; brother to supplant brother; and the whole system of affairs thrown into a treacherous consternation. Advertisements went to the enemy, that, if they would hold their breath a few hours, we would raise the clamour for peace here; instead of telling them, that we had at that moment the funds for two years to come, viz. the beer duty granted in December 1760, and the spirit duties, which had been granted the preceding session, but were postponed for the service of the year 1762; [and even Mr. Whately, in his Considerations on Trade and Finances, admits that

money

money to carry on the war, might, at that time, have been obtained at three per cent.] which at the pinch of the war, is the point gained; and, therefore, that they (the enemies) could have nothing to hope for, but still to be beaten for two complete years, by an enemy in the full career of victory. Neither could this prove a vain boast, for the faculties of this country were so far from being exhausted, that, at that hour, we were provided with funds for more money than all our previous successes had cost us: insomuch, that on the eighteenth of December 1760, the parliament having provided twelve millions for the next year, we had still left another fund capable of producing twelve millions more, to be postponed for the service of a farther year, being thus superabundantly provided. In this height of glory did the evil genius of this country aim the fatal blow, which has reduced us to be faithless and friendless throughout the world."

Upon the preceding extract, the opinion of the Honourable Mr. Charles Yorke was taken; and he pronounced it to be a libel:

but Mr. Grenville consulted some of his friends, who thought differently from Mr. Yorke; and the opinion prevailing, that the Budget had been written by Sir George Savile, it was not judged prudent to commence a prosecution against a character of such eminence and respectability.

In the year following, (1765,) Mr. Hartley wrote another tract on the same subject, which he called, "The State of the Nation; with a preliminary Defence of the Budget." This defence of the Budget was a reply to the tract intitled "Remarks on the Budget," which had been written under Mr. Grenville's eye, by Mr. Charles Lloyd, who was his private secretary. The State of the Nation consisted of Mr. Hartley's account of the finances of that year.

At the commencement of the year 1768, he published another tract on the finances, which he intitled "A Caveat on the Part of Public Credit, previous to the opening of the Budget for the present Year 1768."

The celebrity of these tracts, and his general knowledge of finance, induced his friends to wish to see him in parliament.

He was accordingly elected for Kingston upon Hull; but not until the American troubles had commenced. His conduct in Parliament was almost confined to questions and motions relating to those troubles. His constant and most anxious desire was a reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies. His frequent motions in parliament in order to obtain peace with America, and his arguments in support of those motions, are to be found in the Parliamentary Register of that time. But a tract which he published, intitled "Letters on the American War; addressed to the Mayor, Corporation, and Burgeſſes of Hull;" contain his own ſtatement of his conduct in parliament; together with many facts and arguments which are not any where elſe to be met with.

These letters develop the cauſes, and ſtate the impolicy of the war with America, in a very ſtrong and intelligent manner: and his

being the intimate friend of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Digges, and several other American gentlemen, during their residence in England, previous and until the commencement of the war, leaves no doubt that the several facts, deductions, and arguments, therein stated, are all of them well founded; and therefore are peculiarly interesting to the future inquirer. The impartial historian of this period, if ever such a person should arise, will receive an invaluable fund of materials from this gentleman's writings.

His thorough knowledge of the American subject, and his intimacy with Dr. Franklin, pointed him out as the most proper person to negotiate the treaty of peace with America, in the year 1783. He was accordingly appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris, for that purpose, and concluded the treaty.

In the year 1794 he wrote another tract, which he intitled "Argument on the French Revolution, and the Means of Peace." In this tract, Mr. Hartley has stated the causes and importance of the French revolution, in the clearest

clearest manner possible: an extract from it will therefore not be unacceptable to the reader.

“The French,” he says, “fell into civil contests, a few years ago, respecting some proposed reformations of their political constitution. In the period of three years, from 1789 to 1791, the reformations were completed, and the constitution renovated upon principles of reason and investigation, with the assent of the then King and People of France. From a despotic it became a limited monarchy; all the intolerable grievances of despotism being expelled, and the new government reformed, as nearly as the case would admit, upon principles similar to the limited monarchy of Great Britain.

“It does not appear that surrounding nations thought very deeply of the resulting and influential example of despotism reformed within the bounds of reason and British liberties. The sovereigns of Europe, blinded with fastidious despotism, seemed to despise

the influence of reason as unworthy of their regard. But when the systematic perseverance of three years had brought the great work into a practicable shape, they began to fear the influential example of reformed despotism, and from that period confederacies of European powers were formed for the destruction of the new constitution of France, and for the partition of its territory. The dates of these conventions and treaties were long before any hostile preparations on the part of France. The treaty of Pavia was on the 6th of July 1791; the convention of Pilnitz on the 26th of August 1791; and various other preparatory treaties, on the part of the sovereigns of Europe, were formed in the course of the year 1791. Of all these matters, explanations were demanded on the part of France, and refused by the combined powers; and (according to the customs of nations) France declared war upon the refusal of various necessary explanations—such as, the cause of armaments by the combined powers, the coalition with the French emigrants, supplying them with arms, &c. &c.

“ All

“ All these points are now become facts of notoriety.

“ The French did not declare war with the Emperor until the month of April 1792, which was many months subsequent to various treaties and confederacies entered into against France by the Emperor, and most of the European powers. The forbearance on the part of France, considering the notoriety of various treaties against themselves, with the public and avowed support, enrolment, and arming of the emigrants, was very much within the ordinary forbearance of independent states, and in no degree to compare, for peremptory promptitude of defiance, to the proceedings of the British ministry, in the year 1756, in taking 25,000 seamen from the French, before the declaration of war. In the dubious state of alarm in which the National Assembly found themselves involved, in the beginning of the year 1792, it was undoubtedly not their interest to provoke hostilities with all surrounding nations. They were fully apprised of the hostile disposition of the European powers to their new

constitution, and still more apprehensive of the insincerity of the French court itself, against the reformed constitution, although it had been accepted by the King, with the fullest professions of choice and complacence. The great object of jealousy, at that time was the Austrian Committee, so called; of the existence of which, the proofs or presumptions are not within our view, any farther than as they may argue, that the French were urged into the war, by confederacy of councils, as well as preparations of arms against them.

“ I dwell upon the indisposition of the French to be involved in universal war, because it was so much their interest to have avoided it, in the beginning, and still more remains their interest now, to be extricated from war. From thence I draw this inference, that the French will be disposed, at any moment, to concur in the abatement of the war, on the condition of being left unmolested by other nations, respecting their new constitution; and on their parts leaving all other nations unmolested in all their dominions

minions and forms of government, and all other interests whatsoever.

“ A very notorious proof occurred in the commencement of the revolution, to shew, that the new government of France neither had, nor could have, any interest in disturbing the governments of other countries, not even in a case where an obvious fraternity of cause seemed to call upon them. The States of Brabant, by their Plenipotentiary, M. Vandernoot, presented a letter of requisition to the Assembly and the King, requesting the interposition of the power of France, in support of their recent claims of emancipation from the dominion of the Emperor, their sovereign. But the National Assembly totally refused all aid and interference; they persisted, through the course of an whole twelve-month, to remain tranquil and passive by-standers, whilst the Imperial power pursued and effected the complete re-conquest of the Austrian Flanders, by force of arms. This refusal to interfere in any civil contest, foreign to them, continued through the whole of the year 1790; but after the year 1791, when the Emperor Leopold

pold began to negotiate a general confederacy of the powers of Europe against the new constitution of France, the National Assembly took up, with rage, the cause of Belgic liberty, as an act of hostility to that prince, who had put himself at the head of the grand confederacy of sovereigns, against the liberation of the commons of France. This act was therefore an act of defensive hostility, after a previous declaration of war against the Emperor.

“ Similar conduct stands in frequent example among nations. Henry IV. of France, and Queen Elizabeth of England, did both support the original revolt of the Belgic provinces against Philip II. of Spain. Charles I. of England supported the protestant insurgents at Rochelle, against the tyranny of the crown of France, during the administration of Cardinal Richlieu: but the power of Richlieu prevailed, and the French nation has groaned under the cruelties of despotism, from that fatal day, until the present revolution of liberty and rights. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. supported various rebellions against the decided constitutions of these kingdoms.

doms. Louis XVI. supported the American cause against the claims of taxation and legislation on the part of Great Britain.

“ There is no device of war more studied, or more frequently put into practice, than exciting civil tumults in an enemy’s country. If the French Convention had confined their decrees of revolutionary fraternization, specifically to nations with whom they were actually at war, or under such violent presumption of meditated injury, as would have justified a declaration, or an act of war, (according to the laws of nations,) no exception could have been taken to their conduct. But their declarations were general and unqualified, and therefore gave general and justifiable offence. When the ministry of Great Britain remonstrated against the unqualified generality of fraternizing decrees, the French ministry gave an explanation, which although it might not be considered as the obvious construction upon the decree of November 19, 1792, was, however, a proffered explanation, and therefore might have been accepted as the *amende honorable*, reducing the principle of

of

of revolutionary fraternization to the qualified case, towards nations in hostility. It was a most unfortunate measure, infinitely to be lamented, that the qualifying explanation was not accepted. If it had been accepted, all the miseries of war might have been saved, and we might have been at peace now. No nation is to be presumed, from a lapse of phrase, subsequently retracted, to remain in the persevering intention of doing any act, not only contrary to their retraction, but, most of all, contrary to their interest.

“The French nation have given a full proof in the case of the Belgian revolution, that they are not ready to declare themselves the universal champions of revolutionary liberty, throughout the world. There was great prudence of conduct in that restraint. Neither has that prudence deserted them at this hour. In their new constitution of June 1793, they have inserted, as a fundamental and declaratory principle, the political independence of nations. They say, ‘they will not interfere in the government of other nations; they will not suffer other nations

‘to

‘to interfere with the government of their own.’ (Article 119 of the *acte constitutionnel* of the French Republic, 1793.) I am anxious to explain this point: because it appears to me to have been the only embarrassment to the negotiation of peace. The article preceding that above-mentioned (viz. article 118) is very significant on this head of clearing the way to negotiation of peace: viz. article 118, ‘The French people are the friend and natural ally of *free people*.’ The peculiar view of this article is to express, that fraternization does not commence except with nations, either in possession, or in the active vindication of civil freedom, by the universal and unequivocal exertion of the national will: thereby signifying that they do not offer their fraternization to urge nations to the overthrow of any governments existing in tranquillity, for the purpose, even of political emancipation, by the excitement of a civil war. They have felt the offence which a lapse of precision in phrase has excited against them; and therefore they pursue the recovery of that lapse, by the peace-offering to all foreign nations, contained in these two articles.

“It is not possible that the French nation can have any other view than peace, and the possession of their new constitution. The substance of this article 118, is precisely the construction which M. Chauvelin offered to the British ministry, in abatement of the offence which had been taken with the unqualified fraternizing decree of November 1792. If the confederate nations have any real desire for peace, consistent with security to themselves, the purport of these overtures is most evidently calculated to give them full satisfaction. They are a peace-offering to those who are willing to understand.

“We are surrounded in a world of contention. Novel principles of society have now taken possession of the minds of men throughout the world. The science of politics is no longer limited merely to the arrangement of a balance of powers between the various members of any community, as in a state of contentious society: the doctrine of free compact, founded on the Rights of Man, is now claimed by mankind in a mass, as their indefeasible right. Twenty-five mil-
lions

lions of men have thrown down the gauntlet in that cause. By this principle the rights in society are now to be decided; the challenge is loudly proclaimed, and will not brook evasion or delay. I suspect the compulsive application of this principle is nearer to all despotic governments than is generally apprehended. We cannot but recognize a principle capable of that application, in recent events, which have already decided in one moment of time the total fate of the French revolution. A London Gazette, reciting the tumults of October 5 and 6, 1789, states, that 'the word to fire was no sooner given, than the *Regiment de Flandre* clubbed their arms to a man, and other regiments also laid down their arms.' An important secret is here developed; which is, that the multitudinous and inferior ranks of men, who stand in rank and file, have a decisive negative in all civil contests, by clubbing their arms to a man. The contest in France has been a civil war between two classes of men; the one class consisting of twenty-four millions, the other class of one million. The high, few; the many, low. From the highest pinnacle

to the lowest abyss! A horrid chasm between! In this tremendous chasm has the despotism of France been ingulphed.—A sermon of deep instruction to mankind!

“ There is another royal document that generalizes the foregoing. It bears the title of ‘ Reasons that his Prussian Majesty opposes
‘ to the general Armament of the Inhabitants
‘ of the Empire of Germany,’ *viz.* (after some previous, but not unimportant matter)

‘ That it is infinitely dangerous at a time
‘ like the present, when the French are watch-
‘ ing every advantage to insinuate their prin-
‘ ciples, to assemble such a mass of men,
‘ whose ideas upon forms of government
‘ must be various, and amongst whom, con-
‘ sequently, dissensions might arise, disastrous
‘ in their consequences both to the armies and
‘ to the constitution of the empire.’

“ This declaration baffles all comment, and defies all aggravation. The whole empire of Germany is declared to be on the tiptoe of insurrection, congenial in sentiment, and pre-
meditating

meditating in their hearts to follow the example of France. All the expecting millions of the German empire are thus superadded to the actual millions of revolutionists in France. And if these are truths respecting the nations of Germany and France, it follows, by inevitable consequence, that all other millions throughout *despotic* nations of Europe are in a state of preparation and promptitude to receive those principles of resistance to despotism, which the French are watching every advantage to insinuate. The arguments in this manifesto have no bounds; they generalize the principles of the French revolution, to the predestinated destruction of every *despotic* government throughout the world."

CHAPTER XXIV.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, Esq.

His Discoveries, Taste, and Merits as a Manufacturer: as a Philosopher: as an inland Navigator. His institution of an Association in London, which he called the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain. His Opposition to Mr. Pitt's Propositions concerning the Trade with Ireland. Account of the Chamber of Manufacturers. The Members of the Chamber differ on the Commercial Treaty with France. The Chamber dissolved.

HE was the maker of his own fortune; and his country has been benefited by his exertions in a proportion not to be calculated.

His many discoveries of new species of earthen wares and porcelains, his studied forms and chaste style of decoration, and the correctness and judgment with which all his works

works were executed under his own eye, and by artists for the most part of his own forming; have turned the current in this branch of commerce; for, before his time, England imported the finer earthen wares, but for more than twenty years past he has exported them to a very great annual amount, the whole of which is drawn from the earth, and from the industry of the inhabitants; while the national taste has been improved, and its reputation raised in foreign countries.

His inventions have prodigiously increased the number of persons employed in the potteries, and in the traffic and transport of their materials from distant parts of the kingdom; and this class of manufactures is also indebted to him for much mechanical contrivance and arrangement in their operations; his private manufactory having had for thirty years and upwards, all the efficacy of a public work of experiment.

Neither was he unknown in the walks of philosophy—His communications to the Royal

Society, of which he was a member, shewed a mind enlightened by science, and contributed to procure him the esteem of scientific men at home, and throughout Europe.

At an early period of his life, seeing the impossibility of extending considerably the manufactory he was engaged in, on the spot which gave him birth, without the advantages of inland navigation, he was the proposer of the Grand Trunk Canal, and the chief agent in obtaining the act of parliament for making it, against the prejudices of the landed interest, which at that time stood very high, and but just before had been with great difficulty overcome in another quarter by all the powerful influence of a noble Duke, whose canal was at that time the only one that had been constructed in this kingdom. The Grand Trunk Canal is ninety miles in length, uniting the rivers Trent and Mersey; and branches have since been made from it to the Severn, to Oxford, and to many other parts, and it will also have a communication with the Grand Junction Canal from Braunston to Brentford.

He

He was the founder, and chief promoter, of an association of manufacturers in London, which he denominated “The General Chamber of the Manufacturers of Great Britain.”

The occasion of this institution was, Mr. Pitt’s propositions, in the year 1786, for adjusting the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

When these propositions were made public, Mr. Wedgwood saw them pregnant with infinite mischiefs to the British manufacturers: with many he conversed, and to others he wrote. He was active and assiduous in writing and printing, upon this great national subject. He circulated his opinions in hand-bills, in letters, essays, and paragraphs, in the newspapers; and by every possible mode that he could take, to alarm the manufacturers of the whole kingdom; and direct their attention to the several subjects, and parts of the propositions which affected their particular interests. Under a leader of such penetration and industry, the association was quickly formed, of all the principal manufacturers,

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who, by either personal attendance, or by delegates, became members of it.

Thomas Walker, Esq. of Manchester, was, next to Mr. Wedgwood, the most ardent and active member. His account of the General Chamber of Manufacturers is worthy of notice.

With respect to the origin of the Chamber, he says, every one knew the occasion of its being instituted at the time it was; and must be sensible, that it was intended to give that union and strength to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, which they had never before obtained, and which they never stood more in need of than at that period—to arrest the hand then lifted up to give a most deep and dangerous wound to the manufactures of this kingdom. He alluded to the propositions sent from the Irish to the British Parliament, for its assent.

When the alarm had taken place to a considerable degree, it was observed with concern, how little effect was produced by appli-

applications from single and unconnected individuals. Their voice was too feeble to be heard alone. A meeting was therefore proposed, and held, of manufacturers in London, and such delegates and individuals from the country as were then in town, to consider of their situation, as well as that of the British manufacturers at large, and the steps necessary to be taken, both for their present safety and future protection. The resolutions entered into at that and the subsequent meetings were laid before the public.

Thus did the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain originate from the too well founded apprehensions of imminent danger to some of their most essential interests as manufacturers; and not from any party or factious motives, as had been falsely asserted by some, and too easily believed by others.

One circumstance he could not omit, as it exhibited a spirit of true patriotism in the gentlemen who composed the Chamber, and a confidence in the honour and integrity of their brethren, which did the highest credit
both

both to the one and to the other. The Chamber (he asserted, he spoke from his own personal knowledge) finding, that in the business before them, there was not a moment to be lost, nobly disdained to waste any time, or a single thought, upon pecuniary matters, which might be adjusted afterwards at greater leisure; but advanced, without hesitation, the money necessary for all immediate calls, and pledged themselves for the rest. This, he said, was an instance of that unbounded confidence which, when occasion calls for it, one honest member of a community ought to place in another; and this confidence would be continued among members of any society, so long as there remained sufficient virtue to deserve it. And whilst this confidence was preserved and kept up between the body of Manufacturers and their General Chamber, it would be the surest pledge to them of protection against any future intended blow, which might be too sudden in its approach to admit of otherwise collecting the scattered strength of the manufacturers to withstand it, and too weighty in its nature for any single arm to defend itself against.

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With regard to the effects of the measures which had been taken from time to time by the members of the Chamber, it would require much detail to bring them forward to public view; but one of the principal ought by no means to pass unnoticed.—When, to their utter astonishment, they were first informed, from undoubted authority, that the Irish propositions must neither be altered nor modified in any respect whatever, but must stand or fall precisely in their original form; they immediately sent a deputation to the Minister to pray for time, if it was even but for a few days, till they could consult their constituents in the country; and upon receiving an absolute refusal, together with a confirmation of the above from the Minister himself, and a declaration, at the same time, that the business should be brought on in the House of Commons, in two days at farthest—a petition was immediately drawn up, signed, and presented the next day to the House, praying, that the petitioners might be heard by themselves and counsel, against the propositions.—It was by this judicious and well-timed measure that the ruin at-

tendant upon the Irish propositions was first averted; and it was to the subsequent spirited and unwearied exertions of the Chamber, together with the support they received from the friends of our manufactures in both Houses of Parliament, that we owe the alterations which the propositions underwent, and the change of the original *eleven* into *twenty*; which, by procuring *time for due consideration*, caused the ultimate disgust conceived against the *whole*, by the most respectable and independent part of Parliament, and by almost, if not the whole, of the people of Ireland.

If, at that important crisis, there had not been a body ready to act with that promptness and resolution which the occasion demanded, if the manufacturers throughout the island must first have been consulted, the opportunity, so happily seized, would have been lost for ever, and the consequences in all probability would have been fatal to our best interests. The original propositions would, most probably, have been, at this day, the established law of the land; and
many

many British manufacturers would have felt the ruinous effects of that law, before they became acquainted with its nature, or mode of operation. How many other important matters may yearly arise, and call for the like promptness both in decision and execution, the wisest man could not foresee: and if this institution, even in its infant and unsupported state, (rendered also, by the complexion of affairs at that time, so obnoxious to the Treasury Bench, that it was determined it should, if possible, be crushed,) if, in that situation, it had rendered us such essential services, what might we not expect from its riper years, when government should be convinced of its integrity and impartiality, and place confidence in its informations——when it should be guided, patronized, and supported by the wisdom and counsel, as well as by the purses, of the principal and most experienced manufacturers throughout Great Britain?

The project intended by the Irish propositions being totally defeated, the members of the Chamber held their meetings only occasionally.

casionally. But in the following year, 1787, an event happened which called forth all their active exertions. This was the commercial treaty with France, negotiated by Mr. Eden, now Lord Auckland. Upon this subject, Mr. Wedgwood was as ardent in support of Mr. Pitt, as he had before been against him. And Mr. Walker, viewing the commercial treaty in a very different light from Mr. Wedgwood, the Chamber became divided. Mr. Wedgwood, and those who were of his opinion, absented themselves; and in a little time the Association was dissolved. A few copies of the proceedings of the Chamber, concerning the treaty with France, were printed, but not published. As it is possible that in some future day they may be useful, the reader will see them preserved in the Appendix, marked Q.

CHAPTER XXV.

DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Founder of American Greatness. Bred at Boston. Printer at Philadelphia. Comes to London. Returns to America. Made Clerk of the Assembly, and Post-Master of Philadelphia. Proposes, with Success, an Association to defend the Province. Elected a Member of the General Assembly. Disputes between the Proprietaries and the Assembly. The Answers to the Governor's Messages, ascribed to Dr. Franklin. Quotation from one of them. Made Post-Master-General of all America. Proposes the Congress held at Albany. Plan of the Albany Union. Another Plan proposed, and communicated to Dr. Franklin. His Answers to it. Northern Frontier attacked: levies Troops, and goes to protect it. Sent Agent to England. Settles the Disputes between the Proprietaries and the Assembly. Honours conferred on him in Great Britain. Answers a Pamphlet written by Messieurs Burkes. Returns to America. Receives the Thanks of the Assembly,

Assembly, and rewarded for his Services. Appointed Agent again. His Conduct on this Occasion well known. Visits the Continent of Europe. Petitions, with others, for a Grant of Lands on the Ohio. Report of the Board of Trade against the Petition. Dr. Franklin's Answer to the Report of the Board of Trade. Prayer of the Petition granted. Lord Hillsborough resigns on that Account. Affair of Hutchinson's and Oliver's Letters. Dr. Franklin leaves England. War with America. Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France. His Conductors removed from the Queen's House. Orrery destroyed in America. War should not be made on the Sciences. Several Attempts to open a Negotiation with him at Paris. His Friendship for Mr. Silas Deane. Sends Mr. Thornton to England. Instance of Mr. Fox's great political Sagacity. Dr. Franklin concludes the Peace between Great Britain and America. He returns to America. His Philosophy. Dies. Honours to his Memory.

OF this Philosopher, Legislator, and Statesman, it will be said, that like the Czar, Peter the First, he was the projector and founder of
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of his country's greatness and power. He wished most sincerely for the continuance of the connection between Great Britain and her colonies; because he was convinced, it was the mutual interest of both to preserve it. But when he saw the councils of Great Britain violently proceeding to the point of enslaving America, he devoted the force of his understanding and penetration to the interest of his country.

He was bred a printer at Boston in New England. At the age of only seventeen years, he quitted his father at Boston, and went to Philadelphia, where he followed his profession some time. His talents soon distinguished him. He was encouraged to go to London to perfect himself in the knowledge of his trade. He remained in London several years; after which he returned to Philadelphia, and commenced trade on his own account, as a printer and stationer, and met with the greatest success.

In the year 1736 he was appointed clerk to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and post-master of the city of Philadelphia.

In the year 1744, during the war between Great Britain and France, some French and Indians committed several depredations on the frontier inhabitants of the province, who were entirely defenceless. At this crisis Franklin stepped forth, and proposed to a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, a plan of association, for the defence of the province. This was approved of, and signed by twelve hundred persons immediately; and in a few days the number of signers amounted to ten thousand. Franklin was chosen colonel of the Philadelphia regiment.

In the year 1747 he was chosen representative for Philadelphia, in the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. Warm disputes at this time subsisted between the Assembly and the proprietaries; each contending for what they conceived to be their rights. Franklin, a friend to the rights of man from his infancy, soon distinguished himself as an opponent to the schemes of the proprietaries. He was looked up to as the head of the opposition; and to him have been attributed many of the replies of the assemblies, to the
messages

messages of the governors. His manner was plain and mild: his style of speaking was, like that of his writing, simple, unadorned, and concise. With this plain manner, and his penetrating and solid judgment, he was able to confound the most eloquent and subtile of his adversaries. In one of the answers of the assembly to the governor, there is a short passage of great beauty and sublimity. It is in these words; "Those who would give up essential liberty, to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety." Upon which, the writer of the Historical Review of Pennsylvania makes this remark, "There is not in any volume, the sacred writings excepted, a passage to be found better worth the veneration of free men." Page 290. edit. 1759.

In the year 1753, Dr. Franklin having conducted himself so well in the office of post-master for Philadelphia, was appointed post-master general for all America.

In the year 1754, when the French in Canada had made several encroachments on the

back settlements of the British colonies, and greatly interrupted their trade with the Indians, the measure of a general congress was suggested by Dr. Franklin, to consist of commissioners from the different colonies. The idea was approved. The commissioners were appointed, and met at Albany in the month of July 1754, to form a plan of union for their common defence.

The plan they agreed upon was, in short, this: "That a grand council should be formed, of members to be chosen by the assemblies and sent from all the colonies; which council, together with a governor general to be appointed by the crown, should be empowered to make general laws to raise money in all the colonies for the defence of the whole." This plan was sent to the government in England for approbation. America thought herself sufficiently able to cope with the French, without other assistance; several of the colonies having alone in former wars withstood the whole power of the enemy, unassisted not only by the mother country, but by any of the neighbouring provinces. The plan, however,

ever, was not approved in England; but a new one was formed instead of it; by which it was proposed, that “the governors of all the colonies, attended by one or two members of their respective councils, should assemble, concert measures for the defence of the whole, erect forts where they judged proper, and raise what troops they thought necessary, with power to draw on the treasury in England for the sums that should be wanted; and the treasury to be reimbursed by a tax laid on the colonies by act of parliament.”

This new plan being communicated by Governor Shirley to Dr. Franklin, occasioned the following letters from Dr. Franklin; which are worthy of preservation, as historical documents:

“SIR,

Tuesday morning.

“I return the loose sheets of the plan, with thanks, to your Excellency for communicating them.

“I apprehend, that excluding the *people* of the colonies from all share in the choice

consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think: I shall, therefore, as your Excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

“ First, they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the present constitution, and reigning family, as any subjects in the king’s dominions:

“ That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the representatives they may choose, to grant from time to time such supplies for the defence of the country as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities will allow.

“ That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own

abilities to bear the expence, than the parliament of England at so great a distance.

“ That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity, have many of them no estate here, nor any natural connections with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare; and might possibly be fond of raising and keeping up more forces than necessary, from the profits accruing to themselves, and to make provision for their friends and dependants.

“ That the counsellors in most of the colonies being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often of small estates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under influence.

“ That there is, therefore, great reason to be jealous of a power in such governors and councils, to raise such sums as they shall judge necessary,

necessary, by draft on the Lords of the Treasury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here ; since they might abuse it by projecting usefess expeditions, harassing the people, and taking them from their labour to execute such projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependants, and divide profits.

“ That the parliament of England is at a great distance, subject to be misinformed and misled by such governors and councils, whose united interests might probably secure them against the effect of any complaint from hence.

“ That is supposed an undoubted right of Englishmen not to be taxed but by their own consent given through their representatives.

“ That the colonies have no representatives in parliament.

“ That to propose taxing them by parliament, and refuse them the liberty of choosing a repre-

a representative council, to meet in the colonies, and consider and judge of the necessity of any general tax, and the quantum, shews a suspicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common sense and understanding, which they have not deserved.

“ That compelling the colonies to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit.

“ That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

“ That a tax laid by the representatives of the colonies might easily be lessened as the occasions should lessen, but being once laid by parliament under the influence of the representations made by governors, would probably be kept up and continued for the benefit of governors, to the grievous burden and discouragement of the colonies, and prevention of their growth and increase.

“ That

“ That a power in governors to march the inhabitants from one end of the British and French colonies to the other, being a country of at least 1500 miles square, without the approbation or consent of their representatives first obtained to such expeditions, might be grievous and ruinous to the people, and would put them on a footing with the subjects of France in Canada, that now groan under such oppression from their governor, who for two years past has harassed them with long and destructive marches to the Ohio.

“ That if the colonies in a body may be well governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without representatives, particular colonies may as well or better be so governed; a tax may be laid on them all by act of parliament for support of government, and their assemblies may be dismissed as an useless part of the constitution.

“ That the powers proposed by the Albany plan of union, to be vested in a Grand Council representative of the people, even
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with regard to military matters, are not so great as those the colonies of Rhode-Island and Connecticut are entrusted with by their charters, and have never abused; for by this plan, the president general is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative; but in those governments the people choose the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

“ That the British colonies bordering on the French are properly frontiers of the British empire; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expence of the body of the people in such empire: it would now be thought hard by act of parliament to oblige the Cinque Ports or sea coasts of Britain to maintain the whole navy, because they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them at the same time a vote in choosing members of the parliament; and if the frontiers in America must bear the expence of their own defence, it seems hard to allow them no share in voting the money, judging of the necessity and sum, or advising the measures.

“ That

“That besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother country unnoticed: for taxes paid in Britain by the landholder, or artificer, must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land and of manufactures made of it; and great part of this is paid by consumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the British taxes.

“We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to Britain. We are obliged to carry great part of our produce directly to Britain, and where the duties there laid upon it lessen its price to the planter, or it sells for less than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to Britain.

“Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and must take them of British merchants; the whole price of these is a tax paid to Britain.

“By

“ By our greatly increasing the demand and consumption of British manufactures, their price is considerably raised of late years ; the advance is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes ; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to Britain.

“ In short, as we are not suffered to regulate our trade, and restrain the importation and consumption of British superfluities, (as Britain can the consumption of foreign superfluities,) our whole wealth centres finally among the merchants and inhabitants of Britain ; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the same as being taxed ourselves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

“ These kind of secondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no share in the laying or disposing of them ; but to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and disposition of which we have no part, and which, perhaps, we may know to be as unnecessary as grievous, must seem hard measure to Englishmen, who cannot conceive, that by hazarding their lives
and

and fortunes in subduing and settling new countries, extending the dominion and increasing the commerce of their mother nation, they have forfeited the native rights of Britons, which they think ought rather to be given them as due to such merit, if they had been before in a state of slavery.

“ These, and such kind of things as these, I apprehend, will be thought and said by the people, if the proposed alteration of the Albany plan should take place. Then the administration of the Board of Governors and Council so appointed, not having any representative body of the people to approve and unite in its measures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become suspected and odious; dangerous animosities and feuds will arise between the governors and governed, and every thing go into confusion.

“ Perhaps I am too apprehensive in this matter; but having freely given my opinion and reasons, your Excellency can judge better than I whether there be any weight in them,
and

and the shortness of the time allowed me will, I hope, in some degree, excuse the imperfections of this scrawl.

“ With the greatest respect and fidelity, I have the honour to be,

“ Your Excellency’s

“ Most obedient, and most humble servant,

“ B. FRANKLIN.”

“ SIR,

Boston, Dec. 22, 1754.

“ Since the conversation your Excellency was pleased to honour me with, on the subject of uniting the colonies more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them representatives in parliament, I have something further considered that matter, and am of opinion, that such an union would be very acceptable to the colonies, provided they had a reasonable number of representatives allowed them; and that all the old acts of parliament restraining the trade or cramping the manufactures of the colonies, be at the same time repealed, and the British subjects on this side the water put, in those respects, on the same footing with those in Great Britain, till the new parliament, representing the whole, shall

think it for the interest of the whole to re-
 enact some or all of them: it is not that I
 imagine so many representatives will be al-
 lowed the colonies, as to have any great
 weight by their numbers; but I think there
 might be sufficient to occasion those laws to
 be better and more impartially considered,
 and perhaps to overcome the private interest
 of a petty corporation, or of any particular
 set of artificers or traders in England, who
 heretofore seem, in some instances, to have
 been more regarded than all the colonies, or
 than was consistent with the general interest or
 best national good. I think too, that the go-
 vernment of the colonies by a parliament, in
 which they are fairly represented, would be
 vastly more agreeable to the people, than the
 method lately attempted to be introduced by
 royal instructions, as well as more agreeable
 to the nature of an English constitution, and
 to English liberty; and that such laws as
 now seem to bear hard on the colonies,
 would (when judged by such a parliament for
 the best interest of the whole) be more cheer-
 fully submitted to, and more easily executed.

“ I should hope too, that by such an union, the people of Great Britain, and the people of the colonies, would learn to consider themselves, not as belonging to different communities with different interests, but to one community with one interest, which I imagine would contribute to strengthen the whole, and greatly lessen the danger of future separations.

“ It is, I suppose, agreed to be the general interest of any state, that its people be numerous and rich ; men enough to fight in its defence, and enough to pay sufficient taxes to defray the charge ; for these circumstances tend to the security of the state, and its protection from foreign power : but it seems not of so much importance whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manufacture employs and enriches British subjects ; but is it of any importance to the state, whether the manufacturers live at Birmingham or Sheffield, or both, since they are still within its bounds, and their wealth and persons at its command ? Could the Goodwin

Sands

Sands be laid dry by banks, and land equal to a large country thereby gained to England, and presently filled with English inhabitants, would it be right to deprive such inhabitants of the common privileges enjoyed by other Englishmen, the right of vending their produce in the same ports, and of making their own shoes, because a merchant, or a shoemaker, living on the old land, might fancy it more for his advantage to trade or make shoes for them? Would this be right, even if the land were gained at the expence of the state? And would it not seem less right, if the charge and labour of gaining the additional territory to Britain had been borne by the settlers themselves? And would not the hardship appear yet greater, if the people of the new country should be allowed no representatives in the parliament enacting such impositions? Now I look on the colonies as so many counties gained to Great Britain, and more advantageous to it than if they had been gained out of the sea around its coasts, and joined to its land: for being in different climates, they afford greater variety of pro-

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duce,

duce, and materials for more manufactures; and being separated by the ocean, they increase much more its shipping and seamen; and since they are all included in the British empire, which has only extended itself by their means; and the strength and wealth of the parts is the strength and wealth of the whole; what imports it to the general state, whether a merchant, a smith, or a hatter, grow rich in *Old* or *New* England? And if, through increase of people, two smiths are wanted for one employed before, why may not the *new* smith be allowed to live and thrive in the *new* country, as well as the *old* one in the *old*? In fine, why should the countenance of a state be *partially* afforded to its people, unless it be most in favour of those who have most merit? And if there be any difference, those who have most contributed to enlarge Britain's empire and commerce, increase her strength, her wealth, and the numbers of her people, at the risk of their own lives and private fortunes, in new and strange countries, methinks ought rather to expect some preference.

“ With

“With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honour to be

“Your Excellency’s

“Most obedient, and most humble servant,

“B. FRANKLIN.”

The north-western frontier being soon afterwards invaded by the enemy, it became necessary to take measures for the protection of the inhabitants. Dr. Franklin was ordered by the governor to take charge of this affair. Authority to raise men, and to appoint officers, was given to him. He immediately levied a body of troops, and marched to the part where their presence was necessary to check the enemy. He remained there some time, and did not leave his little army until required to attend the assembly of the province upon some important business.

The internal disputes between the proprietaries and the assembly still continuing, it was at length resolved, to present a petition to the King in council, upon the subject; and Dr. Franklin was appointed agent of the province, and to present it.

He departed from America in the month of June 1757. He presented the petition with which he was charged, and the matter was heard before the Privy Council. After an ample discussion, it was proposed to Dr. Franklin to engage, for the assembly, that the assessment of taxes should be so made, as that the proprietary estates should pay no more than a due proportion. To this he agreed, and tranquillity was at that time restored to the province,

During his residence in London, he was admitted a member of the Royal Society. And the Universities of Oxford, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

In the year 1760, upon the prospect of peace between Great Britain and France, the late Lord Bath wrote a tract, which he called "A Letter to two great Men." These were Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle. The subject of the letter was, the conditions of peace, which the writer thought should be insisted upon. He thought the possession
of

of Canada preferable to the acquisitions in the West Indies.

In answer to this pamphlet, there was another, called "Remarks upon it," written by Messieurs Burkes; in which the preference is given to Guadaloupe. (Martinico was not at that time taken.)

Dr. Franklin being of Lord Bath's opinion, wrote a reply to the "Remarks," which he intitled "The true Interest of Great Britain considered, with regard to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe;" in which he supported the arguments of Lord Bath.

In the year 1762, Dr. Franklin returned to America. He received the thanks of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, "as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to that province in particular, as for the many and important services done to America in general, during his residence in Great Britain." A compensation of five thousand pounds were voted to him for his services during the six years.

In the year 1764 he was again appointed agent to Great Britain.

The measure, and the consequences of the American stamp act, and the examination of Dr. Franklin before the House of Commons, are all of them well known.

After the disputes on that subject were settled, he visited several parts of Holland, Germany, and France.

In the year 1770, Dr. Franklin, together with the Hon. Thomas Walpole, banker in London, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton, Esqrs. presented a petition to the King and Council, for a grant of lands on the river Ohio in North America. The idea was to erect a new province in America. The design had been mentioned to Lord Halifax some years before, when his Lordship was at the head of the Board of Trade; and Lord Halifax approved of it very highly. The petitioners made many persons of property and consideration acquainted with their design; several of whom engaged to become proprietors, if the grant was obtained.

After

After the petition had lain some time before the Privy Council, it was, in the usual way, referred to the Board of Trade, to consider, and report upon it.

The following is a copy of the Report, which the Board of Trade made to the Lords of the Privy Council.

“ Report of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; on the Petition of the Honourable Thomas Walpole and his Associates, for a Grant of Lands on the River Ohio in North America.

“ MY LORDS,

“ Pursuant to your Lordships’ order of the 25th May 1770, we have taken into our consideration the humble memorial of the Hon. Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton, Esqrs. in behalf of themselves and their associates, setting forth, (among other things,) ‘ That
 ‘ they presented a petition to his Majesty in
 ‘ council, for a grant of lands in America
 ‘ (*parcel* of the lands purchased by govern-
 ‘ ment

‘ ment of the Indians) in consideration of a
‘ price to be paid in purchase of the same;
‘ *that in pursuance of a suggestion which arose*
‘ *when the said petition was under consideration*
‘ *of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and*
‘ *Plantations, the memorialists presented a*
‘ petition to the Lords Commissioners of
‘ the Treasury, proposing to purchase a
‘ larger tract of land on the river Ohio in
‘ America, sufficient for a separate govern-
‘ ment; whereupon their Lordships were
‘ pleased to acquaint the memorialists, they
‘ had no objection to accepting the proposals
‘ made by them with respect to the pur-
‘ chase-money and quit-rent to be paid for
‘ the said tract of land, if it should be
‘ thought advisable by those departments
‘ of government, to whom it belonged to
‘ judge of the propriety of the grant, both in
‘ point of policy and justice, that the grant
‘ should be made; in consequence whereof,
‘ the memorialists humbly renew their ap-
‘ plication, that a grant of said lands may
‘ be made to them, *reserving therein to all*
‘ *persons their just and legal rights to any*
‘ *parts or parcels of said lands which may be*
‘ *comprehended*

‘ *comprehended within the tract prayed for by the memorialists;*’ whereupon we beg leave to report to your Lordships,

“ I. That according to the description of the tract of land prayed for by the memorialists, which description is annexed to their memorial, it appears to us to contain part of the dominion of Virginia, to the south of the river Ohio, and to extend several degrees of longitude westward from the western ridge of the Appalachian mountains, as will more fully appear to your Lordships from the annexed sketch of the said tract, which we have since caused to be delineated with as much exactness as possible, and herewith submit to your Lordships, to the end that your Lordships may judge with the greater precision of the situation of the lands prayed for in the memorial.

“ II. From this sketch your Lordships will observe, that a very considerable part of the lands prayed for lies beyond the line, which has, in consequence of his Majesty’s orders for that purpose, been settled by treaty,
as

as well with the tribes of the Six Nations, and their confederates, as with the Cherokee Indians, as the boundary line between his Majesty's territories and their hunting-grounds: and as the faith of the crown is pledged in the most solemn manner both to the Six Nations and to the Cherokees, that notwithstanding the former of these nations had ceded the property in the lands to his Majesty, yet no settlements shall be made beyond that line, it is our duty to report to your Lordships our opinion, that it would on that account be highly improper to comply with the request of the memorial, *so far as it includes any lands beyond the said line.*

“ It remains, therefore, that we report to your Lordships our opinion, how far it may consist with good policy and with justice, that his Majesty should comply with that part of the memorial which relates to those lands which are situated to the east of that line, and are part of the dominion of Virginia.

“ III. And first with regard to the policy, we take leave to remind your Lordships of that

that principle which was adopted by this Board, and approved and confirmed by his Majesty, immediately after the treaty of Paris, *viz.* the confining the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea coast, as that those settlements should lie *within the reach of the trade and commerce of this kingdom*, upon which the strength and riches of it depend; and also of the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction, which was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the colonies, in a due subordination to, and dependence upon, the mother country; and these we apprehend to have been two capital objects of his Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, by which his Majesty declares it to be his royal will and pleasure to reserve under his sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the *use* of the Indians, all the lands not included within the three new governments, the limits of which are described therein, as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which shall fall into the sea from the west and north-west, and by which all persons are forbid to make any purchases or settlements

tlements whatever, or to take possession of any of the lands above reserved, without special licence for that purpose.

“ IV. It is true indeed, that partly from *want of precision* in describing the line intended to be marked out by the proclamation of 1763, and partly from a consideration of justice *in regard to legal titles to lands*, which had been settled beyond that line, it has been since thought fit to enter into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a more precise and determinate *boundary* between his Majesty's territories and their hunting-grounds.

“ V. By this *boundary*, so far as it regards the case now in question, your Lordships will observe, that the hunting-grounds of the Indians are reduced within narrower limits than were specified by the proclamation of 1763; we beg leave however, to submit to your Lordships, that the same principles of policy, in reference to settlements *at so great a distance from the sea-coast as to be out of the reach of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom*, continue to exist in their full force

and spirit; and, though various propositions for erecting new colonies in the interior parts of America have been, in consequence of this extension of the boundary line, submitted to the consideration of government, (particularly in that part of the country wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, with a view to that object,) yet the dangers and disadvantages of complying with such proposals have been so obvious, as to defeat every attempt made for carrying them into execution.

“ VI. Many objections, besides those which we have already stated, occur to us to propositions of this kind; but as *every argument* on this subject is *collected together with great force and precision*, in a representation made to his Majesty by the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in March 1768, we beg leave to state them to your Lordships in their words.

“ In that representation they deliver their opinion upon a proposition for settling new colonies in the interior country as follows, *viz.*

‘ The

‘ The proposition of forming inland colonies in America is, we humbly conceive, entirely new: it adopts principles in respect to American settlements, different from what have hitherto been the policy of this kingdom, and leads to a system which, if pursued through all its consequences, is, in the present state of that country, of the greatest importance.

‘ The great object of colonizing upon the continent of North America, has been to improve and extend the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of this kingdom, upon which its strength and security depend.

‘ 1. By promoting the advantageous fishery carried on upon the northern coast.

‘ 2. By encouraging the growth and culture of naval stores, and of raw materials, to be transported hither in exchange for perfect manufactures and other merchandise.

‘ 3. By

‘ 3. By securing a supply of lumber, provisions, and other necessaries, for the support of our establishments in the American islands.

‘ In order to answer these salutary purposes, it has been the policy of this kingdom to confine her settlements as much as possible to the sea-coast, and not to extend them to places inaccessible to shipping, and consequently more out of the reach of commerce; a plan which, at the same time that it secured the attainment of these commercial objects, had the further political advantage of guarding against all interfering of foreign powers, and of enabling this kingdom to keep up a superior naval force in those seas, by the actual possession of such rivers and harbours as were proper stations for fleets in time of war.

‘ Such, may it please your Majesty, have been the considerations inducing that plan of policy hitherto pursued in the settlement of your Majesty’s American colonies, with which the private interest and sagacity of

‘ the settlers co-operated from the first estab-
‘ lishments formed upon that continent. It
‘ was upon these principles, and with these
‘ views, that government undertook the
‘ settling of Nova Scotia in 1749; and it
‘ was from a view of the advantages repre-
‘ sented to arise from it in these different
‘ articles, that it was so liberally supported
‘ by the aid of parliament.

‘ The same motives, though operating in
‘ a less degree, and applying to fewer objects,
‘ did, as we humbly conceive, induce the
‘ forming the colonies of Georgia, East
‘ Florida, and West Florida, to the South,
‘ and the making those provincial arrange-
‘ ments in the proclamation of 1763, by
‘ which the interior country was left to the
‘ possession of the Indians.

‘ Having thus briefly stated what has been
‘ the policy of this kingdom in respect to co-
‘ lonizing in America, it may be necessary to
‘ take a cursory view of what has been the
‘ effect of it in those colonies, where there
‘ has been sufficient time for that effect to
‘ discover

' discover itself; because, if it shall appear
 ' from the present state of these settlements,
 ' and the progress they have made, that they
 ' are likely to produce the advantages above
 ' stated, it will, we humbly apprehend, be a
 ' very strong argument against forming settle-
 ' ments in the interior country; more espe-
 ' cially, when every advantage, derived from
 ' an established government, would naturally
 ' tend to draw the stream of population;
 ' fertility of soil and temperature of climate
 ' offering superior incitements to settlers,
 ' who, exposed to few hardships, and strug-
 ' gling with few difficulties, could, with little
 ' labour, earn an abundance for their own
 ' wants, but without a possibility of supplying
 ' ours with any considerable quantities. Nor
 ' would these inducements be confined in
 ' their operation to foreign emigrants, deter-
 ' mining their choice where to settle, but
 ' would act most powerfully upon the inhabit-
 ' ants of the northern and southern latitudes
 ' of your Majesty's American dominions;
 ' who, ever suffering under the opposite ex-
 ' tremes of heat and cold, would be equally
 ' tempted by a moderate climate to abandon

‘ latitudes peculiarly adapted to the produc-
‘ tion of those things, which are by Nature
‘ denied to us; and for the whole of which
‘ we should, without their assistance, stand
‘ indebted to, and dependent upon other
‘ countries.

‘ It is well known that antecedent to the
‘ year 1749, all that part of the sea-coast of
‘ the British empire in America, which ex-
‘ tends north-east from the province of Main
‘ to Canceau in Nova Scotia, and from thence
‘ to the mouth of St. Laurence river, lay
‘ waste and neglected; though naturally af-
‘ fording, or capable by art of producing,
‘ every species of naval stores; the seas
‘ abounding with whale, cod, and other va-
‘ luable fish, and having many great rivers,
‘ bays, and harbours, fit for the reception of
‘ ships of war. Thus circumstanced, a con-
‘ sideration of the great commercial advan-
‘ tages which would follow from securing the
‘ possession of this country, combined with
‘ the evidence of the value set upon it by our
‘ enemies, who, during the war which ter-
‘ minated at that period, had, at an immense
‘ expence,

‘ expence, attempted to wrest it from us, in-
 ‘ duced that plan, for the settlement of Nova
 ‘ Scotia, to which we have before referred;
 ‘ and which, being prosecuted with vigour,
 ‘ though at a very large expence to this king-
 ‘ dom, secured the possession of that pro-
 ‘ vince, and formed those establishments
 ‘ which contributed so greatly to facilitate
 ‘ and promote the success of your Majesty’s
 ‘ arms in the late war.

‘ The establishment of government in this
 ‘ part of America, having opened to the view
 ‘ and information of your Majesty’s subjects
 ‘ in other colonies the great commercial ad-
 ‘ vantages to be derived from it, induced a
 ‘ zeal for migration; and associations were
 ‘ formed for taking up lands, and making
 ‘ settlements, in this province, by principal
 ‘ persons residing in these colonies.

‘ In consequence of these associations, up-
 ‘ wards of ten thousand souls have passed
 ‘ from those colonies into Nova Scotia; who
 ‘ have either engaged in the fisheries, or be-
 ‘ come exporters of lumber and provisions to

‘ the West Indies. And further settlements,
‘ to the extent of twenty-one townships, of
‘ one hundred thousand acres each, have
‘ been engaged to be made there, by many of
‘ the principal persons in Pennsylvania, whose
‘ names and association for that purpose now
‘ lie before your Majesty in council.

‘ The government of Massachussets Bay,
‘ as well as the proprietors of large tracts to
‘ the eastward of the province of Main, ex-
‘ cited by the success of these settlements, are
‘ giving every encouragement to the like
‘ settlements in that valuable country, lying
‘ between them and Nova Scotia; and the
‘ proprietors of the twelve townships lately
‘ laid out there, by the Massachussets govern-
‘ ment, now solicit your Majesty for a con-
‘ firmation of their title.

‘ Such, may it please your Majesty, is the
‘ present state of the progress making in the
‘ settlement of the northern parts of the sea-
‘ coasts of North America, in consequence of
‘ what appears to have been the policy
‘ adopted by this kingdom. And many per-
‘ sons

‘ sons of rank and substance here are pro-
 ‘ ceeding to carry into execution the plan
 ‘ which your Majesty (pursuing the same
 ‘ principles of commercial policy) has ap-
 ‘ proved for the settlement of the islands of
 ‘ St. John and Cape Breton, and of the new
 ‘ established colonies to the south. And,
 ‘ therefore, as we are fully convinced, that
 ‘ the encouraging settlements upon the sea-
 ‘ coast of North America is founded in the
 ‘ true principles of commercial policy; as we
 ‘ find upon examination, that the happy ef-
 ‘ fects of that policy are now beginning to
 ‘ open themselves, in the establishment of
 ‘ these branches of commerce, culture, and
 ‘ navigation, upon which the strength,
 ‘ wealth, and security of this kingdom de-
 ‘ pend; we cannot be of opinion that it
 ‘ would in any view be advisable to divest
 ‘ your Majesty’s subjects in America from
 ‘ the pursuit of those important objects, by
 ‘ adopting measures of a new policy, *at an*
 ‘ *expence to this kingdom, which in its present*
 ‘ *state it is unable to bear.*

‘ This, may it please your Majesty, being
‘ the light in which we view the proposition
‘ of colonizing in the interior country, con-
‘ sidered as a general principle of policy; we
‘ shall, in the next place, proceed to examine
‘ the several arguments urged in support of
‘ the particular establishments now recom-
‘ mended.

‘ These arguments appear to us reducible
‘ to the following general propositions, viz.

‘ First, That such colonies will promote
‘ population, and increase the demands for,
‘ and consumption of British manufactures.

‘ Secondly, That they will secure the fur
‘ trade, and prevent an illicit trade, or inter-
‘ fering of French or Spaniards with the
‘ Indians.

‘ Thirdly, That they will be a defence
‘ and protection to the old colonies against
‘ the Indians.

‘ Fourthly,

‘ Fourthly, That they will contribute to
 ‘ lessen the present heavy expence of supply-
 ‘ ing provisions to the different forts and gar-
 ‘ risons.

‘ Lastly, That they are necessary in respect
 ‘ to the inhabitants already residing in those
 ‘ places where they are proposed to be esta-
 ‘ blished, who require some form of civil go-
 ‘ vernment.

‘ After what we have already stated with
 ‘ respect to the policy of encouraging colo-
 ‘ nies in the interior country as a general
 ‘ principle, we trust it will not be necessary
 ‘ to enter into an ample discussion of the ar-
 ‘ guments brought to support the foregoing
 ‘ propositions.

‘ We admit as an undeniable principle of
 ‘ true policy, that with a view to prevent
 ‘ manufactures, it is necessary and proper to
 ‘ open an extent of territory for colonization
 ‘ proportioned to the increase of people, as a
 ‘ large number of inhabitants, cooped up in
 ‘ narrow limits, without a sufficiency of land
 ‘ for

for produce, would be compelled to convert their attention and industry to manufactures: but we submit whether the encouragement given to the settlement of the colonies upon the sea-coast, and the effect which such encouragement has had, have not already effectually provided for this object, as well as for increasing the demand for, and consumption of British manufactures, an advantage which, in our humble opinion, would not be promoted by these new colonies, which being proposed to be established, at the distance of *above fifteen hundred miles from the sea*, and in places which, upon the fullest evidence, are found to be utterly inaccessible to shipping, will, from their inability to find returns wherewith to pay for the manufactures of Great Britain, be probably led to manufacture for themselves; a consequence which experience shews has constantly attended in greater or lesser degree every inland settlement; and therefore ought, in our humble opinion, to be carefully guarded against, by *encouraging* the settlement of that extensive tract of sea-coast hitherto unoccupied; *which, together with*
the

‘ *the liberty that the inhabitants of the middle*
‘ *colonies will have (in consequence of the*
‘ *proposed boundary line with the Indians) of*
‘ *gradually extending themselves backwards,*
‘ *will more effectually and beneficially answer*
‘ *the object of encouraging population and*
‘ *consumption, than the erection of new go-*
‘ *vernments; such gradual extension might*
‘ *through the medium of a continued popu-*
‘ *lation, upon even the same extent of terri-*
‘ *tory, preserve a communication of mutual*
‘ *commercial benefits between its extremest*
‘ *parts and Great Britain, impossible to exist in*
‘ *colonies separated by immense tracts of unpeo-*
‘ *pled desert.—As to the effect which it is*
‘ *supposed the colonies may have to increase*
‘ *and promote the fur trade, and to prevent*
‘ *all contraband trade or intercourse between*
‘ *the Indians under your Majesty’s protection,*
‘ *and the French or Spaniards; it does appear*
‘ *to us, that the extension of the fur trade*
‘ *depends entirely upon the Indians being*
‘ *undisturbed in the possession of their hunt-*
‘ *ing-grounds; that all colonizing does in its*
‘ *nature, and must in its consequences, ope-*
‘ *rate*

‘ rate to the prejudice of that branch of
 ‘ commerce, and that the French and Spaniard
 ‘ would be left in possession of a great part of
 ‘ what remained; as New Orleans would still
 ‘ continue the best and surest market.

‘ As to the protection which it is supposed
 ‘ these new colonies may be capable of af-
 ‘ fording to the old ones, it will, in our opi-
 ‘ nion, appear on the slightest view of their
 ‘ situation, that so far from affording protec-
 ‘ tion to the old colonies, they will stand
 ‘ most in need of it themselves.

‘ It cannot be denied, that new colonies
 ‘ would be of advantage in raising provisions
 ‘ for the supply of such forts and garrisons
 ‘ as may be kept up in the neighbourhood of
 ‘ them; but as the degree of utility will be
 ‘ proportioned to the number and situation of
 ‘ these forts and garrisons, which upon the
 ‘ result of the present inquiry it may be
 ‘ thought advisable to continue, so the force
 ‘ of the argument will depend upon that
 ‘ event.

‘ The

‘ The present French inhabitants in the
‘ neighbourhood of the Lakes, will, in our
‘ humble opinion, be sufficient to furnish
‘ with provisions whatever posts may be ne-
‘ cessary to be continued there; and as there
‘ are also French inhabitants settled in some
‘ parts of the country lying upon the Mis-
‘ sissippi, between the rivers Illinois and the
‘ Ohio, it is to be hoped that a sufficient
‘ number of these may be induced to fix
‘ their abode, where the same convenience
‘ and advantage may be derived from them;
‘ but if no such circumstance were to exist,
‘ and no such assistance to be expected
‘ from it, the objections stated to the plan
‘ now under our consideration are superior to
‘ this, or any other advantage it can produce;
‘ and although civil establishments have fre-
‘ quently rendered the expence of an armed
‘ force necessary for their protection, one
‘ of the many objections to these now pro-
‘ posed, yet we humbly presume there never
‘ has been an instance of a government in-
‘ stituted merely with a view to supply a
‘ body of troops with suitable provisions;
‘ nor is it necessary in these instances for the
‘ settle-

‘ settlements, already existing, as above de-
 ‘ scribed, which being formed under mili-
 ‘ tary establishments, and ever subjected to
 ‘ military authority, do not, in our humble
 ‘ opinion, require any other superintendence
 ‘ than that of the military officers command-
 ‘ ing at these posts.’

“ In addition to this opinion of the Board of Trade, expressed in the foregoing recital, we further beg leave to refer your Lordships to the opinion of the Commander in Chief of his Majesty’s forces in North America, who, in a letter laid before us by the Earl of Hillsborough, delivers his sentiments with regard to the settlements in the interior parts of America in the following words, *viz.*

“ VII. ‘ As to increasing the settlements to
 ‘ respectable provinces, and to colonization
 ‘ *in general terms* in the *remote* countries, I
 ‘ conceive it altogether inconsistent with
 ‘ sound policy; for there is little appearance
 ‘ that the advantages will arise from it which
 ‘ nations expect when they send out colonies
 ‘ into

' into *foreign countries*; they can give no en-
 ' couragement to the fishery, and though the
 ' country might afford some kind of naval
 ' stores, the distance would be too far to
 ' transport them; and for the same reason
 ' they could not supply the sugar islands
 ' with lumber and provisions. As for the
 ' raising wine, silk, and other commodities,
 ' the same may be said of the present colonies
 ' without planting others for the purpose at
 ' so vast a distance; but on the supposition
 ' that they would be raised, their very long
 ' transportation must probably make them
 ' too dear for any market. I do not appre-
 ' hend the inhabitants could have any com-
 ' modities to barter for manufactures except
 ' skins and furs, which will naturally decrease
 ' as the country increases in people, and the
 ' desarts are cultivated; so that in the course
 ' of a few years necessity would force them
 ' to provide manufactures of some kind for
 ' themselves; and when all connection up-
 ' held by commerce with the mother country
 ' shall cease, it may be expected, that an in-
 ' dependency on her government will soon
 ' follow; the pretence of forming barriers

‘ will have no end ; wherever we settle, how-
‘ ever remote, there must be a frontier ; and
‘ there is room enough for the colonists to
‘ spread within our present limits, for a cen-
‘ tury to come. If we reflect how the peo-
‘ ple of themselves have gradually retired
‘ from the coast, we shall be convinced they
‘ want no encouragement to desert sea-coasts,
‘ and go into the back countries, where the
‘ lands are better, and got upon easier terms ;
‘ they are already almost out of the reach of
‘ law and government ; neither the endea-
‘ vours of government, or fear of Indians,
‘ has kept them properly within bounds ;
‘ and it is apparently most for the interest of
‘ Great Britain to confine the colonies on
‘ the side of the back country, and to direct
‘ their settlements along the sea-coast, where
‘ millions of acres are yet uncultivated. The
‘ lower provinces are still thinly inhabited,
‘ and not brought to the point of perfection
‘ that has been aimed at for the mutual be-
‘ nefit of Great Britain and themselves. Al-
‘ though America may supply the mother
‘ country with many articles, few of them
‘ are yet supplied in quantities equal to her

‘ con-

' consumption; the quantity of iron trans-
 ' ported is not great, of hemp very small, and
 ' there are many other commodities not ne-
 ' cessary to enumerate, which America has
 ' not yet been able to raise, notwithstanding
 ' the encouragement given her by bounties
 ' and premiums. The laying open new
 ' tracts of fertile territory in moderate cli-
 ' mates might lessen her present produce;
 ' for it is the passion of every man to be a
 ' landholder, and the people have a natural
 ' disposition to rove in search of good lands,
 ' however distant. It may be a question
 ' likewise, whether colonization of the kind
 ' could be effected *without an Indian war,*
 ' *and fighting for every inch of ground.* The
 ' Indians have long been jealous of our power,
 ' and have no patience in seeing us approach
 ' their towns, and settle upon their hunting-
 ' grounds; atonements may be made for a
 ' fraud discovered in a trader, and even the
 ' murder of some of their tribes, but *encroach-*
 ' *ments* upon their lands have often produced
 ' serious consequences. The springs of the
 ' last general war are to be discovered near
 ' the Allegany mountains, and upon the
 ' banks of the Ohio.

‘ It is so obvious, that settlers might raise
‘ provisions to feed the troops cheaper than it
‘ can be transported from the country below,
‘ that it is not necessary to explain it; but
‘ I must own I know no other use in settle-
‘ ments, or can give any other reason for
‘ supporting forts, than to protect the set-
‘ tlements; and keep the settlers in subjection
‘ to government.

‘ I conceive, that to procure all the com-
‘ merce it will afford, and as little expence
‘ to ourselves as we can, is the only object
‘ we shall have in view in the interior coun-
‘ try for a century to come; and I imagine
‘ it might be effected, by proper manage-
‘ ment, without either forts or settlements.
‘ Our manufactures are as much desired by
‘ the Indians, as their peltry is sought for by
‘ us; what was originally deemed a super-
‘ fluity, or a luxury by the natives, is now
‘ become a necessary; they are disused to
‘ the bow, and can neither hunt, or make
‘ war without fire-arms, powder, and lead.
‘ The British provinces can only supply
‘ them with their necessaries, which they
‘ know, and for their own sakes would pro-
‘ tect

' test the trader, which they actually do at
 ' present. It would remain with us to pre-
 ' vent the trader's being guilty of frauds and
 ' impositions, and to pursue the same me-
 ' thods to that end, as are taken in the
 ' southern district; and I must confess,
 ' though the plan pursued in that district
 ' might be improved by proper laws to sup-
 ' port it, that I do not know a better or more
 ' œconomical plan for the management of
 ' trade; there are neither forts nor settle-
 ' ments in the southern department, and
 ' there are both in the northern department;
 ' and your Lordships will be the best judge,
 ' which of them has given you the least
 ' trouble; in which we have had the fewest
 ' quarrels with, or complaints from the In-
 ' dians.

' I know of nothing so liable to bring on
 ' a serious quarrel with Indians *as an invasion*
 ' *of their property.* Let the savages enjoy
 ' their desarts in quiet; little bickerings that
 ' may unavoidably sometimes happen, may
 ' soon be accommodated; and I am of opi-
 ' nion, independent of the motives of com-
 ' mon justice and humanity, that the prin-

‘ ciples of interest and policy should induce
 ‘ us rather to protect than molest them :
 ‘ were they driven from their forests, the
 ‘ peltry trade would decrease ; and it is *not*
 ‘ *impossible* that worse savages would take
 ‘ refuge in them, for they might then become
 ‘ the asylum of fugitive negroes, and idle
 ‘ vagabonds, escaped from justice, who in
 ‘ time might become formidable, and subsist
 ‘ by rapine, and plundering the lower coun-
 ‘ tries.’

“ VIII. The opinions delivered in the foregoing recitals are so accurate and precise, as to make it almost unnecessary to add any thing more : but we beg leave to lay before your Lordships the sentiments of his Majesty’s Governor of Georgia, upon the subject of large grants in the interior parts of America, whose knowledge and experience in the affairs of the colonies give great weight to his opinion.

“ In a letter to us, on the subject of the mischiefs attending such grants, he expresses himself in the following manner, viz.

‘ And

‘ And now, my Lords, I beg your patience
 ‘ a moment, while I consider this matter in
 ‘ a more extensive point of view, and go a
 ‘ little further in declaring my sentiments
 ‘ and opinion, with respect to the granting
 ‘ of large bodies of land, in the back parts
 ‘ of the province of Georgia, or in any other
 ‘ of his Majesty’s northern colonies, at a dis-
 ‘ tance from the sea-coast, or from such parts
 ‘ of any province as are already settled and
 ‘ inhabited.

‘ And this matter, my Lords, appears to
 ‘ me, in a very serious and alarming light ;
 ‘ and I humbly conceive may be attended
 ‘ with the greatest and worst of consequences ;
 ‘ for, my Lords, if a vast territory be granted
 ‘ to any set of gentlemen, who really mean
 ‘ to people it, and actually do so, it must
 ‘ draw and carry out a great number of peo-
 ‘ ple from Great Britain ; and I apprehend
 ‘ they will soon become a kind of separate and
 ‘ independent people, and who will set up
 ‘ for themselves ; that they will soon have
 ‘ manufactures of their own ; that they will
 ‘ neither take supplies from the mother coun-

‘ try, or from the provinces, at the back of
‘ which they are settled; that being at a dis-
‘ tance from the seat of government, courts,
‘ magistrates, &c. &c. they will be out of
‘ the reach and control of law and govern-
‘ ment; that it will become a receptacle
‘ and kind of asylum for offenders, who will
‘ fly from justice to such new country or
‘ colony; and therefore crimes and offences
‘ will be committed, not only by the inhabit-
‘ ants of such new settlements, but elsewhere,
‘ and pass with impunity; and that in pro-
‘ cess of time (and perhaps at no great dis-
‘ tance) they will become formidable enough
‘ to oppose his Majesty’s authority, disturb
‘ government, and even give law to the
‘ other or first settled part of the country,
‘ and throw every thing into confusion.

‘ My Lords, I hope I shall not be thought
‘ impertinent, when I give my opinion freely,
‘ in a matter of so great consequence, as I
‘ conceive this to be; and, my Lords, I ap-
‘ prehend, that in all the American colonies,
‘ great care should be taken, that the lands on
‘ the sea-coast should be thick settled with
‘ inhabit-

inhabitants, and well cultivated and improved; and that the settlements should be gradually extended back into the province, and as much connected as possible, to keep the people together in as narrow a compass as the nature of the lands and state of things will admit of; and by which means there would probably become only one general view and interest amongst them, and the power of government and law would of course naturally and easily go with them, and matters thereby properly regulated, and kept in due order and obedience; and they would have no idea of resisting or transgressing either without being amenable to justice, and subject to punishment for any offences they may commit.

But, my Lords, to suffer a kind of province within a province, and one that may, indeed must in process of time become superior, and too big for the head or original settlement or seat of government, to me conveys with it many ideas of consequence, of such a nature, as I apprehend are extremely dangerous and improper, and it would be

‘ the policy of government to avoid and prevent, whilst in their power to do so.

‘ My ideas, my Lords, are not chimerical ;
 ‘ I know something of the situation and state
 ‘ of things in America ; and from some little
 ‘ occurrences or instances that have already
 ‘ really happened, I can very easily figure to
 ‘ myself what may, and, in short, what
 ‘ will certainly happen, if not prevented in
 ‘ time.’

“ IX. At the same time that we submit the foregoing reasoning against colonization in the interior country to your Lordships’ consideration, it is proper we should take notice of one argument, which has been invariably held forth in support of every proposition of this nature, and upon which the present proponents appear to lay great stress. It is urged, that such is the state of the country now proposed to be granted, and erected into a separate government, that no endeavours on the part of the crown can avail, to prevent its being settled by those who, by the increase of population in the middle colonies, are continually

nually emigrating to the westward, and forming themselves into colonies in that country, without the intervention or control of government, and who, if suffered to continue in that lawless state of anarchy and confusion, will commit such abuses as cannot fail of involving us in quarrel and dispute with the Indians, and thereby endangering the security of his Majesty's colonies.

“ We admit, that this is an argument that deserves attention; and we rather take notice of it in this place, because some of the objections stated by Governor Wright *lose their force, upon the supposition that the grants against which he argues are to be erected into separate governments.* But we are clearly of opinion, that his arguments do, in the general view of them, as applied to the question of granting lands in the interior parts of America, stand unanswerable; and *admitting* that the settlers in the country in question are *as numerous as report states them to be,* yet we submit to your Lordships, that this is a fact which does, in the nature of it, operate strongly in point of argument *against* what

what is proposed; for if the foregoing reasoning has any weight, it certainly ought to induce your Lordships to advise his Majesty to take every method to *check* the progress of these settlements, and *not* to make such grants of the land as will have an immediate tendency to encourage them; a measure which we conceive is altogether as unnecessary as it is impolitic, as we see nothing to hinder the government of Virginia from extending the laws and constitution of that colony to such persons as may have already settled there *under legal titles*.

“ X. And there is one objection suggested by Governor Wright to the extension of settlements in the interior country, which, we submit, deserves your Lordships’ particular attention, viz. the encouragement that is thereby held out to the emigration of his Majesty’s European subjects; an argument which, in the present peculiar situation of this kingdom, demands very serious consideration, and has for some time past had so great weight with this Board, that it has induced us to deny our concurrence to many proposals

propofals for grants of land, even in thofe parts of the continent of America where, in all other refpects, we are of opinion that it confifts with the true policy of this kingdom to encourage fettlements; and this confideration of the certain bad confequences which muft result from a continuance of fuch emigrations, as have lately taken place from various parts of his Majefty's European dominions, added to the conftant drains to Africa, to the Eaft Indies, and to the new ceded iflands, will, we truft, with what has been before ftated, be a fufficient answer, to every argument that can be urged in fupport of the prefent memorial, fo far as regards the confideration of it in point of policy.

“ XI. With regard to the propriety in point of *juftice* of making the grant defired, we prefume this confideration can have reference only to the cafe of fuch perfons who have already poffeffion of lands in that part of the country under legal titles derived from grants made by the Governor and Council of Virginia; upon which cafe we have only to obferve, that it does appear to us, that there
are

are *some* such possessions held by persons who are not parties to the present memorial; and therefore, if your Lordships shall be of opinion, that the making the grant desired would, notwithstanding the reservation proposed in respect to such titles, have the effect to disturb those possessions, or to expose the proprietors to suit and litigation, we do conceive, that, in that case, the grant would be objectionable in point of justice.

“ XII. Upon the whole, therefore, we cannot recommend to your Lordships to advise his Majesty to comply with the prayer of this memorial, either as to the erection of any parts of the lands into a separate government, or the making a grant of them to the memorialists; but, on the contrary, we are of opinion, that settlements in that distant part of the country should be as much discouraged as possible; and that, in order thereto, it will be expedient, not only that the orders which have been given to the Governor of Virginia, not to make any further grants beyond the line prescribed by the proclamation of 1763, should be continued and enforced, but that
another

another proclamation should be issued, declaratory of his Majesty's resolution not to allow, for the *present*, any new settlements beyond that line, and to forbid all persons from taking up or settling any lands in that part of the country.

“ We are, my Lords,

“ Your Lordships' most obedient

“ and most humble servants.

“ Whitehall, April 15, 1772.”

To the preceding Report of the Board of Trade, Dr. Franklin wrote an elaborate answer, in the composition of which, he took great pains and bestowed much time and attention. If there were no other reasons, these would be sufficient to recommend it to the reader's notice. But there are others of a more weighty and important nature. The arguments and facts contained in it were found to be so strong, and the deductions from them so forcible, that when the petition and the report were taken into consideration in the Privy Council, which was on the first day of July 1772, their Lordships decided in favour of the petition. It was not often that the

Privy

Privy Council decided against reports from the Board of Trade.

Lord Hillsborough, who was at this time at the head of the Board of Trade, and consequently had a principal share in drawing up the report, was so much offended by the decision of the Privy Council, that he resigned upon it. He resigned for that reason only. He had conceived an idea, and was forming the plan of a boundary line to be drawn from the Hudson's river to the Mississippi, and thereby confining the British colonies between that line and the ocean, similar to the scheme of the French after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which brought on the war of 1756. His favourite project being thus defeated, he quitted the ministry.

Dr. Franklin's answer to the Report of the Board of Trade was intended to have been published, but Lord Hillsborough resigning, Dr. Franklin stopped the sale on the morning of the publication, when not above *five* copies had been disposed of: from one of which the following copy is taken.

To

To the above reasons it will not be improper to add, that it may be considered a valuable historical document of the origin of a new province that already bids fair to become one of the largest and most opulent on that great continent.

Observations on, and Answers to, the foregoing Report.

“ I. The first paragraph of the Report, we apprehend, was intended to establish two propositions as facts; *viz.*

“ First, That the tract of land agreed for with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, contains *part* of the dominion of Virginia.

“ Second, That it extends several degrees of longitude *westward* from the western ridge of the *Allegany* mountains.

“ On the first proposition we shall only remark, that no part of the above tract is to the *eastward* of the *Allegany* mountains;—and that these mountains must be considered

as the true western boundary of *Virginia*;— for the King was *not* seized and possessed of a right to the country *westward* of the mountains, until his Majesty purchased it, in the year 1768, from the Six Nations: and since that time, there has not been any annexation of such purchase, or of any part thereof, to the colony of Virginia.

“ On the second proposition,——we shall just observe, that the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations appear to us to be as erroneous in this as in the former proposition; for their Lordships say, that the tract of land under consideration *extends several degrees of longitude westward*. The truth is, that it is not more, on a medium, than one degree and a half of longitude from the western ridge of the Allegany mountains to the river Ohio.

“ II. It appears by the second paragraph, as if the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations apprehended,——that the lands south-westerly of the *boundary line*, marked on a map annexed to their Lordships' *Report*,—
were

were either claimed by the Cherokees, or were their hunting-grounds, or were the hunting-grounds of the Six Nations and their confederates.

“ As to any claim of the Cherokees to the above country, it is altogether new and indefensible; and never was heard of until the appointment of Mr. Stewart to the superintendency of the southern colonies, about the year 1764; and this, we flatter ourselves, will not only be obvious from the following state of facts, but that the right to *all the country* on the southerly side of the river Ohio, quite to the Cherokee river, is *now* undoubtedly vested in the King, by the grant which the Six Nations made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix, in November 1768. In short, the lands from the *Great Kenhawa* to the *Cherokee river* never were either the dwelling or hunting-grounds of the *Cherokees*;—but formerly belonged to, and were inhabited by the *Shawaneffe*, until such time as they were conquered by the Six Nations.

“ Mr. Colden, the present Lieutenant Governor of New York, in his History of the Five Nations, observes, that about the year 1664, ‘ the Five Nations being amply supplied ‘ by the English with fire-arms and ammunition, gave a full swing to their warlike ‘ genius. They carried their arms *as far ‘ south as Carolina*, to the northward of New ‘ England, and *as far west as the river Mississippi*, over a vast country,—which extended 1200 miles in length from north to ‘ south, and 600 miles in breadth,—where they ‘ entirely destroyed whole nations, of whom ‘ there are no accounts remaining among the ‘ English.’

“ In 1701,—the Five Nations put all their hunting-lands under the protection of the English, as appears by the records, and by the recital and confirmation thereof, in their deed to the King of the 4th September 1726;—and Governor Pownal, who many years ago diligently searched into the rights of the natives, and in particular into those of the northern confederacy, says, in his book intitled, the *Administration of the Colonies*,
 ‘ The

' The right of the Five Nation confederacy
 ' to the hunting-lands of *Ohio*, Ticûckfou-
 ' chondite and Scaniaderiada, by the con-
 ' quest they made, in subduing the *Shaöanaes*,
 ' Delawares, (as we call them,) Twiçtwees,
 ' and Oilinois, may be fairly proved, as
 ' they stood possessed thereof at the peace
 ' of Refwick 1697.' And confirmatory
 hereof, Mr. Lewis Evans, a gentleman of
 great American knowledge, in his map of the
 middle colonies; published in America in the
 year 1755, has laid down the country on the
south-easterly side of the river *Ohio*, as the
hunting-lands of the Six Nations; and in his
 analysis to this map, he expressly says,—
 ' The *Sharwanesse*, who were formerly one of
 ' the most considerable nations of those parts
 ' of America, whose seat extended from *Ken-*
 ' *tucke* south-westward to the *Mississippi*, have
 ' been subdued by the confederates, (or Six
 ' Nations,) and the country since became their
 ' property. No nation,' Mr. Evans adds,
 ' held out with greater resolution and bravery;
 ' and although they have been scattered in
 ' all parts for a while, they are again collected
 ' on *Ohio*, under the dominion of the confe-
 ' derates.'

“ At a congress held in the year 1744, by the provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, with the Six Nations,—the Commissioners of Virginia, in a speech to the Sachems and Warriors of that confederacy, say, ‘ Tell us what nations of Indians you conquered any lands from in Virginia, how long it is since, and what possession you have had; and if it does appear, that there is any land on the *borders* of Virginia that the Six Nations have a right to, we are willing to make you satisfaction.’ ”

“ To this speech the Six Nations gave the following animated and decisive answer:— ‘ All the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Sasquehanna, Cohongoranto [*i. e.* Powtomack] and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia;— the Conoy-uck-suck-roona, Cock-now-was-roonan, Tohoa-irough-roonan, and Connut-skin-ough-roonaw *feel* the effects of our conquests; being now a part of our nations, and their lands at *our* disposal. We know very well, it hath often been said by the Virginians, that the King of England and the people of that colony conquered the

‘ people who lived there ; but it is not true.
 ‘ We will allow, they conquered the Sach-
 ‘ dagughronaw, and drove back the Tufka-
 ‘ roras ; [the first resided near the branches
 ‘ of James’s River in Virginia, and the latter
 ‘ on these branches ;] and that they have, on
 ‘ that account, a right to some parts of Vir-
 ‘ ginia ; *but as to what lies beyond the moun-
 ‘ tains, we conquered the nations residing there,
 ‘ and that land, if the Virginians ever get a
 ‘ good right to it, it must be by us.*’

“ In the year 1750, the French seized four English traders, who were trading with the Six Nations, Shawanesse and Delawares, on the waters of the Ohio, and sent them prisoners to Quebec, and from thence to France.

“ In 1754, the French took a formal possession of the river Ohio, and built forts at Venango,—at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongehela, and at the *mouth of the Cherokee river.*

“ In 1755, General Braddock was sent to America with an army to remove the French

from their possessions *over* the Allegany mountains, and on the river Ohio; and on his arrival at Alexandria, held a council of war with the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and the Massachusetts's Bay;—and as these gentlemen well knew, that the country claimed by the French, *over the Allegany mountains, and southwesterly to the river Mississippi*, was the unquestionable property of the *Six Nations*, and *not* of the Cherokees, or any other tribe of Indians,—the General gave instructions to Sir William Johnson, to call together the Indians of the *Six Nations*, and lay before them their before-mentioned grant to the King in 1726,—wherein they had put all their hunting-lands *under his Majesty's protection; to be guaranteed to them, and to their use*:—And as General Braddock's instructions are clearly declaratory of the right of the Six Nations to the lands under consideration, we shall here transcribe the conclusive words of them:—

‘ And it appearing that the French have,
‘ from time to time, by fraud and violence,
‘ built strong forts *within the limits of the said*
‘ *lands*, contrary to the covenant chain of
‘ the

‘ the said deed and treaties, you are, in my
 ‘ name, to assure the said nations, that I am
 ‘ come by his Majesty’s order, to destroy all
 ‘ the said forts, and to build such others
 ‘ as shall protect and secure the said lands to
 ‘ them, their heirs and successors for ever,
 ‘ according to the intent and spirit of the
 ‘ said treaty; and I do therefore call upon
 ‘ them to take up the hatchet, and come and
 ‘ take possession of their own lands.’

“ That General Braddock and the American Governors were not singular in their opinion, as to the right of the Six Nations to the land *over* the Allegany mountains, and on both sides of the river Ohio, quite to the Mississippi, is evident, from the memorials which passed between the British and French courts in 1755.

“ In a memorial delivered by the King’s ministers on the 7th June 1755, to the Duke Mirepoix, relative to the pretensions of France to the above-mentioned lands, they very justly observed—‘ As to the exposition, which is
 ‘ made in the French memorial of the 15th

‘ article of the treaty of Utrecht, the court
‘ of Great Britain does not think it can have
‘ any foundation, either by the words or the
‘ intention of this treaty.

‘ 1st, The court of Great Britain can-
‘ not allow of this article, relating only to
‘ the persons of the savages, and *not to their*
‘ *country*: the words of this treaty are clear
‘ and precise; that is to say, the *Five Nations*;
‘ or Cantons, are subject to the dominion of
‘ Great Britain,—which, by the received ex-
‘ position of all treaties, must relate to the
‘ *country*, as well to the persons of the in-
‘ habitants;—it is what France has acknow-
‘ ledged in the most solemn manner:—she
‘ has well weighed the importance of this
‘ acknowledgment, at the time of signing
‘ this treaty, and Great Britain can never
‘ give it up. The countries possessed by
‘ these Indians *are very well known, and are*
‘ *not at all so undetermined*, as it is pretended
‘ in the memorial: they *possess and make them*
‘ *over, as other proprietors do, in all other*
‘ *places.*’

‘ 5th, Whatever pretext might be al-
 ‘ ledged by France, in considering these coun-
 ‘ tries as the appurtenances of Canada; *it*
 ‘ *is a certain truth, that they have belonged,*
 ‘ *and* (as they have not been given up, *or*
 ‘ *made over* to the English) *belong still to the*
 ‘ *same Indian nations*; which, by the 15th
 ‘ article of the treaty of Utrecht, France
 ‘ agreed not to molest,—*Nulla in posterum*
 ‘ *impedimento, aut molestia afficiant.*’

‘ Notwithstanding all that has been ad-
 ‘ vanced in this article, the court of Great
 ‘ Britain *cannot* agree to France having the
 ‘ least title to the river Ohio, and the *terri-*
 ‘ *tory in question.*’ [N. B. This was *all* the
 country from the Allegany mountains to the
 Ohio, and down the same, and on both sides
 thereof to the river Mississippi.]

‘ Even that of possession is not, nor can
 ‘ it be alleged on this occasion; since France
 ‘ cannot pretend to have had any such before
 ‘ the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, nor since,
 ‘ unless it be that of certain *forts*, unjustly
 ‘ erected lately *on the lands which evidently*
 ‘ *belong*

‘ *belong to the Five Nations, or which these*
 ‘ *have made over to the Crown of Great*
 ‘ *Britain or its subjects, as may be proved by*
 ‘ *treaties and acts of the greatest authority.—*
 ‘ *What the court of Great Britain maintained,*
 ‘ *and what it insists upon, is, That the Five*
 ‘ *Nations of the Iroquois, acknowledged by*
 ‘ *France, are, by origin, or by right of conquest*
 ‘ *the lawful proprietors of the river Ohio, and*
 ‘ *the territory in question: and as to the ter-*
 ‘ *ritory which has been yielded and made over*
 ‘ *by these people to Great Britain, (which can-*
 ‘ *not but be owned must be the most just*
 ‘ *and lawful manner of making an acquisition*
 ‘ *of this fort,) she reclaims it, as belonging to*
 ‘ *her, having continued cultivating it for*
 ‘ *above 20 years past, and having made set-*
 ‘ *tlements in several parts of it, from the*
 ‘ *sources even of the Ohio to Pichawillanes,*
 ‘ *in the centre of the territory between the*
 ‘ *Ohio and the Wabache.’*

“ In 1755, the Lords Commissioners for
 Trade and Plantations were so solicitous to
 ascertain the territory of the Six Nations, that
 Dr. Mitchel, by their desire, published a large
 map

map of North America; and Mr. Pownal, the present Secretary of the Board of Trade, *then* certified, as appears on the map,—That the Doctor was furnished with documents for the purpose from that Board.—In this map Dr. Mitchel observes, ‘That the Six Nations have extended their territories, ever since the year 1672, *when they subdued and were incorporated with the antient Shawanesse, the native proprietors of these countries, and the river Ohio*: besides which, they likewise claim a right of conquest over the Illinois, and all the Mississippi, as far as they extend. This,’ he adds, ‘is confirmed by their own claims and possessions in 1742, which include all the bounds here laid down, and none have ever thought fit to dispute them.’ And, in confirmation of this right of the Six Nations to the country on the Ohio, as mentioned by the King’s ministers, in their memorial to the Duke of Mirepoix in 1755, we would just remark, that the Six Nations, Shawanesse and Delawares, were in the *actual occupation* of the lands *southward* of the Great Kenhawa for some time after the French had encroached upon

upon the river Ohio; and that in the year 1752, these tribes had a large town on Kentucky river,—238 miles below the *Sioto*:—that in the year 1754, they resided and hunted on the *southerly* side of the river Ohio, in the *Low Country*, at about 320 miles below the Great Kenhawa;—and in the year 1755, they had also a large town opposite to the mouth of Sioto;—*at the very place* which is the *southern boundary* line of the tract of land applied for by Mr. Walpole and his associates.—But it is a certain fact, that the Cherokees *never* had any towns or settlements in the country *southward* of the Great Kenhawa;—that they do *not* hunt there, and that neither the Six Nations, Shawanesse nor Delawareans, do *now* reside or hunt on the *southerly* side of the river Ohio, nor did *not* for several years *before* they sold the country to the King. These are facts which can be easily and fully proved.

“ In October 1768, at a congress held with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, they observed to Sir William Johnson: “ Now, brother, you who know all our affairs, must be
 ‘ sensible

' sensible that *our* rights go much farther
 ' to the *southward* than the *Kenbawa*,—and
 ' that we have a very good and clear title
 ' as far *south* as the *Cherokee river*, which we
 ' cannot allow to be the right of any other
 ' Indians, without doing wrong to our poste-
 ' rity, and acting unworthy those warriors
 ' who fought and conquered it;—we there-
 ' fore expect this our right will be con-
 ' sidered.'

“ In November 1768, the Six Nations sold
 to the King all the country on the southerly
 side of the river Ohio, as far as to the Che-
 rokee river; but notwithstanding that sale,
 as soon as it was understood in Virginia that
 government *favoured* the pretensions of the
 Cherokees, and that Dr. Walker and Colonel
 Lewis (the commissioners sent from that co-
 lony to the congress at Fort Stanwix) had
 returned from thence, the late Lord Botte-
 tout sent these gentlemen to Charles-town,
 South Carolina, to endeavour to convince
 Mr. Stuart, the Southern Superintendant of
 Indian affairs, of the necessity of enlarging the
 boundary line, which he had settled with the
 Chero-

Cherokees;—and to run it from the *Great Kenhawa* to Holston's river. These gentlemen were appointed commissioners by his Lordship, as they had been long conversant in Indian affairs, and were well acquainted with the actual extent of the Cherokee country. Whilst these commissioners were in South Carolina, they wrote a letter to Mr. Stuart, as he had been but a very few years in the Indian service, (and could not, from the nature of his former employment, be supposed to be properly informed about the Cherokee territory,) respecting the claims of the Cherokees to the lands *southward* of the Great Kenhawa, and therein they expressed themselves as follows :

‘ Charles-town, South Carolina,
Feb. 2, 1769.

‘ The country *southward* of the *Big Kenhawa* was never claimed by the Cherokees,
‘ and now is the property of the Crown, as
‘ Sir William Johnson purchased it of the
‘ Six Nations at a very considerable expence,
‘ and took a deed of cession from them at Fort
‘ Stanwix.’

“ In

“ In 1769, the House of Burgesſes of the colony of Virginia represented to Lord Botte-
 court, ‘ That they have the greateſt reaſon
 ‘ to fear the ſaid line,’ (meaning the boundary
 line, which the Lords Commiſſioners for
 Trade and Plantations have referred to in
 the map annexed to their Lordſhips’ report,)
 ‘ if confirmed, would conſtantly open to the
 ‘ Indians, and others *enemies* to his Majeſty,
 ‘ a free and eaſy ingreſs to the heart of the
 ‘ country on the Ohio, Holſton’s river, and
 ‘ the Great Kenhawa; whereby the settle-
 ‘ ments which may be attempted in theſe
 ‘ quarters, will, in all probability, be utterly
 ‘ deſtroyed, and *that great extent of country*
 ‘ [at leaſt 800 miles in length] *from the mouth*
 ‘ *of the Kenhawa to the mouth of the Cbe-*
 ‘ *rokee river* extending eaſtward as far as the
 ‘ Laurell Hill, *ſo lately ceded to his Majeſty,*
 ‘ *to which no tribe of Indians at preſent ſet*
 ‘ *up any pretenſions, will be entirely aban-*
 ‘ *doned to the Cberokees;* in conſequence of
 ‘ which, claims, *totally deſtructive* of the true
 ‘ intereſt of his Majeſty, may at ſome future
 ‘ time ariſe, and *acquiſitions juſtly ranked among*
 ‘ *the moſt valuable of the late war be alto-*
 ‘ *gether loſt.*’

“ From

“ From the foregoing detail of facts, it is obvious,

“ 1st, That the country *southward* of the *Great Kenhawa*, at least as far as the Cherokee river, originally belonged to the Shawanessé.

“ 2d, That the Six Nations, in virtue of their conquest of the Shawanessé, became the lawful proprietors of that country.

“ 3d, That the King, in consequence of the grant from the Six Nations, made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, is *now* vested with the undoubted right and property thereof.

“ 4th, That the Cherokees *never* resided nor hunted in that country, and have *not* any kind of right to it.

“ 5th, That the House of Burgeses of the colony of Virginia have, upon good grounds, asserted, [such as properly arise from the nature of their stations, and proximity to the Cherokee country,] that the Cherokees had

not

not any just pretensions to the territory *southward* of the Great Kenhawa.

“ And lastly, That neither the Six Nations, the Shawanesse nor Delawares, do *now* reside, or hunt in that country.

“ From these considerations, it is evident no possible injury can arise to his Majesty's service,—to the Six Nations and their confederacy,—or to the Cherokees, by permitting us to settle the *whole* of the lands comprehended within our contract with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury:—If, however, there has been any treaty held with the Six Nations, *since* the cession made to his Majesty at Fort Stanwix, whereby the faith of the crown is pledged, both to the Six Nations and the Cherokees, that no settlements should be made beyond the line, marked on their Lordships' report; we say, if such agreement has been made by the orders of government with these tribes, (notwithstanding, as the Lords Commissioners have acknowledged, ‘*the Six Nations had ceded the property in the lands to his Majesty*’)—We

flatter ourselves, that the objection of their Lordships in the second paragraph of their Report, will be entirely obviated by a specific clause being inserted in the King's grant to us, *expressly prohibiting us from settling any part of the same*, until such time as we shall have *first* obtained his Majesty's allowance, and the full consent of the Cherokees, and the Six Nations and their confederates, for that purpose,

“ III, In regard to the third paragraph of their Lordships' Report, that it was the *principle* of the Board of Trade, *after* the treaty of Paris, ‘to *confine* the western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea-coast, as that these settlements should lie within the *reach* of the trade and commerce of this kingdom,’ &c. we shall not presume to controvert;—but it may be observed, that the settlement of the country over the Allegany mountains, and on the Ohio, was *not* understood, either *before* the treaty of Paris, nor intended to be so considered by his Majesty's proclamation of October 1763, as *without the reach of the trade and commerce*

‘*merce of this kingdom,*’ &c.;—for, in the year 1748, Mr. John Hanbury, and a number of other gentlemen, petitioned the King for a grant of 500,000 acres of land *over* the Allegany mountains, and on the river Ohio and its branches; and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were *then* pleased to *report* to the Lords Committee of his Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council, ‘*That the settlement of the country, lying to the westward of the great mountains, as it was the centre of the British dominions, would be for his Majesty’s interest, and the advantage and security of Virginia and the neighbouring colonies.*’

“ And on the 23d of February 1748-9, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations *again reported* to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, that they had ‘*fully set forth the great utility and advantage of extending our settlements beyond the great mountains (which Report has been approved of by your Lordships).*—And as, by these *new* propofals, there is a *great probability of having a much larger tract of*

‘ *the said country settled than under the former,*
 ‘ *we are of opinion, that it will be greatly for*
 ‘ *his Majesty’s service, and the welfare and*
 ‘ *security of Virginia, to comply with the prayer*
 ‘ *of the petition.*’

“ And on the 16th of March 1748-9, an *instruction* was sent to the Governor of Virginia to grant 500,000 acres of land *over the Allegany mountains* to the aforesaid Mr. Hanbury and his partners (who are now *part of the company of Mr. Walpole and his associates*); and that instruction sets forth, That
 ‘ *such settlements will be for our interest, and*
 ‘ *the advantage and security of our said colony,*
 ‘ *as well as the advantage of the neighbouring*
 ‘ *ones;—inasmuch as our loving subjects will*
 ‘ *be thereby enabled to cultivate a friendship,*
 ‘ *and carry on a more extensive commerce with*
 ‘ *the nations of Indians inhabiting those*
 ‘ *parts; and such examples may likewise induce*
 ‘ *the neighbouring colonies to turn their thoughts*
 ‘ *towards designs of the same nature.*’——

Hence we apprehend, it is evident, that a former Board of Trade, at which Lord Halifax presided, was of opinion, that settlements

over

over the Allegany mountains were not against the King's interest, *nor* at such a distance from the sea-coast, as to *be without* 'the reach' of the trade and commerce of this kingdom,' nor *where* its authority or jurisdiction could not be exercised.—But the *Report* under consideration suggests, that two capital objects of the proclamation of 1763 were, *to confine* 'future settlements to the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west,' (or, in other words, to *the eastern side of the Allegany mountains*;) and to the three new governments of Canada, East Florida, and West Florida;—and to establish this fact, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations recite a part of that proclamation.

“ But if the *whole* of this proclamation is considered, it will be found to contain the nine following heads: *viz.*

“ 1st, To declare to his Majesty's subjects, that he had erected four distinct and separate governments in America; *viz.* Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada.

“ 2d, To ascertain the respective boundaries of these four new governments.

“ 3d, To testify the royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery, both of the officers and soldiers of the King’s army, and of the reduced officers of the navy, who had served in North America, and to reward them by grants of lands in Quebec, and in East and West Florida, without fee or reward.

“ 4th, To hinder the Governors of Quebec, East Florida and West Florida, from granting warrants of survey, or passing patents for lands, *beyond* the bounds of their respective governments.

“ 5th, To forbid the governors of any other colonies or plantations in America, from granting warrants or passing patents for lands, *beyond* the heads or sources of any of the rivers, which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or north-west, or upon any lands whatever, ‘ *which, not having been CEDED to or purchased by the King, are* reserved

‘ reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.’

“ 6th, To reserve, ‘ *for the present,*’ under the King’s sovereignty, protection, and dominion, *for the use of the said Indians,* all the lands *not* included within the limits of the said three new governments, or within the limits of the Hudson’s Bay Company; as also, all the lands lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers, which fall into the sea from the west and north-west, and forbidding the King’s subjects from making any purchases of settlements whatever, or taking possession of the lands *so reserved,* without his Majesty’s leave and licence first obtained.

“ 7th, To require all persons, who had made settlements on lands, *not* purchased by the King from the Indians, to remove from such settlements.

“ 8th, To regulate the future purchases of lands from the Indians, within such parts

as his Majesty, by that proclamation, permitted settlements to be made.

“ 9th, To declare, that the trade with the Indians should be free and open to all his Majesty’s subjects, and to prescribe the manner how it shall be carried on.

“ And lastly, To require all military officers, and the superintendants of Indian affairs, to seize and apprehend all persons who stood charged with treasons, murders, &c. and who had fled from justice, and taken refuge in the reserved lands of the Indians, to send such persons to the colony, *where* they stood accused.

“ From this proclamation, therefore, it is obvious, that the sole design of it, independent of the establishment of the three new governments, ascertaining their respective boundaries, rewarding the officers and soldiers, and regulating the Indian trade, and apprehending felons, was to *convince* the Indians ‘ of his Majesty’s justice and determined

‘ resolution, to remove all reasonable cause of
 ‘ discontent,’ by interdicting all settlements
 on land, not *ceded to or purchased by his Ma-*
jesty; and declaring it to be, as we have al-
 ready mentioned, his royal will and pleasure,
 ‘ for *the present, to reserve,* under his so-
 ‘ vereignty, protection, and dominion, *for*
 ‘ *the use of the Indians,* all the lands and
 ‘ territories lying to the westward of the
 ‘ sources of the rivers which fall into the
 ‘ sea from the west and north-west.’—Can
 any words express more decisively the royal
 intention?—Do they not explicitly mention,
 That the territory is, *at present,* reserved under
 his Majesty’s protection, *for the use of the*
Indians?—And as the Indians had *no use* for
 those lands, which are bounded *westerly* by
 the *south-east side* of the river Ohio, either for
 residence or hunting, they were willing to
 sell them; and accordingly did sell them to
 the King in November 1768, (the occasion
 of which sale will be fully explained in our
 observations in the succeeding paragraphs of
 the *Report*).—Of course, the proclamation,
 so far as it regarded the settlement of the
 lands included within that purchase, has ab-
 solutely

solutely and undoubtedly ceased.—The late Mr. Grenville, who was, at the time of issuing this proclamation, the minister of this kingdom, always admitted, that the design of it was totally accomplished, *so soon as the country was purchased of the natives.*

“ IV. In this paragraph, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations mention two reasons for his Majesty’s entering into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a *more precise and determinate boundary line* than was settled by the proclamation of October 1763, *viz.*

“ 1st, Partly for want of *precision* in the one intended to be marked by the proclamation of 1763.

“ 2d, And partly from a consideration of justice in regard to *legal titles to lands.*

“ We have, we presume, fully proved, in our observations on the third paragraph, That the design of the proclamation; so far as it related to lands *westward* of the Alle-
gany

gany mountains, was for no other purpose than to *reserve* them, under his Majesty's protection, for *the present, for the use of the Indians*; to which we shall only add, That the line established by the proclamation, so far as it concerned the lands in question, could *not* possibly be fixed and described with more *precision*, than the proclamation itself describes it; for it declares, That 'all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers, *which fall into the sea from the west and north-west,*' should be reserved under his Majesty's protection.

"Neither, in our opinion, was his Majesty induced to enter into engagements with the Indians for fixing a more *precise* and determinate boundary '*partly from a consideration of justice, in regard to legal titles to lands,*'—for there were *none* such (as we shall prove) comprehended within the tract *now* under consideration.

"But for a full comprehension of ALL the reasons for his Majesty's 'entering into engagements with the Indians, for fixing a
' more

‘ more precise and determinate boundary
‘ line’ than was settled by the royal proclamation of October 1763, we shall take the liberty of stating the following facts:—In the year 1764, the King’s ministers had it *then* in contemplation to obtain an act of parliament for the proper regulation of the Indian commerce; and providing a fund (by laying a duty on the trade) for the support of superintendants, commissaries, interpreters, &c. at particular forts in the Indian country, *where* the trade was to be carried on:—And as a part of this system, it was thought proper, in order to avoid future complaints from the Indians, on account of encroachments on their hunting-grounds, to purchase a large tract of territory from them, and establish, with their consent, a respectable *boundary line*, beyond which his Majesty’s subjects should *not* be permitted to settle.

“ In consequence of this system, orders were transmitted to Sir William Johnson, in the year 1764, to call together the Six Nations, lay this proposition of the *boundary* before them, and take their opinion upon it.—

This,

This, we apprehend, will appear evident from the following speech, made by Sir William to the Six Nations, at a conference which he held with them, at Johnson Hall, May the 2d, 1765,

‘ BRETHREN,

‘ The last but the most important affair I
 ‘ have at this time to mention, is with regard
 ‘ to the *settling a boundary between you and*
 ‘ *the English*. I sent a message to some
 ‘ of your nations some time ago, to acquaint
 ‘ you, that I should confer with you at this
 ‘ meeting upon it. The King, whose ge-
 ‘ nerosity and forgiveness you have already
 ‘ experienced, *being very desirous to put a*
 ‘ *final end to disputes between his people and*
 ‘ YOU CONCERNING LANDS, and to do you
 ‘ strict justice, has fallen upon the plan of
 ‘ a boundary between our provinces and the
 ‘ Indians (which no white man shall dare
 ‘ to invade) as the best and surest method of
 ‘ ending such like disputes, and *securing*
 ‘ *your property* to you, beyond a possibility
 ‘ of disturbance. This will, I hope, appear
 ‘ to you so reasonable, so just on the part
 ‘ of

‘ of the King, and so advantageous to you
 ‘ and your posterity, that I can have no
 ‘ doubt of your chearfully joining with me
 ‘ in settling such a division-line, as will
 ‘ be best for the advantage of both white
 ‘ men and Indians, *and as shall best agree*
 ‘ *with the extent and increase of each pro-*
 ‘ *vince,* and the governors, whom I shall
 ‘ consult upon that occasion, so soon as I am
 ‘ fully empowered; but in the mean time
 ‘ I am desirous to know in what manner you
 ‘ would choose to extend it, and what you
 ‘ will heartily agree to, and abide by, in
 ‘ general terms. At the same time I am
 ‘ to acquaint you, that whenever the whole
 ‘ is settled, and that it shall appear you have
 ‘ *so far consulted the increasing state of our*
 ‘ *people, as to make any convenient cessions of*
 ‘ *ground* where it is most wanted, that *then*
 ‘ you will receive a considerable present in
 ‘ return for your friendship.’

“To this speech the Sachems and Warriors
 of the Six Nations, after conferring some
 time among themselves, gave an answer to
 Sir William Johnson, and agreed to the pro-
 position

position of the boundary line;—which answer, and the other transactions of this conference, Sir William transmitted to the office of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

“ From a change of the administration, which formed the above system of obtaining an act of parliament for regulating the Indian trade, and establishing the *boundary line*, or from some other public cause, unknown to us,—no measures were adopted, until the latter end of the year 1767, for *completing* the negotiation about this boundary line.— But in the mean time, *viz.* between the years 1765 and 1768, the King’s subjects removed in *great* numbers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and settled *over* the mountains,—upon which account, the Six Nations became so irritated, that in the year 1766 they killed several persons, and denounced a general war against the middle colonies; and to appease them, and to avoid such a public calamity, a detachment of the 42d regiment of foot was *that year* sent from the garrison of Fort Pitt, to remove such settlers

as were seated at *Red Stone Creek*, &c.—but the endeavours and threats of that detachment proved ineffectual, and they returned to the garrison, without being able to execute their orders.—The complaints of the Six Nations however continuing and *increasing*, on account of the settling of their lands *over* the mountains, General Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania on the 7th of December 1767, and after mentioning these complaints, he observed, ‘ You are a witness how little attention has been paid to the several proclamations that have been published; and that even the removing those people from the lands in question, which was attempted this summer by the garrison at Fort Pitt, has been only a temporary expedient. We learn they are returned again to the same encroachments on Red Stone Creek and Cheat River in greater numbers than ever.’

“ On the 5th of January 1768, the Governor of Pennsylvania sent a message to the General Assembly of the province with the foregoing letter from General Gage,—and on
the

the 13th the Assembly, in the conclusion of a message to the Governor on the subject of Indian complaints, observed, ‘ To obviate
 ‘ which cause of their discontent, and effectually to establish between them and his
 ‘ Majesty’s subjects a durable peace, we are
 ‘ of opinion, that a speedy *confirmation* of the
 ‘ *boundary*, and a just satisfaction made to
 ‘ them for their lands on this side of it, are
 ‘ absolutely necessary. By this means all
 ‘ their present complaints of encroachments
 ‘ will be removed, and the people on our
 ‘ frontiers will have a sufficient country to
 ‘ *settle or hunt in, without interfering with*
 ‘ *them.*’

“ On the 19th of January 1768, Mr. Galloway, the Speaker of the Assembly in Pennsylvania, and the Committee of Correspondence, wrote on the subject of the Indians disquietude, by order of the House, to their agents Richard Jackson and Benjamin Franklin, Esquires, in London; and therein they said, ‘ That the delay of the confirmation of
 ‘ the *boundary* the natives have warmly com-
 ‘ plained of, *and that although they have re-*

‘ *ceived no consideration for the lands agreed
 ‘ to be ceded to the crown on our side of the
 ‘ boundary, yet that its subjects are daily set-
 ‘ tling and occupying those very lands.*’

“ In April 1768, the legislature of Pennsylvania finding that the expectations of an Indian war were hourly increasing, *occasioned by the settlement of the lands over the mountains, not sold by the natives; and flattering themselves, that orders would soon arrive from England for the perfection of the boundary line; they voted the sum of one thousand pounds, to be given as a present, in blankets, strouds, &c. to the Indians upon the Ohio, with a view of moderating their resentment, until these orders should arrive: and the Governor of Pennsylvania being informed, that a treaty was soon to be held at Fort Pitt by George Croghan Esq. deputy agent of Indian affairs, by order of General Gage and Sir William Johnson, he sent his secretary and another gentleman, as commissioners from the province, to deliver the above present to the Indians at Fort Pitt.*

“ On

“ On the 2d of May 1768, the Six Nations made the following speech at that conference :

‘ BROTHER,

‘ It is not without grief that we see our
 ‘ country *settled by you*, without our know-
 ‘ ledge or consent ; and it is a long time since
 ‘ we complained to you of this grievance,
 ‘ which we find has not yet been redressed ;
 ‘ but *settlements* are still *extending further*
 ‘ *into our country* : some of them are made
 ‘ directly on our war-path, leading to our
 ‘ enemies country, and we do not like it.
 ‘ Brother, you have *laws among you* to govern
 ‘ your people by ; and it will be the strongest
 ‘ proof of the sincerity of your friendship,
 ‘ to let us see that you remove the people
 ‘ from our lands ; as we look upon it, *they*
 ‘ *will have time enough to settle them, when*
 ‘ *you have purchased them, and the country*
 ‘ *becomes yours.*’

“ The Pennsylvania commissioners, in answer to this speech, informed the Six Nations, that the Governor of that province had sent

four gentlemen with his proclamation and the act of assembly (making it *felony of death* without benefit of clergy, to continue on Indian lands) to such settlers *over* the mountains as were seated within the limits of Pennsylvania, requiring them to vacate their settlements; but all to no avail:—that the Governor of Virginia had likewise, to as little purpose, issued his proclamations and orders, and that General Gage had twice *ineffectually* sent parties of soldiers to remove the settlers from Red Stone Creek and Monongehela.

“ As soon as Mr. Jackson and Dr. Franklin received the foregoing instructions from the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, they waited upon the American minister, and urged the expediency and necessity of the boundary line being speedily concluded; and, in consequence thereof, additional orders were immediately transmitted to Sir William Johnson for that purpose.

“ It is plain, therefore, that the proclamation of October 1763 was *not* designed, as
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the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have suggested, to signify the policy of this kingdom, *against* settlements *over* the Allegany mountains, *after* the King had actually purchased the territory; and that the *true* reasons for purchasing the lands comprised within that boundary were to avoid an Indian rupture, and give an opportunity to the King's subjects quietly and lawfully to settle thereon.

“ V. Whether the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations are well founded in their declarations, that the lands under consideration ‘ *are out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom,*’ shall be fully considered in our observations on the sixth paragraph:—and as to ‘ the various propositions for erecting new colonies in the ‘ *interior parts,* which, their Lordships say, ‘ have been, in consequence of the extension ‘ of the boundary line, submitted to the ‘ consideration of government, particularly ‘ *in that part of the country* wherein are situated the lands now prayed for, and the ‘ danger of complying with such proposals

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‘ have

‘ have been so obvious, as to *defeat* every attempt for carrying them into execution;’— we shall only observe on this paragraph, that as we do not know what these propositions were, or upon what principle the proposers have been *defeated*, it is impossible for us to judge, whether they are any ways applicable to our case.—Consistent however with our knowledge, no more than one proposition, for the settlement of a *part* of the lands in question, has been presented to government; and that was from Dr. Lee, 32 other Americans, and two Londoners, in the year 1768; praying that his Majesty would *grant* to them, without *any purchase-money*, 2,500,000 acres of land *in one or more surveys*, to be located between the 38th and 42d degrees of latitude, *over the Allegany mountains*, and on condition of their possessing these lands 12 years WITHOUT *the payment of any quit-rent* (the same *not* to begin until the whole 2,500,000 acres were surveyed); and that they should be obliged to settle only 200 *families in 12 years*. Surely, the Lords Commissioners did not mean this proposition as one that was similar, and

and would *apply* to the case now *reported* upon; and especially as Dr. Lee and his associates did not propose, as we do, either to purchase the lands, or pay the quit-rents to his Majesty, *neat and clear of all deductions*, or be at the *whole* expence of establishing and maintaining the civil government of the country.

“ VI. In the sixth paragraph the Lords Commissioners observe, That ‘ *every argument on the subject*, respecting the settlement of the lands in that part of the country now prayed for, *is collected together, with great force and precision, in a Representation made to his Majesty* by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in March 1768.’ ”

“ That it may be clearly understood what was the occasion of this *Representation*, we shall take the liberty of mentioning, that on the 1st of October 1767, and during the time that the Earl of Shelburne was Secretary of State for the southern department, an idea was entertained of forming, ‘ *at the expence of the crown*,’ three *new governments* in

North America, *viz.* one at *Detroit* [on the waters between Lake Huron and Lake Erie]; one in the *Illinois Country*, and one on the *lower* part of the river *Ohio*: and in consequence of such an idea, a *reference* was made by his Lordship to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, for their opinion upon these proposed *new* governments.

“ Having plainly explained the cause of the *Representation*, which is so very strongly and earnestly insisted upon by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as containing ‘ *every arguement on the subject* of ‘ the lands which is at present before your ‘ Lordships;’ we shall now give our reasons for apprehending, *that it* is so far from applying against our case, that it actually declares a permission would be given to settle the very lands in question.

“ Three principal reasons are assigned in the *Representation*, ‘ as conducive to the great ‘ object of colonizing upon the continent of ‘ North America, *viz.*

“ 1st,

“ 1st, ‘ Promoting the advantageous fishery
‘ carried on upon the *northern coast*.’

“ 2dly, ‘ Encouraging the growth and cul-
‘ ture of naval stores, and of *raw materials*,
‘ to be transported hither, in exchange for
‘ perfect manufactures and other merchan-
‘ dize.’

“ 3dly, ‘ Securing a supply of lumber, pro-
‘ visions, and other necessaries, for the sup-
‘ port of our establishments in the American
‘ islands.’

“ On the first of these reasons, we apprehend, it is not necessary for us to make many observations; as the provinces of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and the colonies *southward* of them, have *not*, and from the nature of their situation and commerce will *not*, promote the *fishery* more, it is conceived, than the proposed Ohio colony. These provinces are, however, beneficial to this kingdom, in the culture and exportation of different articles;—as it is humbly presumed the Ohio colony *will* likewise be,

if the production of *staple commodities* is allowed to be within that description.

“ On the 2d and 3d general reasons of the *Representation* we shall observe, that no part of his Majesty’s dominions in North America will require less *encouragement* ‘ for the growth
‘ and culture of naval stores and raw mate-
‘ rials, and for the supplying the islands
‘ with lumber, provisions,’ &c. than the solicited colony on the Ohio;—and for the following reasons :

“ First; The lands in question are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry-trees, are every where; hemp grows spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; iron-ore is plenty in the hills; and no soil is better adapted for the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

“ Second; The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; and by which, and a short land-carriage of *only 40 miles*, the produce of the
lands

lands of the Ohio can, even *now*, be sent *cheaper* to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the river Potomack, (where General Braddock's transports landed his troops,) than any kind of merchandize is at this time sent *from Northampton to London*.

“ Third; The river Ohio is, at *all* seasons of the year, navigable for large boats, like the West Country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of January to the month of April, large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent laden with *hemp, iron, flax, silk, &c.* to this kingdom.

“ Fourth; Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other necessaries, can be sent down the stream of the Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia.

“ Fifth; Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, can also be sent *down* the *stream* of the Ohio to the *sea*, at least *50 per centum* cheaper than these articles were
ever

ever carried by a land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennsylvania;—where *waggonage* is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

“ Sixth; The expence of transporting British manufactories from the sea to the Ohio colony will *not* be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of *Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland.*

“ From this state of facts, we apprehend, it is clear that the lands in question are altogether capable, and will advantageously admit, from their fertility, situation, and the small expence attending the exporting the produce of them to this kingdom,—‘ of *conducting* ‘ to the great object of colonizing upon ‘ the continent of North America:’—but that we may more particularly elucidate this important point, we shall take the freedom of observing,—that it is *not* disputed, but even acknowledged, by the very *Report* now under consideration, that the climate and soil of the Ohio are as favourable as we have described

described them ;—and as to the native silk-worms, it is a truth, that *above* 10,000 weight of cocoons was, in August 1771, sold at the public filature in Philadelphia ;—and that the silk produced from the *native* worm is of a good quality, and has been much approved of in this city.—As to *hemp*, we are ready to make it appear, that it grows, as we have represented, spontaneously, and of a good texture on the Ohio.—When, therefore, the *increasing* dependence of this kingdom upon *Russia*, for this very article, is considered, and that none has been exported from the *sea-coast American colonies*, as their soil will not easily produce it,—this dependence must surely be admitted as a subject of great national consequence, and worthy of the serious attention of government. Nature has pointed out to us *where* any quantity of hemp can be soon and easily raised ; and by that means, not only a large amount of specie may be retained *yearly* in this kingdom, but our own subjects can be employed most advantageously, and paid in the *manufactures* of this kingdom. The state of the Russian trade is briefly thus :

From the year 1722 to 1731,
 —250 ships were, on a me-
 dium, sent each year to St.
 Peterburgh, Narva, Riga,
 and Archangel, for *bemp*, 250 ships.

And from the year 1762 to
 1771,—500 ships were also
 sent for that purpose, 500

Increase in ten years, 250 ships.

“ Here, then, it is obvious that in the last *ten* years there was, on a medium, an increase of 250 ships in the Russian trade. Can it be consistent with the wisdom and policy of the greatest naval and commercial nation in the world, to depend wholly on *foreigners* for the supply of an article, in which is included the very existence of her navy and commerce? Surely not; and especially when God has blessed us with a country yielding *naturally* the very commodity which draws our money from us, and renders us *dependent* on Russia for it.

“ As we have only hitherto *generally* stated the *small* expence of carriage between the
 waters

waters of Potomack and those of the Ohio, we shall now endeavour to shew how very ill founded the Lords for Trade and Plantations are, in the fifth paragraph of their *Report*, viz. That the lands in question ‘*are out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom.*’ In order, however, that a proper opinion may be formed on this important article, we shall take the liberty of stating the particular expence of carriage, *even during the last French war*, (when there was no *back carriage* from the Ohio to Alexandria,) as it will be found, it was even *then* only about a *halfpenny per pound*, as will appear from the following account, the truth of which we shall fully ascertain, *viz.*

From Alexandria to Fort	£. s. d.
Cumberland, by water,	0 1 7 <i>per cwt.</i>
From Fort Cumberland to	
Redstone Creek, at 14	
dollars <i>per</i> waggon-load,	
each waggon carrying	
15 <i>cwt.</i> , -	0 4 2
	<hr/>
	0 5 9

Note—

Note—The distance was *then* 70 miles, but by a *new* waggon-road, *lately* made, it is *now* but forty miles—a saving, of course, of above one-half the *5s. 9d.* is *at present* experienced.

“ If it is considered that this rate of carriage was *in time of war*, and *when* there were no inhabitants on the Ohio, we cannot doubt but every intelligent mind will be satisfied, that it is now much *less* than is daily paid in London for the carriage of *coarse woollens, cutlery, iron ware, &c.* from several counties in England.

The following is the Cost of Carriage from Birmingham, &c. viz.

From Birmingham to London,	is 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per cwt.</i>
From Walsall in Staffordshire,	5 <i>s.</i>
From Sheffield,	8 <i>s.</i>
From Warrington,	7 <i>s.</i>

“ If the lands which are at present under consideration, are, as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations say, ‘*out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom,*’

we

we are at a loss to conceive by what standard that Board calculates the rate of ‘advantageous intercourse.’—If the King’s subjects, settled *over* the Allegany mountains, and on the Ohio, within the *new-erected* county of Bedford, in the province of Pennsylvania, are altogether clothed with British manufacture, as is the case; is that country ‘out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom?’—If merchants in London are *now* actually shipping British manufactures for the use *of the very settlers* on the lands in question, does that exportation come within the Lords Commissioners description of what is ‘out of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom?’ In short, the Lords Commissioners admit, upon their own principles, that it is a political and advantageous intercourse with this kingdom, *when* the settlements and settlers are confined to the *eastern* side of the Allegany mountains. Shall then the expence of carriage, even of the very coarsest and heaviest cloths, or other articles, from the *mountains* to the Ohio, only about 70 miles, and which will not, at most, *increase* the price of carriage *above a halfpenny*

a yard, convert the trade and connexion with the settlers on the Ohio, into a predicament that shall be, as the Lords Commissioners have said, *out* of all advantageous intercourse with this kingdom?—On the whole, if the poor Indians in the remote parts of North America are *now* able to pay for the linens, woollens, and iron ware, they are furnished with by English traders, though Indians have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impositions fraud and knavery can contrive, to *inbance* their value; will not industrious English farmers, employed in the culture of hemp, flax, silk, &c. be able to pay for what shall be brought to them in the fair way of commerce; and especially when it is remembered, that there is *no* other *allowable* market for the sale of these articles than in this kingdom?—And if, the growths of *the* country find their way out of it, will not the manufactures of this kingdom, *where* the hemp, &c. must be sent to, find their way into it?

“ Whether

“ Whether Nova Scotia, and East and West Florida have yielded advantages and returns equal to the enormous sums expended in founding and supporting them, or even advantages, such as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in their *Representation* of 1768, seemed to expect, it is not our business to investigate:—it is, we presume, sufficient for us to mention, that those ‘ many principal persons in Pennsylvania,’ as is observed in the *Representation*, ‘ whose names and association lie before your Majesty in Council, for the purpose of making settlements in Nova Scotia,’ have, several years since, been convinced of the impracticability of exciting settlers to move from the *middle colonies*, and settle in that province; and even of those who were prevailed on to go to Nova Scotia, the greater part of them returned with great complaints against the severity and length of the winters.

“ As to East and West Florida, it is, we are persuaded, morally impossible to *force* the people of the *middle* provinces, between 37 and 40 degrees north latitude, (where there

is plenty of vacant land in their own temperate climate,) to remove to the scorching, unwholesome heats of these provinces. The inhabitants of Montpelier might as soon and as easily be persuaded to remove to the northern parts of Ruffia, or to Senegal.—In short, it is contending with nature, and the experience of all ages, to attempt to compel a people, *born and living in a temperate climate*, and in the neighbourhood of a rich, healthful, and uncultivated country, to travel several hundred miles to a *sea-port* in order to make a *voyage to sea*; and settle either in extreme hot or cold latitudes. If the county of York was vacant and uncultivated, and the more *southern* inhabitants of this island were in want of land, would they suffer themselves to be driven to the *north of Scotland*?—Would they not, in spite of all opposition, *first* possess themselves of that fertile country?—Thus much we have thought necessary to remark, in respect to the general principles laid down in the *Representation* of 1768; and we hope we have shewn, that the arguments *therein* made use of, do *not* in any degree militate against the subject in question;

but

but that they were intended, and do solely apply to ‘ new colonies proposed to be established,’ as the *Representation* says, ‘ at an expence to this kingdom,’ at the distance of ‘ above 1500 miles from the sea, which from their inability to find returns, *wherewith* to pay for the manufactures of Great Britain, will be probably led to manufacture for themselves, *as they would,*’ continues the *Representation*, ‘ be separated from the old colonies by immense tracts of unpeopled desert.’—

“ It now only remains for us to inquire, whether it was the intention of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in 1768, that the territory, which would be included within the *boundary line*, then negotiating with the Indians, (and which was the *one* that was *that year* perfected,) should continue a useless wilderness, or be settled and occupied by his Majesty’s subjects.—The very *Representation* itself, which the present Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations say contains ‘ *every argument on the subject,*’ furnishes us an ample and satisfac-

tory solution to this important question.—The Lords Commissioners in 1768, after pronouncing their opinion *against* the *proposed three new governments*, as above stated, declare, ‘They ought to be carefully guarded against, by encouraging the settlement of that extensive tract of sea-coast hitherto unoccupied; which, say their Lordships, *together with the liberty, that the inhabitants OF THE middle colonies WILL HAVE* (in consequence of the proposed *boundary line* with the Indians) *of gradually extending themselves backwards, will more effectually and beneficially answer* the object of *encouraging population and consumption*, than the erection of new governments; such gradual extension might, through the medium of a continual population, upon even the same extent of territory, *preserve* a communication of mutual commercial benefits between its extremest parts and Great Britain, *impossible to exist in colonies separated by immense tracts of unpeopled desert.*’—Can any opinion be more clear and conclusive, in *favour* of the proposition which we have humbly submitted to his Majesty?—for their
Lordships

Lordships positively say, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *will have liberty of gradually extending themselves backwards*;—but is it not very extraordinary, that after near *two years* deliberation, the present Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations should make a *Report* to the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, and therein expressly refer to that opinion of 1768, in which, they say, ‘*every argument on the subject is collected together with great force and precision,*’ and yet that, almost in the same breath, their Lordships ‘*should contravene that very opinion, and advise his Majesty to check the progress of their settlements?*’—And that ‘*settlements in that distant part of the country ought to be discouraged as much as possible, and another proclamation should be issued declaratory of his Majesty’s resolution, not to allow, for the present, any new settlement beyond the line;*’—to wit, beyond the Allegany mountains?—How strange and contradictory is this conduct?—But we forbear any strictures upon it;—and shall conclude our remarks on this head, by stating the opinion,

at different times, of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on this subject.

“ In 1748, their Lordships expressed the strongest desire to promote settlements *over* the mountains and on the Ohio.—

“ In 1768—The then Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations declared, (in consequence of the boundary line at that time negotiating)—That the inhabitants of the *middle colonies* would *have liberty of gradually extending themselves backwards.*

“ In 1770—The Earl of Hillsborough actually *recommended* the purchase of a tract of land *over* the mountains, sufficient for a new colony, and then went down to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to know whether their Lordships would treat with Mr. Walpole and his associates, for such purchase.

“ In 1772—The Earl of Hillsborough, and the other Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, made a *report* on the petition of
Mr,

Mr. Walpole and his associates, and referred to the *Representation* of the Board of Trade in 1768, ‘as containing every argument on the subject, collected together with force and precision’—which *Representation* declared, as we have shewn, ‘That the inhabitants of the middle colonies WILL have liberty to extend backwards,’ on the identical lands in question; and yet, notwithstanding such reference, so strongly made from the present Board of Trade to the opinion of that Board,—the Earl of Hillsborough, and the other Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, have now, in direct terms, reported against the absolute engagement and opinion of the Board in 1768.

“ It may be asked, what was intended by the expressions in the *Representation* of 1768, of gradually extending themselves backwards? It is answered, They were only in contradiction to the proposal of erecting at that time three new governments at Detroit, &c. and thereby exciting, as the *Representation* says, the stream of population to various distant places.—In short, it was, we think, beyond

yond all doubt, the ‘*precise*’ opinion of the Lords Commissioners in 1768, That the territory, within the boundary line, then negotiating, and since completed, would be sufficient at that time to answer the object of population and consumption ; and that until that territory was fully occupied,—it was not necessary to erect the proposed *three new governments* ‘*at an expence to this kingdom,*’ in places, as their Lordships observed, ‘*separated by immense tracts of unpeopled desert.*’——

“ To conclude our observations on the 6th paragraph, we would just remark,—That we presume we have demonstrated, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *cannot* be compelled to *exchange* the soil and climate of these colonies, either for the severe colds of Nova Scotia and Canada, or the unwholesome heats of East and West Florida. Let us next enquire, what would be the effect of *confining* these inhabitants (if it was practicable) within narrow bounds, and thereby preventing them from exercising their natural inclination of cultivating lands?—and whether

such

such restriction would not force them into *manufactures*, to rival the Mother Country?—To these questions, the Lords Commissioners have, with much candour, replied in their Representation of 1768,—We ‘ admit,’ said their Lordships, ‘ as an undeniable principle of *true policy*, that, with a view to ‘ *prevent manufactures*, it is necessary and ‘ proper to *open* an extent of territory for ‘ colonization, *proportioned* to an *increase* of ‘ people, as a large number of inhabitants ‘ cooped up in narrow limits, without a ‘ sufficiency of land *for produce*, would be ‘ compelled to *convert* their attention and ‘ industry to *manufactures*.’—But their Lordships at the same time observed,—‘ That the ‘ *encouragement* given to the settlement of the ‘ colonies upon the sea-coast, and the effect ‘ which such encouragement has had, has ‘ already *effectually* provided for this object.’ In what parts of North America this *encouragement* has thus *provided* for *population*, their Lordships have not mentioned. If the establishment of the governments of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and the Island of St. John’s, or East and West Florida, was intended by their
 Lordships

Lordships as that effectual provision,—we shall presume to deny the proposition, by asserting, as an undoubted truth,—that although there is at least a *million* of subjects in the middle colonies, none have emigrated from thence, and settled in these *new* provinces;—and for that reason, and from the very nature of colonization itself, we affirm that none *will ever* be induced to *exchange* the healthy, temperate climate of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, for the extreme colds or heats of Canada and Nova Scotia, or East and West Florida:—In short, it is not in the power of government to give any encouragement, that can compensate for a desertion of friends and neighbours,—dissolution of family connexions, and abandoning a soil and climate infinitely superior to those of Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Floridas.—Will not, therefore, the inhabitants of the middle provinces, whose population is great beyond example, and who have already made some advances in manufactures, ‘by confining ‘them to their present narrow limits,’ be necessarily compelled to convert their whole attention to that object? How then shall this,

in

in the nature of things, be prevented, except, as the Lords Commissioners have justly remarked, ‘ by opening an extent of territory ‘ proportioned *to their increase?*’ —But *where* shall a territory be found proper for ‘ the ‘ *colonization* of the inhabitants of the middle ‘ colonies?’ We answer,—in the very country which the Lords Commissioners have said that the inhabitants of these colonies would have liberty to settle in ;—a country which his Majesty has purchased from the Six Nations ;—one, *where* several thousands of his subjects are already settled ;—and one, *where* the Lords Commissioners have acknowledged, ‘ a gradual extension might, ‘ through the medium of a continued population, upon even the same extent of ‘ territory, *preserve a communication* of mutual commercial benefits *between its extremest ‘ parts* and Great Britain.’

“ VII. This paragraph is introduced, by referring to the extract of a letter from the commander in chief of his Majesty’s forces in North America, laid by the Earl of Hillsborough before the Lords Commissioners for Trade

Trade and Plantations ;—but as their Lordships have *not* mentioned either the general's name, or the time *when* the letter was written, or what occasioned his delivering his opinion upon the subject of *colonization in general*, in the '*remote countries*,'—we can only conjecture that General Gage was the writer of the letter, and that it was wrote about the year 1768,—*when* the plan of the *three new governments* was under the consideration of the then Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and *before* the lands on the Ohio were bought from, and the boundary line established with the Six Nations.—Indeed, we think it clear, That the General had *no* other lands at that time under his consideration, than what he calls '*remote countries*,' such as the *Detroit, Illinois*, and the *lower parts of the Ohio* ;—for he speaks of '*foreign countries*,' from which it '*would be too far* to transport some kind of naval '*stores*,' and for the same reason could *not*, he says, supply the sugars islands '*with lumber and provisions*.' He mentions also, '*planting colonies at so vast a distance*, that '*the very long transportation* (of silk, wine, '*&c.*)

‘ &c.) must probably make them *too dear*
‘ for any market,’ and *where* ‘ the inhabitants
‘ could *not* have any *commodities* to barter for
‘ manufactures, except *skins and furs.*’ And
what, in our opinion, fully evinces that the
general was giving his sentiments upon set-
tlements at *Detroit, &c.*, and *not* on the terri-
tory in question, is, that he says, ‘ it will be
‘ a question likewise, whether colonization of
‘ this kind *could be effected without an Indian*
‘ *war, and fighting for every inch of the*
‘ *ground.*’ Why the Lords Commissioners
for Trade and Plantations should encumber
their *Report* with the opinion of General
Gage, on what he calls the settlement of a
‘ *foreign country,*’ that could not be effected
without ‘ *fighting for every inch of ground,*’
and how their Lordships could apply that
case to the settlement of a territory, purchased
by his Majesty near four years ago, and *now*
inhabited by several thousand British subjects,
whom the Indians themselves, living on the
Northern side of the Ohio, (as shall be fully
shewn in the course of these observations,)
have earnestly requested may be immediately
7 governed,

governed, we confess we are wholly at a loss to comprehend.

“ VIII. The eighth paragraph highly extols not only the *accuracy and precision* of the foregoing Representation of the Lords of Trade in 1768, (which, as has been before observed, expressed, that the inhabitants of the middle colonies *would have liberty to settle over* the mountains, and on the Ohio,) but also the above mentioned letter from the commander in chief in America; and at the same time introduces the sentiments of Mr. Wright, Governor of Georgia, ‘ on the subject of large grants in the interior parts of America.’

“ When this letter was written, what was the occasion of the governor’s writing it,—whether he was *then*, from his own knowledge, acquainted with the situation of the country *over* the mountains,—with the disposition of the inhabitants of the middle colonies,—with the capability of the Ohio country, from its soil, climate, or communication

nication with the river Powtomack, &c. to supply this kingdom with *silk, flax, hemp,* &c.—and whether the principal part of Mr. Wright's estate is on the *sea-coast* in *Georgia*;—are facts which we wish had been stated, that it might be known whether Governor Wright's 'knowledge and experience in the 'affairs of colonies ought, as the Lords of 'Trade mention, to give great weight to his 'opinion' on the present occasion.

“ The doctrine insisted on by Governor Wright appears to us reducible to the following propositions :

“ 1st. That if a *vast* territory be granted to any set of gentlemen who really mean to people it, and actually do so, *it must* draw and carry out a great number of people from *Great Britain*.

“ 2d. That they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people, who will set up for themselves,—will *soon* have manufactures of their own,—will *neither* take supplies from the mother country, nor the pro-

vinces at *the back* of which they are settled. That being at such a distance from the seat of *government*, from *courts*, *magistrates*, &c. and *out* of the control of law and government, they will become a receptacle for offenders, &c.

“ 3d. That the sea-coast should be *thick* settled with inhabitants, and be well cultivated and improved; &c.

“ 4th. That his ideas are *not* chimerical; that he knows *something* of the situation and state of things in America; and, from some *little* occurrences that have happened, he can very easily *figure* to himself *what may*, and, in short, *what will* certainly happen, if not prevented in time.

“ On these propositions we shall take the liberty of making a few observations.

“ To the *first* we answer,—We shall, we are persuaded, satisfactorily prove, that in the middle colonies, *viz.* New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, there is hardly any

any *vacant land*, except such as is monopolized by great landholders, for the purpose of selling *at high prices*; that the poor people of these colonies, with large families of children, *cannot* pay these prices;—and that several thousand families, for that reason, have *already* settled upon the Ohio; that we do not wish for, and shall not encourage one single family of his Majesty's *European subjects* to settle there (and this we have no objection to be prevented from doing); but shall *wholly* rely on the voluntary superflux of the inhabitants of the middle provinces for settling and cultivating the lands in question.

“ On the *second*,—It is not, we presume, necessary for us to say more, than that all the conjectures and suppositions ‘of being a kind of separate and independent people,’ &c. entirely lose their force, on the proposition of a government being established on the grant applied for, as the Lords of Trade have themselves acknowledged.

“ On the *third*,—We would only briefly remark, that we have fully answered this ob-

jection in the latter part of our answer to the sixth paragraph.

“ And as the *fourth* proposition is merely the Governor's declaration of his *knowledge* of *something* of the situation and state of things in America, and what, from some *little* occurrences, that have already really happened, he can very easily *figure* to himself what may and *will* certainly happen, if not prevented in time:—We say, that as the Governor has not mentioned what these *little* occurrences are, we cannot pretend to judge, whether what he *figures* to himself, is any ways relative to the object under consideration, or, indeed, what else it is relative to.

“ But as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have thought proper to infer in their *Report* the above-mentioned letters from General Gage and Governor Wright, it may not be improper for us to give the opinion of his Majesty's House of Burgesses of the dominion of Virginia on the *very point* in question, as conveyed to his Majesty in their address of the 4th of August 1767, and delivered

delivered the latter end of that year to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by Mr. Montague, agent for the colony. The House of Burgeſſes ſay,—‘ We humbly hope, that we ſhall obtain your royal indulgence, *when we give it as our opinions, that it will be for your Maſteſty’s ſervice, and the intereſt of your American dominions in general, to continue the encouragements*’ (which were a *total exemption from any conſideration-money whatſoever, and a remiſſion of quit-rent for ten years, and of all kinds of taxes for fifteen years*) ‘ for ſettling thoſe frontier lands.’ By this means the Houſe obſerved, ‘ *New ſettlements will be made by people of property, obedient ſubjects to government; but if the preſent reſtriction ſhould continue, we have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe, that country will become the reſort of fugitives and vagabonds, deſiers of law and order, and who in time may form a body dangerous to the peace and civil government of this colony.*’

“ We come now to the conſideration of the 9th, 10th, and 11th paragraphs.

“ In the 9th, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations observe, ‘ That admitting the settlers over the mountains, and on the Ohio, to be as numerous as *report* states them to be,’ (and which we shall, from undoubted testimony, prove to be not less than five thousand families, of at least six persons to a family, independent of some thousand families which are also settled *over* the mountains, within the limits of the province of Pennsylvania,) yet their Lordships say, ‘ it operates strongly in point of argument *against* what is proposed.’ And their Lordships add, ‘ If the foregoing reasoning has any weight, it ought certainly to induce the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, to *advise* his Majesty to take every method *to* CHECK the progress of these settlements; and *not* to make such grants of the land as will have an immediate tendency to encourage them.’

“ Having, we presume, clearly shewn that the country *southward* of the Great Kenhawa, quite to the Cherokee river, belonged to the Six Nations, and *not* to the Cherokees;—
that

that *now* it belongs to the King, in virtue of his Majesty's purchase from the Six Nations;—that neither these tribes *nor* the Cherokees do hunt between the Great Kenhawa and the land opposite the Sioto River;—that, by the present boundary line, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations would sacrifice to the *Cherokees* an extent of country of at least eight hundred miles in length, which his Majesty has bought and paid for;—that the real limits of Virginia do *not* extend westward beyond the Allegany mountains;—that since the purchase of the country from the Six Nations his Majesty has not annexed it, or any part of it, to the colony of Virginia;—that there are no settlements made under *legal titles*, on any part of the lands we have agreed for with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury;—that in the year 1748, the strongest marks of royal encouragement were given to settle the country *over* the mountains;—that the *suspension* of this encouragement by the proclamation of October 1763, was merely *temporary* until the lands were purchased from the natives;—that the avidity to settle these lands was so great, that large settlements were

made thereon *before they were purchased*;—that although the settlers were daily exposed to the cruelties of the savages, neither a military force, nor repeated proclamations could induce them to vacate these lands;—that the soil of the country *over the mountains* is excellent, and capable of easily producing *bemp, flax, silk, tobacco, iron, wine, &c.*;—that these articles can be cheaply conveyed to a seaport for exportation;—that the charge of carriage is so very small, it cannot possibly operate to the prevention of the use of British manufactures;—that the King's purchasing the lands from the Indians and fixing a *boundary line* with them, was for the very purpose of his subjects settling them;—and that the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in 1768, declared, that the *inhabitants of the middle colonies* would have liberty for that purpose.—

“ And to this train of facts let us add,—that the congress held with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1768, *when his Majesty purchased the territory on the Ohio*, Messrs. Penn also bought from these nations a very extensive

extensive tract of country *over* the Allegany mountains, and on that river (*joining* the very lands in question:—That in the spring 1769, Messrs. Penn opened their *land-office* in Pennsylvania for the *settling the country* which they had so bought at Fort Stanwix; and all such settlers as had seated themselves *over the mountains*, within the limits of Pennsylvania, *before* the lands were purchased from the natives, have *since* obtained titles for their plantations:—That in 1771, a petition was presented to the assembly of the province of Pennsylvania, praying that a *new* county may be made *over* these mountains:—That the legislature of that province, in consideration of the great number of families settled *there*, within the limits of that province, did that year enact a law for the *erection* of the lands *over the mountains into a new county*, by the name of *Bedford County*:—That in consequence of such law, William Thompson, Esq. was chosen to represent it in the General Assembly:—That a sheriff, coroner, justices of the peace, constables, and other civil officers, are appointed and do reside *over* the mountains:—That all the King's subjects, who are

not

not less than five thousand families, who have made locations and settlements on the lands *southward* of, and adjoining to the *southern* line of Pennsylvania, live *there* without any degree of order, law, or government:—That being in this lawless situation, continual quarrels prevail among them:—That they have already infringed the *boundary line*, killed several Indians, and encroached on the lands on the opposite side of the Ohio; and that disorders of the most dangerous nature with respect to the Indians, the *boundary-line*, and the *old colonies*, will soon take place among these settlers, if law and subordination are not immediately established among them. Can these facts be possibly perverted so as to operate either in point of argument or policy, *against* the proposition of governing the King's subjects on the lands in question?

“It ought to be considered also, that we have agreed to pay as much for a small *part* of the cession made at Fort Stanwix, as the *whole* cession cost the crown, and at the same time be at the entire expence of establishing and supporting the proposed new colony.

“The

“ The truth is, the inhabitants settled on this tract of country are in so ungoverned and lawless a situation, that the very Indians themselves complain of it ; so that, if they are *not* soon governed, an Indian war will be the inevitable consequence. This, we presume, is evident both from the correspondence of General Gage with the Earl of Hillsborough, and a speech of the chiefs of the *Delawares*, *Munfies*, and *Mobickons*, living on the Ohio, to the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, lately transmitted by the General to his Lordship.

“ In this speech these nations observe, that since the sale of the lands to the King on the Ohio,—*Great numbers more of your people*
 ‘ have come *over* the great mountains and
 ‘ settled throughout this country, and we are
 ‘ sorry to tell you, that several quarrels have
 ‘ happened between your people and ours,
 ‘ *in which people have been killed on both sides*,
 ‘ and that we now see the nations round us
 ‘ and your people *ready to embroil in a quar-*
 ‘ *rel*, which gives our nations great concern,
 ‘ as we, on *our* parts, want to live in friend-
 ‘ ship

‘ ship with you. As you have always told
‘ us *you have laws* to govern your people by,
‘ —but we do not see that you have; there-
‘ fore, brethren, *unless you can fall upon some*
‘ *method of governing your people, who live*
‘ *between the great mountains and the Ohio*
‘ *river, and who are very numerous,* it will
‘ be out of the Indians’ power to govern
‘ their young men; for we assure you the
‘ black clouds begin to gather fast in this
‘ country, and *if something is not soon done,*
‘ these clouds will deprive us of seeing the
‘ sun. We desire you to *give the greatest at-*
‘ *tention* to what we now tell you; *as it comes*
‘ *from our hearts,* and a desire we have to live
‘ in peace and friendship with our brethren
‘ the English, and therefore it grieves us to
‘ see some of the nations about us and your
‘ people *ready to strike each other.* We find
‘ your people are very fond of our rich land;
‘ —we see them quarrelling with each other
‘ every day about land, and burning one
‘ another’s houses, so that we do not know
‘ how soon *they may come over the river Ohio,*
‘ and drive us from our villages; *nor do we*
‘ *see you, brothers, take any care to stop them.*’

“ This

“ This speech, from tribes of such great influence and weight upon the Ohio, conveys much useful information.—It establishes the fact of the settlers *over* the mountains being *very numerous*.—It shews the entire approbation of the Indians, in respect to a colony being established on the Ohio.—It pathetically complains of the King’s subjects *not* being governed, and it confirms the assertion mentioned by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations in the eighth paragraph of their Report, ‘ That if the settlers are suffered
 ‘ to continue in the lawless state of anarchy
 ‘ and confusion, they will commit such
 ‘ abuses as cannot fail of involving us in
 ‘ quarrels and disputes with the Indians, *and*
 ‘ thereby endanger the security of his Majesty’s
 ‘ colonies.’

“ The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, however, pay no regard to all these circumstances, but content themselves with observing, ‘ We see nothing to hinder
 ‘ the government of Virginia from extend-
 ‘ ing the laws and constitution of that co-
 ‘ lony to *such persons as may have already*
 ‘ settled

‘settled there under legal titles.’ To this we repeat, that there are *no such* persons, as have settled *under legal titles*; and even admitting there were, as their Lordships say in the 10th paragraph, ‘it appears to them, there are *some possessions* derived from grants made by the Governor and Council of Virginia;’ and allowing that the laws and constitution of Virginia *did*—as they unquestionably *do not*—*extend* to this territory, have the Lords Commissioners proposed any expedient for governing those many thousand families, who have *not settled under legal titles*, but only agreeably to the ancient *usage of location*?—Certainly not.—But, on the contrary, their Lordships have recommended, that his Majesty should be advised to take every method *to check* the progress of their settlements;—and thereby leave them in their present lawless situation, at the risk of involving the middle colonies in a war with the natives, pregnant with a loss of commerce, and depopulation of their frontier counties.

“ Having made these observations, it may next be proper to consider *how* the laws and
‘ consti-

constitution of Virginia can possibly be *extended*, so as effectually to operate on the territory in question? Is not Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, at least 400 miles from the settlements on the Ohio?—Do *not* the laws of Virginia require, that all persons guilty of capital crimes *shall* be tried *only* in Williamsburgh?—Is not the General Assembly held there?—Is not the Court of King's-Bench, or the superior Court of the dominion, kept there?—Has Virginia provided any fund for the support of the officers of these *distant* settlements, or for the transporting offenders, and paying the expence of witnesses travelling 800 miles, (*viz.* going and returning,) and during their stay at Williamsburgh?—And will not these settlers be exactly (for the reasons assigned) in the situation, described by Governor Wright in the very letter which the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have so warmly recommended, *viz.* ‘ such persons as are settled at the *back* of the provinces, being at a *distance* from the *seat* of government, courts, magistrates, &c. they will be *out* of the *reach* and controul of law and government,

‘vernment, and their settlement will become a receptacle, and kind of asylum for offenders?’

“ On the 11th paragraph we apprehend it is not necessary to say much.—The reservatory clause proposed in our Memorial is what is usual in royal grants; and in the present case, the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council, we hope, will be of opinion, it is quite sufficient, more especially as we are able to prove to their Lordships, that there are no ‘possessions,’ within the boundaries of the lands under consideration, which are held held ‘*under legal titles.*’

“ To conclude: As it has been demonstrated, that neither royal nor provincial proclamations,—nor the dread and horrors of a savage war,—were sufficient (even *before* the country was purchased from the Indians) to prevent the settlement of the lands *over* the mountains—can it be conceived, that, *now* the country is purchased, and the people have seen the proprietors of Pennsylvania, who are the hereditary supporters of *British policy* in their

their own province, give every degree of encouragement to *settle* the lands *westward* of the mountains,—the legislature of the province, at the same time, effectually corroborate the measure, and several thousand families, in consequence thereof, settle in the *new county* of Bedford,—that the inhabitants of the Middle Colonies will *be restrained* from cultivating the luxuriant country of the Ohio, joining to the *southern* line of Pennsylvania? But, even admitting that it might formerly have been a question of some propriety, whether the country should be permitted to be settled;—that cannot surely become a subject of inquiry now, when it is an obvious and certain truth, *that at least thirty thousand British subjects are already settled there.*—Is it fit to leave such a body of people *lawless and ungoverned*?—will sound policy recommend this manner of colonizing and increasing the wealth, strength, and commerce of the empire? or will it not point out, that it is the indispensable duty of government to render *bad* subjects *useful* subjects; and for that purpose *immediately* to establish law and subordination among them, and thereby *early* con-

firm *their* native attachment to the laws, traffic, and customs of this kingdom?

“ On the whole, we presume that we have, both by facts and sound argument, shewn, that the opinion of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on the object in question, is *not* well founded, and that, if their Lordships’ opinion should be adopted, it would be attended with the most mischievous and dangerous consequences to the commerce, peace, and safety of his Majesty’s colonies in America :

“ We therefore hope, the expediency and utility of erecting the lands agreed for into a separate colony without delay, will be considered as a measure of the soundest policy, highly conducive to the peace and security of the old colonies, to the preservation of the *boundary line*, and to the commercial interests of the mother country.”

In the year 1773, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay sent to Dr. Franklin,

lin, who was their agent in London, a petition to the King, praying his Majesty to remove from their places, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the province [Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver.]

This petition was founded on some letters written by those gentlemen to Mr. Thomas Whately, who had been Secretary to the Treasury during Mr. Grenville's administration. (See an account of them under the article of Mr. Whately, Chapter xix. Page 104 of this Volume.) The King having referred the petition to his Privy Council, to report upon it, they heard counsel upon it on the 29th of January 1774: Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee, for the petition, and Mr. Wedderburne, Solicitor General, against it. Mr. Wedderburne's speech was an entire invective from beginning to end upon Dr. Franklin. The petition was dismissed as groundless and vexatious.

Dr. Franklin told Mr. Lee afterwards, that he was not in the least hurt by Mr. Wedder-

burne's speech, but that he was indeed sincerely sorry to see the Lords of Council behave so indecently, manifesting, in the rudest manner, the great pleasure they received from the Solicitor's speech: that dernier court, he said, before whom all the colony affairs were tried, was not likely to act in a candid and impartial manner, upon any future American question. They shewed, he added, that the coarsest language can be grateful to the politest ears.

In answer to a bill in Chancery, filed against him on account of these letters, he declared upon oath, that he was ignorant of the party to whom they had been addressed; and that he had received them from a third person for the express purpose of conveying them to America.

His letter concerning the duel between Mr. Whately and Mr. Temple, the reader will find in the Appendix, in the article marked M.

He was immediately dismissed from his place of Post Master General in America.

When the American colonies declared themselves independent, the Congress restored him.

From this time the parliamentary proceedings against America, have been faithfully and fully related in the Parliamentary Debates, and Parliamentary Register. Finding that the British Ministers were resolved to break with America, he quitted England in the month of April 1775; and arrived in America in the succeeding month. On the day after he entered Philadelphia, he was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a delegate to the Congress.

A few months previous to his leaving England, there was published a tract on American affairs, intitled, "An Appeal to the Justice and Interest of the People of Great Britain." It was printed from the manuscript of Mr. Arthur Lee, an American gentleman at that time in London, and brother to Mr. Alderman Lee, of the city of London. But Dr. Franklin had a considerable share in the composition; and it might now, with no impropriety, be called Dr. Franklin's fare-

well address. It was the most sensible and judicious tract on that side of the question. Many thousands of it were circulated.

In the year 1776, Lord Howe was sent to America to negotiate upon terms of reconciliation, and to continue the war, if the first did not succeed. The motives of the ministry in this measure, are amply explained in their speeches in parliament.

When Lord Howe arrived on the coast of America, he sent the following letter to Dr. Franklin; and received the following answer:

“ Eagle, June 20th, 1776.

“ I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have sent you in the state I received them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

“ You will learn the nature of my mission from the official dispatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance,

veyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable, in the objects of the King's paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private, as well as public motive, most heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you personally of the regard with which I am,

“ Your sincere and faithful humble servant,

“ HOWE.

“ P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending this letter at the time it was dated, and have been ever since prevented, by calms and contrary winds,

from getting here to inform General Howe of the commission with which I have the satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

“ *Off Sandy Hook, 12th July.*

“ Superfcribed

“ *To Benjamin Franklin, Esq. Philadelphia.*”

“ Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

“ I received safe the letters your Lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

“ The official dispatches to which you refer me contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament, *viz.* Offers of pardon upon submission; which I was sorry to find, as it must give your Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

“ Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased

to

to entertain of us ; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter ; excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters ; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear : but were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you, I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured : you can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given such just causes of lasting enmity ; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

“ But

“ But your Lordship mentions, ‘ the King’s paternal sollicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies.’ If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war, and his Majesty has given your Lordship power to treat with us, of such a peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances: but I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though, by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing, as far as possible, the mischiefs done us, she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength to be derived from a friendship with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest, as a warlike nation; her lust of dominion, as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, (none of them

them legitimate causes of war) will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and will continually goad her on, in these ruinous, distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end as the Croisades formerly were to most of the nations in Europe.

“ I have not vanity, my Lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed, till the event shall verify it.

“ Long did I endeavour with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking, that fine and noble china vase—the British empire; for I know, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their shares of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of these parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when at your good sister’s in London, you
once

once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment, was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe.

“ The well-founded esteem, and permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your Lordship, make it painful for me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as described in your letter, is ‘ the necessity of preventing the ‘ American trade from passing into foreign ‘ channels.’ To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other’s blood: that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling

compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

“ I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

“ With the greatest and most sincere respect,
I have the honour to be, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s

“ Most obedient, humble servant,

“ B. FRANKLIN.

“ Directed

“ *To the Right Hon. Lord Vis. Howe.*”

On the 4th day of July 1776, the North American colonies, by their delegates in Congress, declared themselves to be "Free and Independent States." The several colonies now become sovereign states, immediately formed constitutions for their distinct governments. That of Pennsylvania was composed by Dr. Franklin, and is highly esteemed, as a fine system of legislation and jurisprudence.

The first step of the Congress, after the declaration of independence, was sending Mr. Silas Deane to France, to request permission of the French ministry, to purchase in France, arms and military stores for an army. From the reception that Deane met with, the Congress were convinced that France looked upon their cause with a very favourable eye: and upon this, they appointed Dr. Franklin their minister at Paris, with full power. A ship mounting thirty-six guns was equipped on purpose to carry him. He left Philadelphia on the 27th of October, and arrived at Nantz on the 13th of December

1776.

1776. The ship he sailed in took two English vessels in her voyage, and carried them into Nantz, where they were sold for the benefit of the captors.

The public fact of Dr. Franklin's arrival in France, and the fact of the French ministry permitting these prizes to be sold in a French port, were irrefragable and indisputable proofs of hostility to Great Britain; and ought to have been considered and treated as such. But the ministers of Great Britain were afraid of a war with France; and France not being prepared for war, chose to temporize. Dr. Franklin was honoured privately with all the countenance he could expect.

The Americans having at this time (April 1777) a considerable number of British soldiers and sailors prisoners in their hands, Dr. Franklin applied by letter to Lord Stormont, the British minister at Paris, upon the subject of exchanging them for the like number of Americans, prisoners in England. Lord Stormont's answer was in the true spirit
of

of his Court; it was in these words, "The King's Ambassador receives no applications from rebels, unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." In six months afterwards, General Burgoyne and his whole army surrendered.

In the interim, between the time of making the application to Lord Stormont, and the surrender of General Burgoyne, Dr. Franklin's pointed electrical conductors at Buckingham-house were taken down; and Mr. Wilson's blunted conductors were put up in their stead. When the celebrated American Orrery was destroyed by the troops under Sir William Howe, Dr. Franklin said, "they ought not to make war on the sciences."

Two months after the surrender of General Burgoyne, the French entered into an alliance with the Americans, offensive and defensive. When this measure had taken place, the British ministry made several attempts to open a negotiation with Dr. Franklin, but they were

were too late. Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Conway, Mr. Hutton, and other gentlemen were sent to Paris for this purpose, but in vain.

Mr. Silas Deane and Dr. Bancroft, who was secretary to the American embassy at Paris, were accused of gambling in the English funds. Bancroft was dismissed: and though Dr. Franklin interposed in behalf of Deane, and made himself some enemies in America by it, yet he could not prevent Deane being recalled. This was very different from the conduct shewn to America, by persons in office, in London. The Congress dollars were forged in London, in immense quantities, and sent at different times to New York, Charlestown, and other places, with a view of depreciating and destroying the credit of the real dollars.

The attempt to negotiate with Lord Stormont, for an exchange of prisoners, having failed, towards the end of the year 1777 Dr. Franklin sent a Mr. Thornton, an American gentleman, to London, with an application to Lord North upon the subject.

Mr. Thornton waited first upon Mr. Hartley; who, at Dr. Franklin's request, attended Mr. Thornton to Lord North. This was on the 18th day of December, in the evening. Lord North received him very civilly. Mr. Thornton opened his business; but did not deliver a letter he was charged with from Dr. Franklin to Lord North. The conversation was nothing but ceremony, and an assurance to Mr. Thornton of personal safety.

On the 19th, in the morning, Mr. Thornton alone waited upon Lord North, and delivered to him Dr. Franklin's letter. Nothing but civility again; and a promise that he should have an answer as soon as the other servants of the Crown could be consulted.

Several days passed, and he received no answer. The ministers differed with each other upon it. Lord Suffolk and Lord Mansfield were for maintaining the high answer given by Lord Stormont at Paris. Lord North and Lord George Germain were for an exchange of prisoners.

At length Mr. Thornton wrote to Lord North that it was a part of his instructions to see the prisoners, and therefore that he would go to Portsmouth and other places where they were confined, for that purpose.

On the 30th, he returned to London: still no answer was ready. On the 2d day of January he set out on his return to Paris. Next day an answer was sent to Mr. Hartley, stating, that ministers intended, as opportunity shall offer, to exchange them in America, against British prisoners there.

At the end of the month of March 1782, the British ministry were changed. In this change Mr. Fox was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Before he was warm in his seat, he gave a proof of his political sagacity, which none have exceeded—perhaps few have equalled. This was his open and manly communication to the Dutch. He took up the consideration of the war in Europe, upon a just principle. He began with Holland, and thereby prevented a continental war. He immediately separated the

Dutch from the Confederacy that had been formed against Great Britain. There was no longer any idea of joining the Dutch fleet to the combined fleet of France and Spain. The consequence of this disjunction was the relief of Gibraltar, which was closely besieged by the united forces of France and Spain. If the Dutch fleet had joined the combined fleet, which was intended, and there was nothing at that time to prevent it, Gibraltar could not have been relieved: with the addition of the Dutch navy against us, Gibraltar must have fallen. The British fleet at that time was not equal to the three maritime powers; Spain, France, and Holland. If Gibraltar had been taken, the conditions of peace must have been less honourable. The dates will shew the fact is indisputable. The resolution of the States General, "To request his Serene Highness, in his station of admiral-general of the Union, to concert in the most convenient manner with the court of France, a plan for the naval operations of the next campaign, so as to annoy the common enemy, in the most sensible manner," is dated on the 20th day
of

of February 1782. Mr. Fox was appointed Secretary of State on the 27th day of March following; and his letter to M. Simolin, containing his offers to the Dutch, is dated on the 29th day of that month; being the second day after he had been in office. This is as strong an instance of sagacity and penetration as will be found in the conduct of any former minister.

In the month of November following, Dr. Franklin signed at Paris the provisional articles of peace between Great Britain and America. And in the month of September 1783, he signed the definitive treaty, with Mr. Hartley.

He also negotiated, and signed, commercial treaties between Sweden and America, and between Prussia and America.

The tranquillity and independence of America being perfectly established, he requested to be recalled from the fatigues of his embassy; which was complied with.

Animal magnetism being a subject of much conversation in Paris at this time, the King

appointed Commissioners to examine into the foundation of this pretended science. Dr. Franklin was one of them. He presently discovered the whole to be a mere trick; and as such he reported it; which put an end to the imposition.

In the month of September 1785, he arrived once more in America. He amused himself occasionally with philosophical researches, and experiments. It is not within the design of this work, to give an account of Dr. Franklin's philosophical theories and systems. The reader will find them in his Works. This is a sketch of the political part of his life, which is not in his works.

In the year 1787, a convention of the United States was assembled at Philadelphia. Dr. Franklin was appointed a delegate for the State of Pennsylvania. The purpose was to revise and amend the articles of Confederation, in order to give more strength and energy to the government of the Union. He signed the new Constitution, and gave it his most hearty approbation.

In the same year he established two societies at Philadelphia; one for alleviating the miseries of public prisons, the other for promoting the abolition of the Slave Trade.

In the year 1788, his infirmities increasing, which were of the calculous kind, he retired from all public business. During the last twelve months of his life, he was principally confined to his bed. He died on the 17th day of April 1790, at the age of 84 years and three months.

The following is a translation from the *Journale de Physique*, for the month of June 1790.

“ Franklin died in the month of April last, of an abscess in his breast. This great man preserved his usual presence of mind almost to his last moments. Persons public and private, of every rank and quality, attended his funeral, and probably there was never so great a concourse in America on any occasion. What an interesting spectacle was this, of a whole people bewailing their benefactor!

The Congress, and various corporations, put on mourning for him during a month. The National Assembly of France, and a great number of other philanthropists, mourned for him three days. It is perhaps the first time that nations have mourned for a friend of humanity; whilst, to the disgrace of reason, we have seen them mourn for months together for its oppressors. All the nations of Europe are so submissive to the yoke, that they esteem it an honour and a duty to wear for several months mourning for one of their tyrants; whilst his death ought to be esteemed, and really is, a public felicity: such were the deaths of Louis the XIV. Louis the XV. Joseph II. &c. It is to be hoped that Philosophy will, in time, reform these abuses.”

CHAPTER XXVI.

MESSIEURS BURKES.

Four of them. All Literary Men. Fugitive Papers. Series of Letters signed Valens. Answer to Lord Bath's Pamphlet. Answer to Dr. Franklin's Pamphlet. Importance of Guadaloupe. Lord Chatham of Mr. Burke's Opinion, but over-ruled. Value and Importance of the West-Indies. African Trade. Petition and Resolutions of the Yorkshire Committee. Mr. Burke's Letter on the Subject of them to the Buckinghamshire Committee. Several Particulars.

THERE were four of these gentlemen—The Right Honourable Edmund Burke; Mr. Richard Burke, his son, of whom nothing more need be said, than that he wrote an answer to an Essay or Letter written by Major Cartwright, which the reader will find in the Appendix near the end of the article marked

marked C; Mr. Richard Burke, brother to Mr. Edmund Burke, and Recorder of Bristol; Mr. William Burke, cousin to Mr. Edmund Burke, who was Secretary to General Conway while that gentleman was Secretary of State, and several years Pay-master in India.

The last mentioned gentleman has written several tracts; and it is more than probable, that he was frequently assisted by his cousin; and upon some occasions, there is no doubt, they were all three concerned; for they lived upon the terms of the most sincere friendship and affection. And although it is unquestionably true, that the talents of Mr. Edmund Burke had infinitely the ascendancy, yet those of Mr. Richard Burke, and of Mr. William Burke, were greatly above mediocrity.

An association of such literary abilities, and active minds, must undoubtedly have produced many papers, which are now unknown; particularly their occasional Essays, or Letters, in the newspapers; which they were in the habit of furnishing during several years.

years. Many of these are interesting, as containing the sense of parties, from the year 1764, or thereabouts. There were several in reply to the series of papers written by Mr. Scott of Cambridge, distinguished by the signature of Anti-Sejanus. If their friends have a correct knowledge of them, they would do well to collect them. There was a series of papers written by them, published in the London Evening Post, at the beginning of the American war, signed VALENS, from which some extracts have been made, which the reader will find in the Appendix, marked F, G, and O. They were ascribed principally to Mr. Richard Burke; but Mr. William Burke materially assisted, and Mr. Edmund Burke occasionally contributed.

When the late Earl of Bath published his pamphlet called "A Letter to Two Great Men," (Lord Chatham and the Duke of Newcastle,) upon the prospect of peace, in the year 1759, Mr. William Burke has always been said, and believed, to have been the Author of the answer to it, intitled "Remarks on the Letter to Two Great Men."

Men." Lord Bath having strongly recommended, in his pamphlet, the *retention* of Canada in the expected negotiations for peace; and asserted, that a preference should be given to Canada over Guadaloupe, or any conquests made in the West-Indies; Mr. Burke was of a contrary opinion, and argued strongly in favour of Guadaloupe.

Mr. Burke's pamphlet had sufficient merit to attract, and alarm the attention of Dr. Franklin; he therefore wrote an answer to it; which he intitled "The Interest of Great Britain considered, with regard to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe;" in which he coincided with, and enforced the opinion of Lord Bath.

Mr. Burke, though a young man, was not vanquished by his formidable opponent. He continued the contest by another pamphlet, which he intitled "An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation between Great Britain and France in 1761: in which the System of that Negotiation with regard to our Colonies and Commerce is considered."

sidered." This was published upon the failure of the negotiation between the late Lord Chatham and Mr. Buffy, in the year 1761.

As it is probable that Mr. Burke's argument may hereafter be useful, the reader will not be displeas'd with the following extract from it.

"The late negotiation, (he says,) so far as it regarded our colonies and commerce, was on our side conducted, I apprehend, on one single idea, viz. to secure to ourselves the possession of all Canada. I say, upon this single idea, because from a careful examination of the several plans delivered to the French minister it appears, that even an attempt was not made, to procure in America any other possession, or any other advantage whatsoever. Our interest, and our conquests in the West-Indies, were very little, if at all, regarded. On the opening of the treaty we agreed to negotiate away Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and in the turns which that treaty took, and in all the different schemes

of commutation, which were from time to time proposed, and they were many and various, I do not find that it was for a moment the idea to retain that acquisition we had made in the West-Indies, which the very article that restores it to France, denominates a fertile and wealthy island; [His Majesty likewise agrees to surrender to the most Christian King the *opulent* island of Guadalupe, with that of Marigalante;] and which the very great increase of our trade since its reduction, demonstrates not to have been at all over-rated in those epithets, however it might be under-valued in the exchange by which it was to have been surrendered.

“ The reader will not entertain any doubt, that the treaty was conducted on a principle wholly averse to West-Indian acquisition, when he recollects this remarkable fact.

“ Early in the negotiation, and as I may say at the out-set, we agreed to exchange Guadaloupe for Minorca; but during the progress of that transaction, Belleisle fell into our hands. Here was presented a new subject

ject for exchange. It was quite natural to barter one European island for another; and it became the more natural, as one was of no great advantage to England, nor the other to France; and both were heavily expensive to their respective possessors. Accordingly, we find that exchange was proposed; but what is very singular, even at the time of making that proposal, it does not appear that any advantage was taken from this circumstance, to retain the least particle of our West-Indian conquests. The original scheme of compensation was changed; Belleisle was offered (so the French understood it) for Minorca; but Guadaloupe, the old equivalent, was, notwithstanding this new project, to have been surrendered; though not in exchange for Minorca, nor for any thing else that I can discover; and therefore, without any distinct compensation at all."

[Here the Editor begs leave to solicit the reader's permission to shew that Mr. Burke is in this point mistaken. We have Lord Chatham's own authority for the fact. In his speech in the House of Commons, when Mr. Pitt, on the 29th of November 1762, he

he says, " He had been blamed for consenting to give up Guadaloupe. That cession had been a question in another place. (*The cabinet.*) He wished to have *kept* the island. He had been *over-ruled* in that point. He could not help it. He had been over-ruled many times, and upon many occasions. He had acquiesced; he had submitted; but at length he saw, that all his measures, all his sentiments, were inimical to the views of those persons to whom his Majesty had given his confidence." No one will doubt, that Mr. Burke's arguments were well-founded. But as Lord Chatham was the negotiator, in the negotiation Mr. Burke is speaking of, it is necessary to accompany the passage in Mr. Burke's pamphlet, with this declaration of Lord Chatham; otherwise, Mr. Burke's statement would seem to impeach the rectitude and wisdom of that great Minister. But when Mr. Burke wrote his pamphlet, he could not be acquainted with the *real* fact; for it was not known, until Lord Chatham himself made it known.] We will continue the extract from Mr. Burke, because it is not uninteresting. The pamphlets of the day speak the sense of men in a better

better manner than almost any future writer will take the trouble to represent them.

“ Here also a difficulty occurs; for it is not easy to discover for what reason Belleisle was taken, if it was not to be admitted among the equivalents. The expedition for the reduction of this island was undertaken after the commencement of the negotiation; and the place could scarcely be desired for any other purpose than to give us some advantage in that negotiation; and yet a few days after we had taken Belleisle, its negotiable value was estimated at nothing; and, in all appearance, we suffered it to be added to Guadaloupe, in compensation for an object which had been before offered us for Guadaloupe alone.

“ Had it indeed been necessary, by the surrender of the fertile island of Guadaloupe, to purchase the vast but unprofitable forests of Canada, the passion at least of boundless empire would have been flattered. There had perhaps been something magnificent in such a delusion. But from the beginning

there was no mention of an exchange of that nature. The first overtures to the treaty declare, that the privilege of the fishery at Newfoundland was the compensation for Canada."

[The words in the historical memorial of this negotiation are, "the liberty of fishing, and the shelter without fortifications, was the compensation for the cession of all Canada." The "restitution of the island of Minorca, was certainly equivalent to the cession of Guadaloupe and Marigalante." See the Historical Memorial, in the Appendix to the Anecdotes of Lord Chatham's Life.]

"The fundamental principle upon which all ideas of West Indian acquisition have been rejected, is a maxim laid down by the writer of the Letter to two Great Men, *that we had already sugar-land enough.*

"There is no word whatsoever of greater latitude in the construction, when it is referred to private concerns, than this word *enough.* With regard to the public, it is often contracted

tracted within very reasonable limits. Does it here mean that we have sugar-land sufficient to supply the home consumption? It is not strictly true, that we have enough for the consumption of all the British dominions. We know that in Ireland they use some, and in North America a very great quantity of foreign sugars, and syrups, and we have reason to believe that some find their way even into England. If he means that we have enough for foreign consumption, he is mistaken. Before the war we had almost lost the foreign market for this commodity. And unless he can prove that the sugar commerce is detrimental, I conceive this assertion equivalent to a declaration, that we have foreign trade enough. A declaration however repugnant to fact, and to the national interests, is altogether consistent with the system laid down in that letter."

Of the value and importance of the West Indies, Mr. Burke speaks thus :

" The direct import of Great Britain alone from the West Indies, in the year 1759,

A a 2

a year

a year subject to the losses and casualties of war, and exclusive of Guadaloupe, which was then but just conquered, amounted to no less than 1,833,648 *l.* whereas the import from the great and populous northern colonies of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, amounted but to 70,074 *l.* and the whole North American import together amounted to little more than a third of the West Indian.

“ With regard to our dominions in Europe, there is scarce an article of British produce, which is not largely consumed in the West Indies. The benefit of the West Indian trade to our European dominions is not confined to Great Britain. Our island colonies, and they alone, take off a great quantity of provisions from Ireland; a consideration of no trivial consequence, not only from the connection of interest by which that trade binds together the several parts of our empire, but also because, whatever provisions go to our own colonies are so much taken from the markets of our dangerous rivals, and most determined enemies.

“ Another

“ Another confideration, and a very weighty one, is, that almoft the whole of that extenfive and lucrative trade which we carry on with the coaft of Africa, is maintained by, and muft be put to the account of the Weft Indies, becaufe the Weft India iflands form the great markets for negroe flaves.

“ The trade to Africa is of the beft kind. It is for the greateft part fed with our own manufactures; our fire-arms, our ammunition, our utensils, our ftuffs, and our fpirits, of all which we exported in the year 1761 to the value of 254,381 l. What remains of the affortment for that market is compofed entirely of Eaft India goods, of which, in the fame year, it took off 78,576 l.

“ Thus the Weft Indies fustain, not only a large fhare of the direct Englifh trade, but alfo contribute very confiderably to the fupport of that mighty pillar of our national commerce and credit, the Eaft India Company. I muft beg leave to repeat it, and to fix it in the reader's memory, that the African trade centers in, and is fupported by the

West Indies; and that this trade, with its consequential advantages, is the principal dependence of the two, after London, the greatest and most flourishing trading places in Great Britain, Bristol, and Liverpool."

[Liverpool has now the principal share of the African trade.]

The calamities of the American war, and the acquiescence of Parliament in support of it, caused a general alarm throughout the nation towards the close of the year 1779. The extensive and very opulent county of York set an example of presenting petitions on public grievances, and of forming a general association, to give effect to the petitions. This example was followed by many of the counties and great towns in the kingdom.

Upon the subject of the Yorkshire meeting, Messieurs Burkes wrote a small tract, intitled, "The Yorkshire Question," &c. which the reader will find in the Appendix, marked R. It is not certain which of the Burkes is the author,—

author,—probably it is the production of the three.

The committee appointed at the Yorkshire meeting, agreed to a second petition in support of the first. A copy of the first petition the reader will find annexed to the “Yorkshire Question” in the Appendix. The following is a copy of the second petition; and of the resolutions which accompanied it.

“ To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

“ The humble Petition of the Freeholders of the County of York,

“ Sheweth,

“ That your Petitioners, sensible of the original excellency of the constitution of this country, most ardently wish to have it maintained upon the genuine principles on which it was founded.

“ Your Petitioners further shew, That it is necessary to the welfare of the people, that the Commons’ House of Parliament should have a common interest with the

nation ; and that in the present state of the representation of the people in Parliament, the House of Commons do not sufficiently speak the voice of the people,

“ Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray this Honourable House to take into their most serious consideration, the present inadequate state of the representation of the people in Parliament, and to apply such remedy to this great and alarming evil, as to this Honourable House may seem meet.

“ And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.”

The several motions following were afterwards successively made and seconded ; and the question being put upon each, it was

“ Resolved unanimously, That this meeting having adopted a petition, requesting a reformation of Parliament in general terms, and being apprehensive, that from the generality of the petition, the intention of this meeting may be misconstrued, as aiming at a reformation of Parliament on principles and
to

to an extent which they do not mean to recommend, doth find it necessary to declare that if,

“ 1. A bill shall be passed in Parliament for abolishing at least fifty of the most obnoxious boroughs, providing for the electors in the several boroughs abolished a proper gratuitous compensation for their extinguished franchises; and enabling them to vote, together with other freeholders, in elections for knights of the respective shires to which they belong; and also adding ~~an~~ ^a ~~equivalent~~ ^{equivalent} number of members, not less than an hundred, in due proportion to the several counties and the metropolis:

“ 2. And if the Septennial bill shall be repealed:

“ 3. And if a bill shall be passed for admitting proprietors of copyhold lands of inheritance, with fine certain, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, to vote at county elections of members of Parliament throughout the kingdom:

“ 4. And

“ 4. And lastly, if a bill shall be passed for setting aside nominal and fictitious votes in Scotland, and for regulating elections to Parliament in that part of the kingdom, in a manner agreeable to the true intent and spirit of the constitution ;

“ The correction of parliamentary abuses, effected by those measures, will establish a reformation of Parliament which this county would highly approve.

“ Resolved unanimously, ~~That~~ ^{That} ~~this~~ meeting, trusting in the experienced zeal of their representatives, Sir George Savile, and Henry Duncombe Esq. as far as circumstances will allow to promote the reasonable wishes of their constituents to accomplish a substantial reformation of Parliament as aforesaid, and to support farther measures of strict frugality, so indispensably necessary in the present condition of this country, doth postpone offering to their worthy representatives any instructions on the said matters.”

This

This petition and these resolutions drew from Mr. Burke a strong letter upon the subject of them.

From Mr. Burke's pamphlet, called "Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents," it was known that he was hostile to a reformation of Parliament; but when some of the members of the committee of the county of Buckingham (being the county in which Mr. Burke resided) were known to have in contemplation an adoption of the conduct of the Yorkshire committee, and to recommend it to the second general meeting of the county, to be held in the month of May 1780; Mr. Burke wrote the following letter to a member of the committee; in which Mr. Burke states more explicitly than he has done any where else, his opinion upon the subject of Parliamentary reform.

(COPY.)

" Sir,

" Having yesterday heard, by mere accident, that there is an intention of laying before the county meeting, new matter which is not contained

contained in our petition, and the consideration of which had been deferred to a fitter time by a majority of our committee in London; permit me to take this method of submitting to you my reasons for thinking with our committee, that nothing ought to be hastily determined upon the subject.

“ Our petition arose naturally from distresses which we *felt*; and the requests which we made, were, in effect, nothing more than that such things should be done in Parliament, as it was evidently the duty of Parliament to do. But the affair which will be proposed to you by a person of rank and ability, (Earl Stanhope, then Lord Mahon,) is an alteration in the constitution of Parliament itself. It is impossible for you to have a subject before you of more importance; and that requires a more cool and mature consideration; both on its own account, and for the credit of our sobriety of mind, who are to resolve upon it.

“ The country will, in some way or other, be called upon to declare it your opinion, that

that the House of Commons is not sufficiently numerous, and that the elections are not sufficiently frequent: that an hundred new knights of the shire ought to be added; and that we are to have a new election, once in three years for certain, and as much oftener as the King pleases. Such will be the state of things, if the propositions made shall take effect.

“ All this may be proper; but as an honest man, I cannot possibly give my vote for it, until I have considered it more fully. I will not deny, that our constitution may have faults, and that those faults, when found, ought to be corrected. It is not every thing which appears at first view to be faulty, in such a very complicated plan as our constitution, that is to be determined to be so in reality. To enable us to correct the constitution, the whole constitution must be viewed together, and it must be compared with the actual state of the people, and the circumstances of the time. For that, which taken singly and by itself may appear to be wrong, when considered with relation to other things

may

may be perfectly right, or at least such as ought to be patiently endured, as the means of preventing something that is much worse. So far with regard to what, at first view, may appear a *distemper* in the constitution. As to the *remedy* of that distemper, an equal caution ought to be used; because this latter consideration is not single and separate, no more than the former. There are many things in reformation, which would be proper to be done if other things can be done along with them, but which, if they cannot be so accompanied, ought not to be done at all. I therefore wish, when any new matter of this deep nature is proposed to me, to have the whole scheme distinctly in my view, and full time to consider of it. Please God I will walk with caution whenever I am not able clearly to see my way before me.

“ I am now growing old; I have from my very early youth been conversant in reading and thinking upon the subjects of our laws and constitution, as well as upon those of other times and other countries. I have been for fifteen years a very laborious member

ber of Parliament, and in that time have had great opportunities of seeing with my own eyes the working of the machine of our government; of remarking where it went smoothly, and did its business, and where it checked in its movements; or where it damaged its work. I have also had, and used the opportunities of conversing with men of the greatest wisdom and fullest experience in these matters; and I do declare to you most solemnly, and most truly, that on the result of all this reading, thinking, experience, and communication, I am not able to come to an immediate resolution in favour of a change in the ground-work of our constitution; and in particular, that in the present state of the country, in the present state of our representation, in the present state of our rights and modes of electing, in the present state of the several prevalent interests, in the present state of the affairs and manners of this country, I am not able to vote that the addition of an hundred knights of the shire, and the hurrying of election on election, will be things advantageous either to liberty or to good government.

“ This

“ This is the present condition of my mind, and this is my apology for not going as fast as others may choose to go in this business. I do not by any means reject the propositions, much less do I condemn the gentlemen, who with equal good intentions, with much better abilities, and with infinitely greater personal weight and consideration than mine, are of opinion that this matter ought to be decided upon instantly.

“ I most heartily wish that the deliberate sense of the kingdom on this great subject should be known. When it is known it must be prevalent. It would be dreadful indeed if there were any power in the nation capable of resisting its unanimous desire, or even the desire of any very great and decided majority of the people. The people may be deceived in their choice of an object, but I can scarcely conceive any choice they can make to be so very mischievous, as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it. It will certainly be the duty of every man in the situation to which God has called him, to give his best opinion and advice upon the
matter;

matter ; it will *not* be his duty (let him think what he will) to use any violent or fraudulent means of counteracting the general wish, or even of employing the *legal and constructive* organ of expressing the people's sense against the sense which they do *actually* entertain.

“ In order that the real sense of the people should be known upon so great an affair as this, it is of absolute necessity, that *timely* notice should be given, that the matter should be prepared in *open* committees ; from a choice into which *no class or description of men* is to be excluded, and the subsequent county meetings should be as *full*, and as well attended as possible. Without these precautions, the true sense of the people will ever be uncertain. Sure I am, that no precipitate resolution on a great change in the fundamental constitution of any country, can ever be called the real sense of the people.

“ I trust it will not be taken amiss, if, as an inhabitant and freeholder of this county, one

indeed among the most inconsiderable, I assert my right of dissenting (as I do dissent fully and directly) from any resolution whatsoever, on the subject of an alteration in the representation and election of the kingdom at this time. By preserving this right, and exercising it with temper and moderation, I trust I cannot offend the noble proposer, for whom no man professes or feels more respect and regard than I do. A concurrence in *every thing which can be proposed*, can, in no sort, weaken the energy, or distract the efforts of men of upright intentions upon *those points in which they are agreed*. Assemblies that are met with a resolution to be all of a mind, are assemblies that can have no opinion at all of their own. The first proposer of any measure must be their master. I do not know that an amicable variety of sentiments, conducted with mutual respect, and with mutual good will, has any sort of resemblance to discord; or that it can give any advantage whatever to the enemies of our common cause. On the contrary, a forced and fictitious agreement (which every universal agreement must be) is not becoming the cause of freedom.

freedom. If, however, any evil should arise from it (which I confess I do not foresee) I am happy that those who have brought forward new and arduous matter, when very great doubts, and some diversity of opinion must be foreknown, are of authority and weight enough to stand against the consequences.

“ I humbly lay these my sentiments before the county. They are not taken up to serve any interests of my own, or to be subservient to the interests of any man or set of men under heaven. I could wish to be able to attend our meeting, or that I had time to reason this matter more fully by letter; but I am detained here upon our business. What you have already put upon us, is as much as men can do. If we are prevented from going through it with any effect, I fear it will be in part owing; not more to the resistance of the enemies of our cause, than to our imposing on ourselves such tasks as no human faculties, employed as we are, can be equal to. Our worthy members have shewn distinguished ability and zeal in support of our

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petition.

petition. I am just going down to a bill brought in to frustrate a capital part of your desires. The minister is preparing to transfer the cognizance of the public accounts from those whom you and the constitution have chose to controul them, to unknown persons, creatures of his own. For so much he annihilates Parliament.

“ I have the honour, &c. &c.

April 12, 1780.

“ E. B.”

The defence of Admiral Keppel on his trial is ascribed to Mr. Burke, in which he was probably assisted.

When Mr. Burke became Paymaster, in the year 1782, it has been lately stated, that he accepted that office with a view of reforming it. But his defence of Mr. Powell in the House of Commons does not corroborate that fact; and as to the reforming of the office, as far as that assertion has allusion to a prior Paymaster, the reader will find the authentic papers concerning it in the Appendix marked S.

Mr.

Mr. Burke's speeches at Bristol, not in his works, are also in the Appendix marked T.

It is not necessary to give an account of Mr. Burke's several publications; they will probably be printed in some future edition of his works; nor of his opinions concerning the American and French revolutions; which are to be found very fully detailed in his writings, and in his speeches in Parliament.

If ever Sir Henry Cavendish should publish his account of the debates in the British House of Commons, which he took in short hand, during the time he sat in it, which was from the year 1768 to 1774, Mr. Burke's speeches in that important period will appear with undoubted accuracy; and will give a more interesting picture of those times than any that has hitherto been exhibited.

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