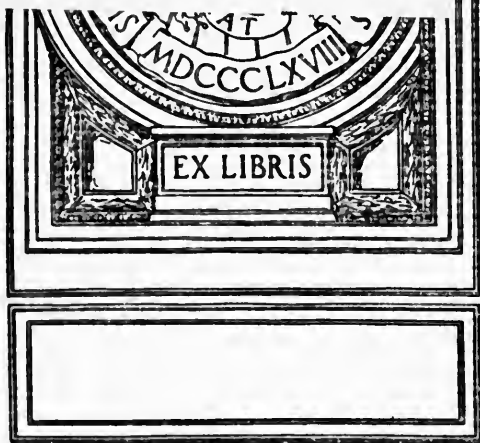


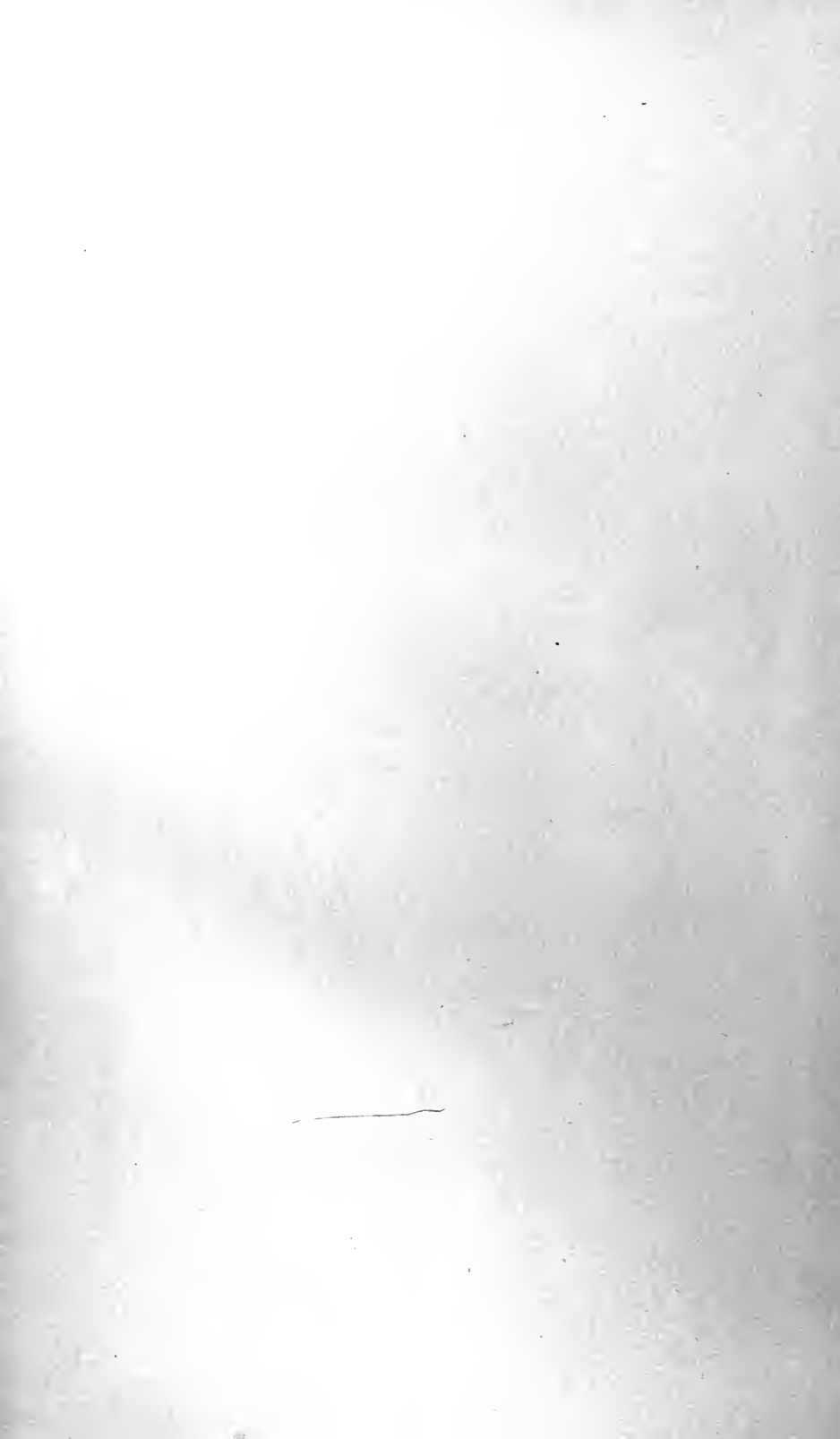


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CHARLES JAMES FOX



Days of the Dandies



Charles James Fox

Written by

B. C. Walpole

Together with the character of
Mr. Fox, by R. B. Sheridan

Printed by

The Grolier Society

London

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PREFACE

THE author of the following pages has not the presumption to present them to the public as containing a complete and finished biography of the distinguished character of whom they treat. He knows how impossible it would be to do justice, in the compass within which he has limited his labours, to a man who, for so many years, has filled such a considerable space in the political history of this country. His object was rather to exhibit such traits of his private character, and to rescue from oblivion such facts as are calculated to inform and to interest not only the statesman and the politician, but every one who is endued with the feelings of a man.

Some there probably are, and among the rest the more immediate friends of Mr. Fox, who may probably be disposed to censure the author for introducing into these sketches various circumstances which are far from reflecting credit either

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over on

on his morals or his principles. Disclaiming, however, every feeling of malignity or of prejudice, he has no hesitation to declare his hope that these details, though obnoxious to some, may prove of utility to others. If but one fond parent, gratifying every whim and every caprice of his darling child, is led by the example of Fox's dissipation and extravagance to reflect on the consequences of his weak and injurious indulgence — if but one youth, ready to plunge into the vortex of fashionable follies and vices, is induced to pause and consider the inevitable ruin in which they must sooner or later involve him — his failings and his deviations will not have been recorded in vain. The example of Mr. Fox during his life was assuredly productive of some mischievous effects — but happy will it be, if after his death it should operate beneficially for those who survive.

While the author, in common with every ingenuous mind, deploras that misapplication of time and talents, that unconquerable propensity to gaming, perhaps the most pernicious of amusements, and that disregard of character for which this distinguished senator and statesman was so notorious — while he laments that a man who made such a conspicuous figure on the theatre of

life should be so indifferent to every moral obligation as to continue those degenerate and licentious pursuits, which the thoughtlessness and inexperience of youth might palliate, but which in maturer years are wholly inexcusable—he cannot at the same time forbear exulting in the splendour of his talents, in the patriotism, the energy, the firmness, and the perseverance which he displayed on so many occasions. Equally remote from prejudice and partiality, he trusts that he shall not be found to depart from that rigid justice and that candour which every biographer ought to observe.

The author's limits precluded his entering so much into the detail of the political transactions in which Mr. Fox was concerned, as might be wished by some. He can, nevertheless, affirm with confidence, that no occurrence of any importance is omitted. Though the measures which he defended or opposed may be treated with too much brevity for the professed politician, yet the notice of them will be found sufficiently ample to satisfy the general reader.

Few men possessing such eminent literary attainments, such brilliant talents, and such an ardent mind, have written less than Mr. Fox. Besides his "Letter to the Electors of Westmin-

ster," no other avowed production of his pen is in existence, except a few poetical pieces, the principal of which will be found in the subsequent pages.

In a country like ours, which is constantly divided by political parties, who deal out against each other censure, abuse, and calumny with very liberal hands, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between falsehood and truth. It cannot be surprising that a man who, by the boldness of his assertions and the characteristic openness of his disposition, exposed himself so much to misrepresentation, should have been traduced and vilified by men whose judgments were warped by the spirit of party, or whose minds were swayed by motives of interest. It is easy to conceive the embarrassment in which this must often involve the honest biographer, anxious to keep clear of the detractions of malevolence on the one hand, and of the exaggerations of partiality on the other. Such is the line of conduct adopted by the author in the following sheets; and though it may probably not procure the approbation either of the partisans of Mr. Fox, or of his political adversaries, yet it is the only one that he could possibly reconcile to his own feelings.

To all those who wish to form their judgment of a man, not by the party to which he belongs, but from his actions and the motives that produced them — who, not dazzled by vice, however splendid the garb she may assume, still dare to call her by her real name — who estimate the merit of a man not by empty and unmeaning professions, with whatever apparent sincerity they may be delivered, but by the good he has actually performed, the benefits he has conferred, either by precept or example, on the community of which he is a member — the author presumes to recommend his labours. Indifferent alike to the censure and praises of others, it is the approbation of such alone that he is solicitous to obtain. Should he be so fortunate as to gain their suffrages, he will sit down contented with having thus accomplished the highest object of his honest ambition.


B. C. W.

London, Oct. 14, 1806.

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CHARLES JAMES FOX

T would be unnecessary to expatiate on the importance of a just and impartial investigation of the conduct of all great public characters, whose talents have raised them to distinction and eminence; or to enforce this argument, that they are more or less estimable in proportion as the exercise of those talents tends to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind. To judge them with justice and impartiality, we must not, however, take their words but their actions as the criterion of their merits. Conformably to this standard it is impossible to consider any one an estimable public character, whose conduct in private life daily belies the professions which he is giving to the world. He should hold forth in his own person an example of those virtues which are the themes of his panegyric, before he can reckon on any good effect as the result of

his advice. This consistency of principle not only entitles a man to public faith, but also to public esteem.

It has been asserted by many celebrated writers that civilised society is more or less happy according as its leaders are virtuous and good. It is undoubtedly to the higher orders that the inferior classes naturally look up for example, for a guide by which to regulate their conduct and their actions. If, instead of finding an incentive to virtue, they discover nothing but vice, profligacy, and dissipation, can we wonder if, under such circumstances, public virtue should become extinct? — if a nation once famous for honour, integrity, and every quality that can dignify and adorn human nature, should sink into that state of degradation, of which the pages of history record so many melancholy examples?

No patriotic mind can reflect without some feeling of anxiety, if not of alarm, on the mortality which in less than one short year has bereft Britain of so many of her brightest ornaments — warriors, statesmen, and legislators. In this number we find a Cornwallis, whose prudence, wisdom, and experience were calculated to give prosperity to British India; a Nelson, who, with unparalleled

conduct and courage, hurled the naval thunders of Britain on every foe that presumed to oppose his victorious career; a Pitt, to whose undaunted fortitude and perseverance in the government of the helm, amid storms and tempests of unprecedented violence, was perhaps owing the salvation of the vessel of the state; and last, though not least, a Fox, the greatest portion of whose life has been spent in curbing that power, which, for want of opposition, might have degenerated into arbitrary tyranny and odious oppression.

In attempting to give a sketch of the life of the last-mentioned distinguished character, we cannot but feel ourselves under considerable embarrassment; and this will not appear astonishing to the reader, when he reflects that the task we here undertake is to give an account of the conduct of one of the most remarkable men that ever filled a public or private station. In the one we find him preëminently conspicuous in talent and ability of the most rare and multifarious kind; in the other we trace him engaged in practices degrading and contemptible, and which could only be learned from associating with the most abandoned and profligate of the human race. But before we pro-

ceed to the consideration of this extraordinary character, the reader will not be displeased with a few particulars relative to the family from which he derived his descent.

The family of Fox was originally settled in Wiltshire, and William Fox of Farley in that county is the first of this line with whom we are acquainted. His son Stephen, who received the honour of knighthood, was a man of talents, and was the founder of two noble families. Being a Royalist, he followed the fortunes of the exiled family of Stuart, with the remains of which he afterward returned to England.

The restoration of Charles II. proved more fortunate to Sir Stephen Fox than to most of the adherents of that monarch, in the catalogue of whose virtues gratitude cannot be reckoned. In 1661, when it was first found necessary to keep on foot a standing army in order to quell the insurrection of the fanatic Venner and the Fifth Monarchy Men, Sir Stephen was appointed paymaster of the two regiments of guards that were first raised; and afterward, on the levying of some other troops on account of the war with the Dutch, he was constituted paymaster of all the forces in England, an office which, on his receiv-

ing the appointment of master of the horse, was conferred on his son Charles, who died in his lifetime.

Sir Stephen was a courtier of distinguished abilities, served in several Parliaments, and was honoured with very high offices in the state. He left behind him monuments of his piety, in the church of Farley in Wiltshire, and that of Culford in Suffolk, both of which he built from the ground ; and the noble hospital of Chelsea attests his humanity. "I cannot bear," said he, "to see the common soldiers, who have spent their strength in our service, reduced to beg at our doors." These feelings inspired him with the project of that magnificent structure, toward the expense of which he himself contributed above £13,000.

In 1703, being then seventy-six years of age, Sir Stephen Fox married his second wife, Christian, daughter of the Rev. Charles Hope, of Nasely, in the county of Lincoln ; and by this match, though he was so far advanced in years, he not only became a father, but the founder of two noble families. His eldest son, Stephen, was created Earl of Ilchester, and Henry, the younger, Lord Holland. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, married

Lord Cornwallis, while Charlotte became the wife of a son of Lord Digby.

Henry Fox, Lord Holland, laid the foundation of his own honours by his talents and application to business. He, early in life, obtained a seat in Parliament, and was considered as one of the best speakers of his day. Nothing was too intricate for him in the way of figures, and his address in Parliament recommended him to the notice of George III., who, in 1754, made him secretary at war, and in the following year, on the resignation of Sir Thomas Robinson, appointed him secretary of state for the southern department. The seven years war, as it has been called, broke out in 1756, and commenced under very unfortunate auspices. The people grew dissatisfied, and wished for a change of ministry. The monarch, without relinquishing his prerogative, gave way to the nation; and changing Mr. Fox for Mr. Pitt, all went well and prosperously.

Mr. Fox, however, was not long unemployed: for as most of those with whom he had acted were reinstated in power, by a coalition between the two parties, he was nominated to the lucrative post of paymaster-general of the forces. It was in this office he accumulated that vast wealth which

he left to his heirs, and which exposed his character, in the decline of life, to cutting sarcasm, and himself to the opprobrious appellation of “the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.”¹ In

¹ This expression was used in a petition presented by the lord mayor from the Livery of the City of London, to his Majesty on the 5th of July, 1769. This petition produced a letter from Lord Holland to the lord mayor, of which the following humorous versification made its appearance in the publications of the day :

“ As I find, my good lord, by the city petition
 You carried to court from the sons of sedition,
 A complaint is held forth of a public defaulter
 Receiving high honours—instead of a halter ;
 And as I am told, though I scarce think it true,
 That I am the paymaster censured by you,
 My honour now spurs me the secret to know,
 From your lordship’s own mouth, if it really is so.
 If your lordship affirms it is true—in reply,
 I am sure Mr. Beckford will give you the lie ;
 For tho’ scoundrels of late were my honour inditing,
 He knows it all false—I convinc’d him in writing ;
 He knows they have injured an innocent man,
 And must surely oppose such a villainous plan.

As I know not your lordship, (that honour I fear
 Will ne’er be conferr’d on me while I’m a peer—
 Tho’ often I own I’ve held innocent parly
 With some of your court, such as Alderman Harley,
 He has blood, to be sure, and not one of the mob,
 And for pension or contract will do an odd job)
 But as I’m a stranger, pray who could advise
 You to carry the king such a parcel of lies ?

1762 his lady, Georgina Carolina, daughter of the late, and sister to the present Duke of Richmond, was created Baroness of Holland, and he himself was the following year elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Holland of Foxley.

The portrait of Lord Holland is thus sketched by the able hand of Horne Tooke :¹

In the speech which you made at the foot of the throne,
 The matter 'tis clear you adopt as your own ;
 For there, in plain words, the foul charge you assist,
 And boldly declare that the facts do exist.
 'Tis an injury done me — my honour's not callous ;
 You have hung my fair fame as it were on a gallows.
 If the law doesn't tickle your lordship and Horne,
 Even beggars and shoe boys my conduct will scorn.

Tho' I scarce know your name, you have honour I'm told,
 (And honour, fair honour's substantial as gold)
 You have justice 'tis said, (nay I go by report,
 For I never saw them or your lordship at court)
 If so, my good lord, with these virtues at large,
 I hope you will clear up the grounds of this charge,
 And tell me with plainness, without more delay,
 Whether I am the rascal you meant to display.

In my own vindication, I then shall disclose
 Some truths which I hope will make friends of my foes.
 And truth will do this, for however traduc'd,
 I'm as honest a Fox as e'er plunder'd a roost."

¹ The extraordinary rivalry that has so long subsisted between the houses of Fox and Pitt will justify the introduction, in this place, of the portrait of the late Lord Chatham by the same writer :

“ His youth jovial, imprudent, dissipated, and prodigal.

“ Stole away the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, to the extreme regret and with the lasting indignation of her family.

“ Paymaster of the forces, making every possible emolument, and reluctantly removed, immensely rich.

“ His accounts not to this moment (1788) settled: above fifty thousand pounds being still due from him to the public. Exchequer process against

“ His youth remarkably sober, prudent, moral, and economical.

“ Married the sister of Earl Temple, to the satisfaction and with the approbation of all her connections.

“ Paymaster of the forces, refusing all perquisites, and retiring voluntarily, no richer than he entered.

“ In the settlement of his accounts neither delay nor distrust, nor dispute nor arrears.

“ At a period of national despondency, disaster, and disgrace, he undertook and conducted a glorious war, and rescued his country from shame and defeat.

“ Acquired for his country the most brilliant victories, extensive territories, and never-fading national glory, at the expense of our enemies.

“ Paid no debts for his children: for they contracted none.

“ Died poor, leaving only his fame to his widow and children.

“ Died universally admired and lamented; and by an unanimous address of both Houses of Parliament, he had a public funeral and monument.

“ His history must be found in that of his country.”

him for millions during his life, and after his death an immense fraud for thousands detected in his agent, creature, and executor, which detection caused the self-slaughter of the executor.

“With the plenitude of ministerial power, and the strongest party connections, he undertook and mismanaged a war of words and votes in a corrupt House of Commons, packed by himself and miscarried.

“Amassed for his own family exorbitant wealth and property, from the burthens and oppressions of his countrymen.

“Paid debts of a hundred thousand pounds for two of his boys ; contracted (at least without praise) before they were men.

“Died immensely rich, with large establishments and reversions for every branch of his family.

“Died universally neglected and execrated ; and if his heirs have raised him a tombstone, it may likewise be said to be at the public expense, but involuntary.

“As his history does not make a necessary or brilliant part of that of his country, it is to be hoped it will never be found there ; and his friends will assuredly take care that his epitaph shall be very short and very general.”

By his marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, Lord Holland had issue: Stephen, his successor, born February 20, 1745, who died December 26, 1774, leaving one son, the present Lord Holland, and a daughter; Henry, who died an infant; Charles James, born January 24, 1749; and Henry Edward, born March 4, 1755, now a general in the army, and commander-in-chief of the British forces in Italy. His lordship died at Holland House July 1, 1774, in the 69th year of his age, and his lady survived him only twenty-three days.

Charles James Fox, the third son of Lord Holland, was born, as we have already stated, January 24, 1749. If by his father's side he derived no consequence from his ancestors, by his mother's his descent must be allowed to be illustrious, she being allied to the two rival families of Stuart and Brunswick, which so long contested for the throne of Great Britain.

But it is not to such claims as these that the future historian will have recourse; he will dwell with ardour on the early promise of genius, the precocious talents of the boy, the matured wisdom of the philosopher and the statesman; and while the abilities and virtues that adorn the character

of his hero bring him forward on the canvas, these inefficient and involuntary pretensions will be cast into the shade, and scarcely be distinguished in the background.

This third son proved Lord Holland's favourite child, and at length became the darling of his old age. Perceiving in him the seeds of all the admirable qualities that constitute greatness, he was at infinite pains to give scope to his intellectual vigour, to expand the shoots, and disclose the blossoms of so promising a plant. From his earliest infancy he intended him for parliamentary business, and by conversing always with him as if he had been a man, he actually made him one before the usual time.

This country beheld, in the persons of two rival orators, the extraordinary spectacle of statesmen, retiring at different periods from the field of contention, and devoting the remainder of their lives to the education of their two youngest sons, whom they were accustomed to consult about public affairs, and sometimes to place on a table in order to hear them declaim. Occupied during the early part of their lives in hostility against each other, the enmity of the families seemed to have become hereditary; for it was kept up by their children,

who still maintained a rivalry after they had abjured the principles of their respective sires.

Lord Holland made it a rule in the tuition of his children to follow and regulate, but not to restrain nature. At table, Charles, when a boy, was permitted to enter into the conversation of men, and usually acquitted himself to the astonishment of all present. No doubt the early habit of thinking with freedom and speaking with readiness, contributed to that prompt exertion of his talents which afterward formed so considerable a portion of his senatorial excellencies.

His father's indulgence of his favourite sometimes led the youth to petulance. Lady Holland, one day, made an observation on a subject of Roman history, which Charles perceived to be erroneous. He immediately asked, with much contempt, what she knew about the Romans, and demonstrated her error with more knowledge and force of argument than filial reverence. Nor did his father chide him for his forwardness.

Charles, after he had arrived at years of maturity, often boasted that from his earliest infancy he never failed to do what he had a mind; it being a principle with his kind papa never to check his children: two instances of which are given in this

young gentleman before he was six years old. One day standing by his father while he was winding up a watch, "I have a great mind to break that watch, papa," said the boy. "No, Charles," replied the father, "that would be foolish." "Indeed, papa," said he, "I must do it." "Nay," answered the father, "if you have such a violent inclination I won't balk it;" on which he delivered the watch into the hands of the youngster, who instantly dashed it against the floor.

Another time, while he was secretary at war, having just finished a long despatch which he was going to send, Mr. Charles, who stood near him with his hand upon the ink-stand, said: "Papa, I have a mind to throw this ink over the paper." "Do, my dear," said the secretary, "if it will give you any pleasure." The young gentleman immediately threw on the ink, and the secretary sat down very contentedly to write the despatch over again.

It cannot be doubted that these acts of injudicious indulgence on the part of the parent, laid the foundation of those vices which afterward stained the character of the son. Accustomed from his earliest infancy to act just as he pleased, without check or control from others, and without any motive for controlling himself, he took no

trouble, when grown up, to oppose that torrent of pleasure and dissipation by which he was surrounded, but plunged with eagerness into vice and extravagance wherever fancy prompted or fashion allured.

The following anecdote affords a proof not only of the indulgence, but also of the good sense of the father of Mr. Fox.

Having resolved to take down the wall at the bottom of the lawn before Holland House, and to have iron palisades put up in its stead, that the passengers on the road might enjoy a better view of that fine, antique building, it was necessary to make use of gunpowder to facilitate the work. Mr. Fox had promised Master Charles that he should be present when the explosion took place. Finding that the workmen had completed its fall without giving him notice, he ordered the wall to be rebuilt, and when it was thoroughly cemented, had it blown up again. He at the same time recommended it to those about him, never, upon any account, to be guilty of a breach of promise to children, justly observing that by so doing they instilled into them an indifference with regard to the observance of their own promises when they arrived at years of maturity.

The brightness of Charles's genius was seen with gladness by his fond and delighted father, whose attention was unremitting to the care of his education, while his tenderness for him rather inclined to feminine weakness ; he threw aside the reins of paternal authority, and suffered him to riot at large ; content to have the love of his darling boy, he sought not to excite his fear, and never did Charles know what it was to approach his father with awe. The following incident will serve to show the temerity of the lad, and the forbearance of the parent.

When the secretary of state, in the midst of the war, having one night a great number of important expresses to despatch, he took them home from his office in order the more attentively to examine their contents before he sent them away. Charles, then about nine years old, came into the study, to which he had free access, and taking up one of the packets which his father had examined and laid apart for sealing, he perused it with much seeming attention for a time, then expressed his disapprobation of its contents, and thrust it into the fire. Far from being ruffled at this incident, or from attempting to reprimand him, his father turned immediately to look for

the office copy, and with the utmost composure made out another.

Lord Holland was in the habit of treating his children as men, introducing them as men into every company, and accustoming them to deliver their sentiments on all occasions; thus inspiring them with a confidence which increased in their riper years, and which, in all situations, rendered them masters of themselves.

At the age of fourteen Charles accompanied his father to the Continent and visited Spa, at that time a place of fashionable resort of the most distinguished characters from all parts of Europe. Here it is said that Lord Holland indulged his favourite with five guineas a night to be spent in games of hazard. The truth of this circumstance we are the less inclined to dispute, as it would account in the most satisfactory manner for the origin of that inordinate love of gaming which took possession of his mind.

Lord Holland, in compliance with his son's future destination, preferred a public to a private education, and accordingly Charles had been sent to Westminster School. On his return from the Continent he was placed at Eton, where Doctor Bernard, the late provost, found him not only

uncommonly eager after amusements, but eminently successful in classical attainments. His private tutor, while he belonged to that celebrated institution, was Doctor Newcome, the late Archbishop of Armagh, who, while he was frequently vexed at the dissipation of his pupil, had at the same time occasion to be highly gratified with his progress. His rapid advancement in classical learning, while at school, gave him a decided superiority in every class he entered; and as his powers of oratory were superior to that of any boy in the school, he, whenever eloquence was found to be necessary, was always chosen as their leader. The strength of his constitution kept pace with that of his mind, and both were fully exercised. Study and dissipation alternately engrossed his whole attention; nor did the apparent preference of one hinder the advancement or indulgence of the other. Never contented with mediocrity, he sought the extent of whatever excited his attention—cold in nothing, but ardent in everything. He soon discovered his bias to humanity, by always espousing the weakest side in those contests which so frequently disturb the harmony of juvenile society. He sat as judge in their disputes, and when he saw a

schoolfellow rejected or oppressed by partiality or prejudice, he frequently exerted his maiden eloquence in favour of justice: thus did he live, the young Solon and Demosthenes of his little state.

Charles, while a boy, delighted in arch tricks, of which the following anecdote affords a specimen. In his walks on Easter Monday, meeting a blind woman, who was crying puddings and pies, he took her by the arm and said: "Come along with me, dame; I am going to Moorfields, where, this holiday-time, you may chance to meet with good custom." "Thank you kindly, sir," replied the woman. On this the youngster conducted her into Cripplegate Church, and placing her in the middle aisle: "Now," said he, "you are in Moorfields." She immediately began to cry: "Hot puddings and pies! Hot puddings and pies!—come, they are all hot!" to the no small entertainment of the congregation. The sexton went up to her and told her she was in church. "You are a lying son of a ——," answered the woman. The man, enraged at this reply, dragged her out of the church, she cursing him all the way; nor would she believe him till the sound of the organ convinced her where she was.

At Eton young Fox formed a connection with Earl Fitzwilliam, the Earl of Carlisle, the late Duke of Leinster, and many other young noblemen and gentlemen who have since distinguished themselves in both Houses of Parliament. Here, too, he is said to have developed a peculiar taste for dissipation. Notwithstanding this, as his mind was always occupied with pleasure or business, he was accustomed during the vacation to enter into the political topics of the day, and converse with full-grown politicians and statesmen about national affairs. Nor was this all; he now began to declaim, and while he was thus obliged to pay some attention to his subject, he at the same time acquired that facility of expression, as well as appropriate arrangement of matter, neither of which it is possible to attain without much previous study and experience.

Of this talent his contemporary Lord Carlisle expresses his admiration in the following prophetic lines on his precocious and eloquent school-fellow :

“ How will my Fox alone by strength of parts
Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
Of fearful statesmen ! while around you stand
Both peers and commons listening your command ;

While Tully's sense its weight to you affords,
 His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words.
 What praise to Pitt, to Townshend e'er was due,
 In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you."

The name of Fox was not only revered at Eton by his contemporaries, but it has been cherished by every succeeding generation of boys; and he has left behind him proofs of his ability both in the Latin and Greek languages, while a student in that celebrated seminary. We shall here present the reader with a specimen :

"VOCAT LABOR ULTIMUS.

"Poscimur : et nobis si rite precantibus olim
 Dixeris optatum, Musa, rogata melos,
 Nunc quoque et emerito præsens succurre poetæ ;
 Dona ferens adeat sic tua fana cliens.
 Tuque per Aoniis loca si celebrata Camœnis
 Sæpe tua erravi, Pegase, vectus ope :
 Decurso prope jam stadio, metamque sub ipsam,
 Ne lassa infami membra pudore trahas,
 Gentis amore Maro Latium canit : o mihi talis
 Spiritus accedat, non minor urget amor :
 Ut patriæ (neque enim ingratus natalia rura
 Præposui campis, mater Etona, tuis)
 Ut patriæ carisque sodalibus, ut tibi dicam
 Anglice supremum Quinctiliane vale.
 Si quid est, veteres quod Musa imitata, Latinis
 Luserit aut Graiis, non aliena modis,

Omne tuum est, mihi Pieridum de fonte sororum
 Pura ministeriis contigit unda tuis.
 Teque precor (levitas olim vesana fidelis
 Respuit oblatam si monitoris opem,
 Acrior si me commovit lingua, meisve
 Morribus aut famæ virga ————— meæ)
 Ne tot consumptos tecum feliciter annos
 Infelix animo debeat hora tuo.
 Care vale, valeas et materna Etona (supremum
 Musea recinit tristis alumnus ope)
 Prataque et aëriâ splendentes vertice turress,
 Silvaque carminibus concelebrata meis;
 Vosque adeo indigenæ quæ rivi in margine Musæ
 Castalias Thamesi post habuistis aquas,
 Extremum concedi mihi, sacra turba, laborem;
 Sic beet emeritum non inhonesta rudis."

Lord Holland, being, in the uncourtly language of those days, a rank Tory, Charles was sent to finish his education at Oxford, where he was entered of Hertford College. Here, though his time seemed devoted to gaming and every species of dissipation, he excelled all of his standing in literary acquirements. He was a profound classical scholar. He read Aristotle's "Ethics and Politics" with an ease uncommon in those who have principally cultivated the study of the Greek writers. His favourite authors were Longinus and Homer. With the latter he was particularly

conversant, and retained through life his knowledge of the Greek language. He could discuss the works of the Ionian bard, not only as a man of exquisite taste and as a philosophical critic, which might be expected from a mind like his, but also as a grammarian. No professed philologist could be more accurately acquainted with the phraseology and versification of the poet. A clergyman, eminent for his knowledge of the Greek language, was one day endeavouring to prove that a verse in the "Iliad" was not genuine, because it contained measures not used by Homer. Mr. Fox instantly recited twenty other verses of the same measure, to show that deviation from the usual feet was no evidence of interpolation. He was indeed capable of conversing with Longinus, on the beauty, sublimity, and pathos of Homer; with an Aristotle on his delineations of man; and with a pedagogue on his dactyls, his spondees, and his anapests. Such was the universality of his genius that he could meet men of the most extensive knowledge, on at least equal terms, in their peculiar departments of science.

History, ethics, and politics were his particular studies, and it is obvious that he early considered himself destined to be a senator and a statesman.

His residence at Oxford was not of long duration. The dull uniformity of a college but ill agreed with the ardour of his mind. The languid enjoyments of a contemplative life were not adapted to his genius; he panted to be engaged in scenes of activity and enterprise, and obtained his father's permission to make the usual tour of Europe.

Though everything in the form of luxury and dissipation struck his fancy, yet he had an equal appetite for inquiry, and no man was better qualified to derive instruction from that novelty which travelling affords. The etiquette of courts, the politics of nations, and the manners of men, attracted his penetrating mind; he inquired into their merits, and made himself master of their economy; he remembered that he was the son of a nobleman, forgot not his own dignity, and had an eye to the service of his country. Notwithstanding these, he frequently overstepped the bounds of propriety; the fascinating vivacity of French manners, the seduction of Italian luxury, at times enslaved him; he drank large draughts of pleasure, and was often at the gaming-table, till his excesses exceeding even the indulgence of his father, whose ears they had reached, he was summoned home; and it was not without repeated

commands that he obeyed, as he had entered into the elegant and fascinating societies of some of the most beautiful women on the Continent. Among other bills which his father satisfied, was one for a debt of £16,000, contracted by the youth during his residence at Naples.

Those who have been accustomed to see Mr. Fox in the latter years of his life, without being acquainted with the minute particulars of his early history, will scarcely believe that, at the period of which we are speaking, he was one of the greatest beaux in England, that he indulged in all the fashionable elegance of attire, and vied, in point of red heels and Paris cut velvet, with the most dashing young men of the age. Indeed, there are many still living who recollect Beau Fox strutting up and down St. James's Street, in a suit of French embroidery, a little silk hat, red-heeled shoes, and a bouquet nearly large enough for a may-pole. These and similar qualifications he displayed in most of the courts of Europe which he visited in the course of his tour, and if he did not return like his maternal ancestor, Charles II., with all the vices of the Continent, he at least brought back a wardrobe replete with all its fashions. The ardour and impetuosity of youth likewise led him

Use in
fill in

to expend, or rather lavish, vast sums of money in play, and to contract immense debts during his absence.

Through this course of study, travel, and dissipation, he passed before the completion of his nineteenth year. His father, in order to detach him from pursuits which threatened injury to his health and ruin to his fortune, and impatient also to see him commence his political career, procured him, at the general election in 1768, to be returned a representative in Parliament for Midhurst, in Sussex.

Every person under age is by law incompetent to judge for himself, and still less can he be deemed capable of making laws for others. On this ground Mr. Fox was ineligible to a seat in the House of Commons, as he was under twenty. From whatever cause it happened that he experienced no opposition, whether from design, or accidental oversight in the committee of privileges and in the Speaker, it cannot but be considered as a singular circumstance in the first entrance of this great political actor upon the public stage. That no notice was taken of his nonage, ought perhaps to be ascribed to a compliment of indulgence to the influence of his father, or to some

other venal motive in men who probably relied on his support at his outset.

The exertions and the display of talents in a youth seldom fail to conciliate good-will and even esteem. This observation was particularly exemplified in the case of Mr. Fox: no member in his novitiate ever excited so much anxiety and expectation. His maiden speech was on the subject of Mr. Wilkes's petition from the King's Bench prison to be admitted to take his seat in the House, and thus satisfy the desire of his constituents. On this question Mr. Fox did not take the popular side, on which the best and most constitutional lawyers declared justice to lie. It has been surmised that, had the youthful member favoured that side, he would not have been allowed to retain his seat, on account of his minority.

During all the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to the Middlesex election, Mr. Fox stood forward as the champion of the ministry, and exhibited no common activity and address on this occasion. From the first moment of entering the senate he indeed displayed all the qualities of an accomplished orator, he became the theme of conversation in every fashionable company, and attracted universal admiration. He was deemed

one of the ablest supporters of the minister, and obtained the notice of Junius, who saw the bloom of talents destined to ripen into the most valuable fruit. The facility with which he made himself master of a new question, and comprehended the strength, weakness, and tendency of a measure or proposition; his forcible argumentation, his ready command of the most appropriate, significant, and energetic language, soon rendered him conspicuous. Lord North, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, entertained such a high opinion of his merit, that he soon appointed him paymaster of the pensions to the widows of land officers; and in the beginning of the year 1770 to a seat at the Board of Admiralty.

At the conclusion of 1770 Mr. Fox again visited the Continent, and went to Paris. Many people pretended to see something mysterious in his sudden departure for that capital; but, notwithstanding these insinuations, it was an undoubted fact that the sole intention of his journey was to purchase clothes for the approaching birthday, in defiance of the laws of his country, by which a penalty of two hundred pounds was attached to the wearing of apparel of French manufacture. Nevertheless, he was furnished with the necessary dimen-

sions, and was commissioned to purchase several suits for persons of the highest rank. On the arrival of these clothes at the custom-house, Mr. Fox applied for them to the proper officers, but to his great mortification only such as had been worn were allowed to be delivered. The rest, consisting of several rich suits, lace, and other articles prohibited by law, were detained and burned. It was observed that, at the next birthday, most of the noblemen and gentlemen appeared in French clothes, whereas, to the honour of the fair sex, not one lady was distinguished in any other dress than that of her own country.

Mr. Fox's conduct at the commencement of his political career was but ill adapted to the acquisition of popularity; on the contrary, such was the odium which he brought upon himself, that his carriage was once broken in pieces by the mob, when he was proceeding to the House of Commons. He manifested the utmost contempt and abhorrence of everything of English manufacture, and was so addicted to gaming, that the clerks of the Admiralty were often obliged to wait upon him on public business at the gaming-houses in St. James's and Pall Mall; where, with a pen in one hand and cards in the other, he signed warrants, orders, and

*By the
Proprietors
of the
House of Commons*

other papers of a similar nature, without knowing one word of their contents.

In March, 1771, when Alderman Oliver was summoned before the House of Commons, and when he and the lord mayor were ordered to be sent to the Tower, Mr. Fox had the temerity to give the former the infamous appellation of assassin. The alderman, who was absent when this expression was used, being made acquainted with the circumstance, returned and insisted on the assertion being contradicted by the author, or that their virtue should be put to the trial. This manly conduct had such an effect on Mr. Fox, that he immediately thought proper to retract his words.

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Mr. Fox voted in 1772 against the act for restraining the marriages of the various branches of the royal family; and soon afterward moved for leave to bring in a bill for its repeal. This, it was observed, came with singular grace and propriety from Mr. Fox, whose father was married at the Fleet. He was the same year a member of the secret committee for inquiring into the malversations in the British dominions in the East.

In February, 1772, Mr. Fox quarrelled with the minister, and resigned his seat at the Admiralty Board.

The following is the copy of the letter sent by him to Lord North previous to his resignation':

“MY LORD:— You have grossly insulted me, and I will resent it. I am just now going to set out for St. James’s to resign my seat at the Admiralty Board to the king. I am, my lord,

“Your lordship’s humble servant,

“C. J. Fox.”

The cause of this rupture is ascribed to the minister's having hinted to Mr. Fox that his orations were in some cases too figurative. It was even asserted that, enamoured of himself, he had repeatedly declared, he considered advice an insult offered to his understanding. Nay, so great an opinion did he entertain of his own abilities and their importance in Parliament, that, immediately after his resignation, he betted £1,000 with Lord Weymouth that he should have a place of great profit before the termination of that session.

The breach between the minister and Mr. Fox was, however, soon healed, and in December following he accepted the office of one of the lords of the treasury. On this occasion he was stigmatised by the opposition as a placeman, but these

reproaches he parried by steadily denying the acceptance of his appointment as the price of his services. He in some measure silenced the clamours of his antagonists, by declaring that he should support the measures of the government no longer than while he believed from his conscience they were calculated to promote the welfare of the British Empire.

He had here a difficult task to perform, for the blunders of the minister required the greatest abilities to cover or excuse them. It is no trifling instance of the mutability of human affairs, that the first colleague of Mr. Fox should be Lord North, and the first oratorical adversary, Mr. Edmund Burke. It ought, however, to be remembered, that though these two great men exercised the keenest wit and raillery against each other, nothing in the least personal or invidious entered into their attacks, replies, or rejoinders. Mr. Fox was ready on all occasions to treat the brilliant talents of his opponent with that eminent and respectful distinction to which they were justly entitled.

While he continued an advocate for the minister, he had a great deal of invective to withstand, and suspicion to rebut. The political opinions he

asserted and defended were not calculated to acquire him popularity. For one of his opinions, he was severely attacked by the then lord advocate of Scotland. He defended himself, however, very ably, and supposing the sentiment he had been charged with had fallen from his lips in the warmth of debate, some allowance ought to be made for the inadvertence of youth. The sentence in dispute was, whether he had said, the voice of the public was to be collected in that House, or only in that House. He denied that a just interpretation had been put on his words, and appealed to every one who had heard him, whether, in the opinion he had given concerning the Middlesex election, he did not rest his argument on the power of the people. Whichever party was wrong in the dispute, the time was now approaching when this promising statesman would have an opportunity of manifesting those opinions which could not fail to appear congenial to his nature. The minister was not insensible to the consequence of such a loss. Mr. Fox was tired of his tutelage, and Lord North would relinquish no share of his influence to him. All men are fond of power, and few are disposed to grant a partial surrender of it, even to their confidential friends.

Lord North and Mr. Fox separated, the latter insisting upon an opinion of his own, and the former resolving to admit of no coadjutor. It is supposed that some secret power watched the minutiae of government, and prevented the minister of that day from admitting him to a participation in the fame and emoluments of government; for it is impossible that a man of Lord North's discernment would not have made a sacrifice in some degree of that which he loved, to purchase that aid which he could not keep without honour, nor lose without danger. He had experienced how serviceable Mr. Fox was as a friend, and must therefore know he could be formidable as an enemy. Mr. Fox was sensible that he could not take the step he was meditating, without incurring certain imputations for inconsistency. He had supported the measures of government for near six years, and knew that no abilities, nor even virtues, can wholly excuse the want of stability. It is generally a mark of intellectual weakness, and sometimes of depravity; but he determined to admit of no compromise between conscience and convenience. Whether Mr. Fox had, or had not uttered the unconstitutional sentiment imputed to him, there is no doubt but he had done some

injury by his talents, in supporting the measures of men who were strongly tinctured with arbitrary principles.

It has been asserted that the ostensible cause of the rupture between Lord North and Mr. Fox, was a difference of opinion on the subject of the Rev. Mr. Horne, now Mr. Horne Tooke, being summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, as the supposed author of the *South Briton*, a paper which treated the Speaker with great freedom. From the proceedings of Parliament on that occasion this does not appear to be correct, as Mr. Fox was in this instance the advocate of rigid measures in order to restrain publications of a libellous tendency.¹

The motives for his persecution of the press at this particular period were threefold; arising, in the first place, from his natural wish to trample upon the rights of the people, which rendered him

¹ It is well known that, on this occasion, the ministerial party were completely foiled, to the mortification of their champion. Sometime afterward George Onslow, feeling extremely sore at the freedom with which he and some of his brother members had been treated in a poem called the "Senators," spoke to several gentlemen about calling the author and publisher to an account. Among the rest he applied to Charles Fox, who jocosely answered: "Let them alone, George — printers, you know, are no game for you."

a determined foe to this literary bulwark of their enemies: secondly, because Lord North was its avowed protector, so long as it was confined within any decent bounds: and thirdly, because he was the puppet of the Bedford faction, which wanted to bring in either the Duke of Grafton or Lord Gower. In case this plan should succeed, Charles expected to be the chancellor of the exchequer; and it was not doubted that from the remarkable prudence he had manifested in the management of his own affairs, that the national revenue would be highly improved under his administration. It was likewise whispered that Lord North's having declared that "the defaulter of unaccounted millions" should come to a settlement with the people, was another cause of Mr. Fox's opposition; and indeed, from his language in the House, it might have been imagined that he had already realised his ambitious project, as he never failed to talk largely "of his measures" and what "he meant to do," whenever he took part in an argument.

Though the public in general were filled with indignation at the bare idea of Mr. Fox's being entrusted with the finances of the nation; still it was observed that his greatest enemies were obliged to allow that he possessed one very admirable requi-

site for a chancellor of the exchequer, namely, as perfect a knowledge of the ways and means to raise a supply as any man in the three kingdoms.

The act for deciding contested elections was about this time expiring. Lord North expressed his wish to render it perpetual, but Mr. Fox publicly declared that he would oppose it to the utmost of his power. Being asked whether he thought this method a likely one to ingratiate himself with the people, he carelessly replied, "Poh! damn the people, they can neither put me in nor keep me out; and if my ground is only good at St. James's, I'll soon convince them that I am neither to be moved by their complaints, nor intimidated by their execrations."

Sometime previous to this event he had begun to associate with several members of the opposition, and had been, by the sympathy of genius, attracted to the celebrated Edmund Burke. The minister had repeatedly represented the suspicions to which his association with the opposers of government had given rise, and enforced them with this argument: "If (said he) we see a woman frequently coming out of a bagnio, we cannot swear she is not virtuous; yet we should judge of her from her company."

These remonstrances had, however, very little weight with Fox, who was now freed from all parental restraint in his political career, by the death of his father, Lord Holland. He began to think for himself, and opportunities were not wanting when he endeavoured to shake off the trammels of dependence, and allowed his manly mind to take its full scope. Not the least memorable of these occurred during the debate on the bill brought into the House of Commons by Sir William Meredith, for the purpose of relieving persons from subscription to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England; and in the liberal sentiments delivered on that occasion Mr. Fox ever afterward steadily persevered.

As a proof of the great abilities of the young cub, as he was then generally denominated, and that he was perfectly versed in all matters though ever so opposite in their nature, the following fact may be mentioned. The whole night before the question on the thirty-nine articles was agitated, he spent at the gaming-table, where he actually lost £2,000, after which he went home, washed his face, and immediately proceeded to the House of Commons, where he made a speech on this important religious subject.

The opposition he now began to make to the views of administration could not pass unnoticed ; and in February, 1774, the following laconic letter was delivered to him while sitting on the treasury bench, in the House of Commons, by the side of the minister :

“His Majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name.

“NORTH.”

When this billet was presented to Mr. Fox, his reply was, that the minister had not behaved like a man of spirit.

The circumstances immediately preceding this abrupt dismissal are understood to have been these : Mr. Fox, who had always given it as his opinion at the council board that lenient measures were not the proper pursuits of government, took occasion, on the business with Woodfall and the Rev. Mr. Horne, to urge Lord North to what he termed a proper spirit of resentment. The latter answered, “That as he was flattered he had acted himself into the good opinion of the public, he would take care how he was printed out of it.”

This cool reply irritated Mr. Fox the more ; and in the warmth of his temper, he dropped expressions which obliged Lord North to leave the council. Next morning the minister had a conference with his Majesty, and the same day Mr. Fox had notice of his dismissal.

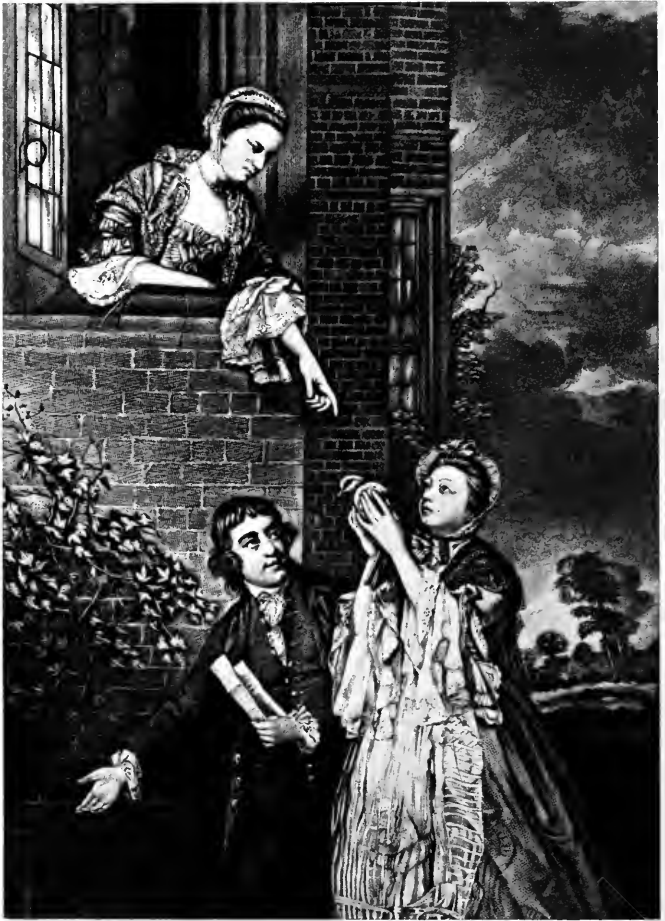
In 1773, an offer of marriage with an heiress to one of the first fortunes in the kingdom, was said to have been made him, on condition of his engaging never to lose more than one hundred pounds at one bet or at one sitting ; and report added, that his father had agreed once more to pay off all his annuities and other debts on the same conditions. After his rupture with the minister, it was believed that nothing but the hope of an advantageous matrimonial alliance kept him in England. Had it not been for this hope, it was his intention to have fixed his residence in France for two or three years, if peace should have continued so long.

In 1774, Mr. Fox visited Oxford, on occasion of the Encænia held in that city. In a conversation which took place there between him and some other sprigs of nobility, it was mentioned as a matter of wonder that Mr. Fox did not receive the honorary degree of doctor of civil laws, as

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*Charles James Fox, Lady Sarah Bunbury, and
Lady Susan O'Brien*

Engraved by Hunt after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds



well as the other noblemen and gentlemen who had been that morning admitted. Charles replied, he had been, in the proper form, and at the prescribed period of time, admitted a master of arts; and for a man so circumstanced to accept the honorary degree of doctor of civil laws would be like a regular's suffering himself to be dubbed a quack.

Few young men were so remarkable as Mr. Fox for readiness at repartee and shrewdness of observation. Of this the following instances may be cited. Meeting one day the Hon. J. Dyson, who was uncommonly thin and meagre, the latter, in the course of some ordinary conversation, broke off rather abruptly, by recollecting that he had some business at the Navy Office; on which Charles very coolly replied: "I should rather imagine, Mr. Dyson, that your business lay at the Victualling Office."

Being asked what measures government would take to prevent emigrations, Mr. Fox replied, that he knew not positively, but whatever might be attempted, he knew but one effectual way, and that was, to make it worth the subject's while to stay at home.

Lord Suffolk, a few days before his marriage,

was descanting, in the presence of Mr. Fox, in his usual pompous style, on what an invaluable treasure a virtuous woman was. "Very true, my lord," replied Charles; "but methinks the possession is very precarious, because it is a treasure, I will allow, locked up, to which every man has a key."

Charles one day received a severe reprehension from his father, who asked him how it was possible for him to sleep, or enjoy any of the comforts of life, when he reflected on the immense sums he stood indebted. "Your lordship need not be in the least surprised," answered Charles; "your astonishment ought to be how my creditors can sleep."

Mr. Fox supped one evening with Edmund Burke, at the Thatched House, where they were served with dishes more elegant than substantial. Charles's appetite being rather keen, he was far from relishing the kickshaws that were set before him; and addressing his companion, "These dishes, Burke," said he, "are admirably calculated for your palate: they are both sublime and beautiful."

In his house in St. James's Place, Mr. Fox had a back parlour, which he facetiously denominated

the Jerusalem Chamber, because it was the theatre of his negotiations with the children of Israel relative to the raising of occasional supplies. When his sister, Lady Mary Fox, was brought to bed of a son and heir, which cut Charles out of the estate and title, he was called out of this Jerusalem Chamber, where he had a large levee, to be informed of the circumstance. On his return, perceiving some appearance of disappointment in his countenance, the whole tribe of Levi unanimously exclaimed: "Vat is de matter? Vat is de matter, Master Fox?" "Bad enough, indeed," replied Charles; "here is a second Messiah come to plague you all."

Mr. Thomas Townshend, afterward Lord Sydney, being in company with Mr. Fox, and some other parliamentary friends, was talking of the debates the preceding winter in the House of Commons, and observed that Mr. Fox had never been oftener on his legs in any one session. "True," answered Charles, who loved to joke on his own misfortunes, "for the Jews left me not a chair to sit on."

Mr. Hare, breakfasting one morning at the house of Mr. Fox, and looking out of the window, perceived a great number of the money-hunting tribe about the door, on which he called out:

“Pray, gentlemen, are ye fox-hunting or hare-hunting this morning?”

Lord North, exulting over Mr. Fox on the news contained in an Extraordinary Gazette, of the conquest of New York, the wit replied: “It is a mistake; New York is not conquered; it is only like the ministry — abandoned.”

At this period of his life Mr. Fox united to his political reputation a celebrity of a very different kind. He was a leader in every species of fashionable dissipation among the young men of rank of his own age. His expenses were unbounded; and notwithstanding his father's liberality, his debts were enormous. He had already consumed his whole patrimony. Lord Holland, at his death, bequeathed to his son Charles a large sum of money and considerable estates in the neighbourhood of Kingsgate,¹ with the house he had built

¹ Lord Holland left by his will to his eldest son, Stephen, the Wiltshire estate, £5,000 per annum, and £20,000; to Charles, the Sheppy and Thanet estate, £900 per annum, and £20,000; to Captain Fox an estate in the North, £500 per annum, and £10,000; to his lady, £2,000 per annum, with Holland House, estate, plate, etc., to pay some small legacies, and to be held sole executrix. As residuary legatee it was computed that her ladyship would be worth £120,000 in government securities, besides her jointure. She, however, lived not to enjoy it, for she died in the short space of three weeks after her lord.

there in imitation of Tully's Formian villa on the coast of Baiæ. These bequests, in addition to the clerkship of the pells in Ireland, which devolved to him on the death of his brother in 1774, and was soon afterward sold to Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Liverpool,¹ could not, it is thought, have produced a less annual income than four thousand pounds. This large property he soon dissipated, and being likewise deprived of his situation at the treasury, he was now left without any other resource than the gaming-table.

An orator from his infancy, and a sportsman by intuition, or the prevalence of fashion, it can create no surprise that we find him a blazing comet of the senate and a member of the jockey club, immediately after his emancipation from the dreary dictates of the more dreary drudgery of collegiate tyranny and scholastic subordination. In his initiation to the "music of the bones" or the

¹The clerkship of the pells, in Ireland, enjoyed by the elder brother of Mr. Fox, and which reverted on his decease to Charles, had been mortgaged some time before the father's death for near the full value. Lord Holland hearing of the circumstance, privately paid off the mortgage, and sending for his sons, first made them give their words of honour, that they would take up no more money upon it, and then delivered them the papers, saying: "Why, then it is clear to you both for your lives." This place was worth £1,700 per annum.

pleasures of the turf, eternal losses paved his way, as is the custom with all novitiates at their introduction. To depredations of the first magnitude he opposed the most unsullied honour, and sustained the injuries that were so lavishly heaped upon him with the greatest patience, as they unfolded a variety of the mysteries contained in the immense volume of human depravity. So great and diversified were the infinite resources of his genius and intellect that, in the very zenith of his popular attraction, when surprising the senate with the utmost force and power of rhetorical fascination, and his patriotic exertions resounded through the remotest corners of the kingdom, he has been seen an invariable nocturnal devotee at the court of Comus, and been known to take in succession the senate and the subscription house, without the intervening assistance of the pillow for the renovation of either body or mind.

Thus, possessed of such an immense store of mental energy and personal experience, it is natural to suppose that he was proof against every attack of "the family." The reverse was, however, the case. The liberality of his mind — the openness of his heart, rendered him the unsuspecting and eternal dupe of their determined villainy, in habitual

subservience to which a very considerable property became totally appropriate.¹ His engagements upon the turf were not the most numerous, but of the most honourable kind. His confederacy was with his intimate friend the late Lord Foley, and so strictly just and equitable were they in the most minute and trivial part of their concerns that neither envy, prejudice, nor the spirit of opposition, has ever presumed to arraign their conduct in any point of view.

Upon the turf he was always accustomed to animadvert with jocularly upon his own losses, and repeatedly observed, "his horses had as much bottom as other people's, but they were such slow, good ones, they never went fast enough to tire themselves." He had, however, the gratification to experience some few exceptions to this imagi-

¹ The elder brother of Mr. Fox was equally a dupe to the artifices of these black-legged gentry. On one occasion in particular he was cruelly fleeced at a receptacle for gamblers at the west end of the town. He entered with £13,000 and retired without a farthing. He was habitually somewhat lethargic, but that evening more so than usual, which created considerable diversion among his companions, who every now and then disturbed him by a pull of the sleeve, and — "Stephen, you owe me two thousand pounds — Stephen, you gave me but five hundred; one thousand is the money." In this manner they proceeded till he was entirely stripped.

nary rule, for, in April, 1772, he was so lucky at Newmarket as to win nearly sixteen thousand pounds, the greater part of which he got by betting against the celebrated Pincher, who lost the match by only half a neck. The odds at starting were six to four, and two to one on the losing horse. In the year 1790, his horse Seagull won the Oatlands stakes at Ascot, of one hundred guineas each (nineteen subscribers), beating the Prince of Wales's Escape, Serpent, and several of the very best horses of that year, to the great mortification of his Royal Highness, who immediately matched Magpie against him, to run four days afterward, two miles for five hundred guineas. This match, on which immense sums were depending, was won with ease by Seagull.

In the same year Mr. Fox and his partner had thirty horses in training, the majority of which were of no great celebrity; but the winnings of Seagull, in stakes only, amounted to no less than fifteen hundred and twenty guineas, and as sportsmen it is natural to conclude that the common field betting must have exceeded the principal.

The death, in July, 1793, of Lord Foley, the friend in whose judgment Mr. Fox most confided, relaxed his ardour in a pursuit that seems, in more

respects than one, to be deprived of the former fervency of fashion. His lordship entered upon the turf with a clear estate of £1,800 a year, and £100,000 in ready money. He left it without ready money, with an encumbered estate, and with a constitution injured by the labours and care of a business unsuitable to the benevolent character of his mind.

Mr. Fox was ever at the head of everything in which he was engaged. He ranked with the first players, and excelled most at whist, quinze, and all the fashionable games of skill. But horse-racing was his darling amusement, until, from prudential motives, he quitted the turf and all other play. He played at other games with indifference, and would throw for a thousand guineas with as much sang froid as he would play at tetotum for a shilling.¹ But when his horse ran, he was all eagerness and anxiety. He always placed himself

¹ The Duke of Devonshire, who, much to his honour, made a point of never touching a card, went one day out of curiosity to the Thatched House. After some time, finding himself awkward at being the only person in the apartment disengaged, he proposed a bet of fifty pounds on the odd trick to Charles Fox. "You'll excuse me, my lord duke," replied Charles; "I never play for pence." "I assure you, sir," answered his Grace, "you do, as often as I play for fifty pounds."

where the animal was to make a push, or where the race was to be most strongly contested. From this spot he eyed the horses advancing with the most immovable look ; he breathed quicker as they accelerated their pace, and when they came opposite to him, he rode in with them at full speed, whipping, spurring, and blowing, as if he would have infused his whole soul into the courage, speed, and perseverance of his favourite racer. But when the race was over, whether he won or lost seemed to be a matter of perfect indifference to him, and he immediately directed his conversation to the next race, whether he had a horse to run or not.

Individuals may differ in their ideas concerning the integrity of Mr. Fox as a patriot, but of his principles as a man there is but one opinion, which, while it candidly admits his extravagance, ascribes them to an innate frankness and generosity of disposition. From this, amidst all his misfortunes, public as well as private (and of both few men in high life have experienced a greater share), he was never known to swerve.

Having once an old gaming debt to pay to a dashing baronet known by the familiar appellation of Sir John Jehu, and finding himself in cash after a lucky run at the faro-table, he sent a card of

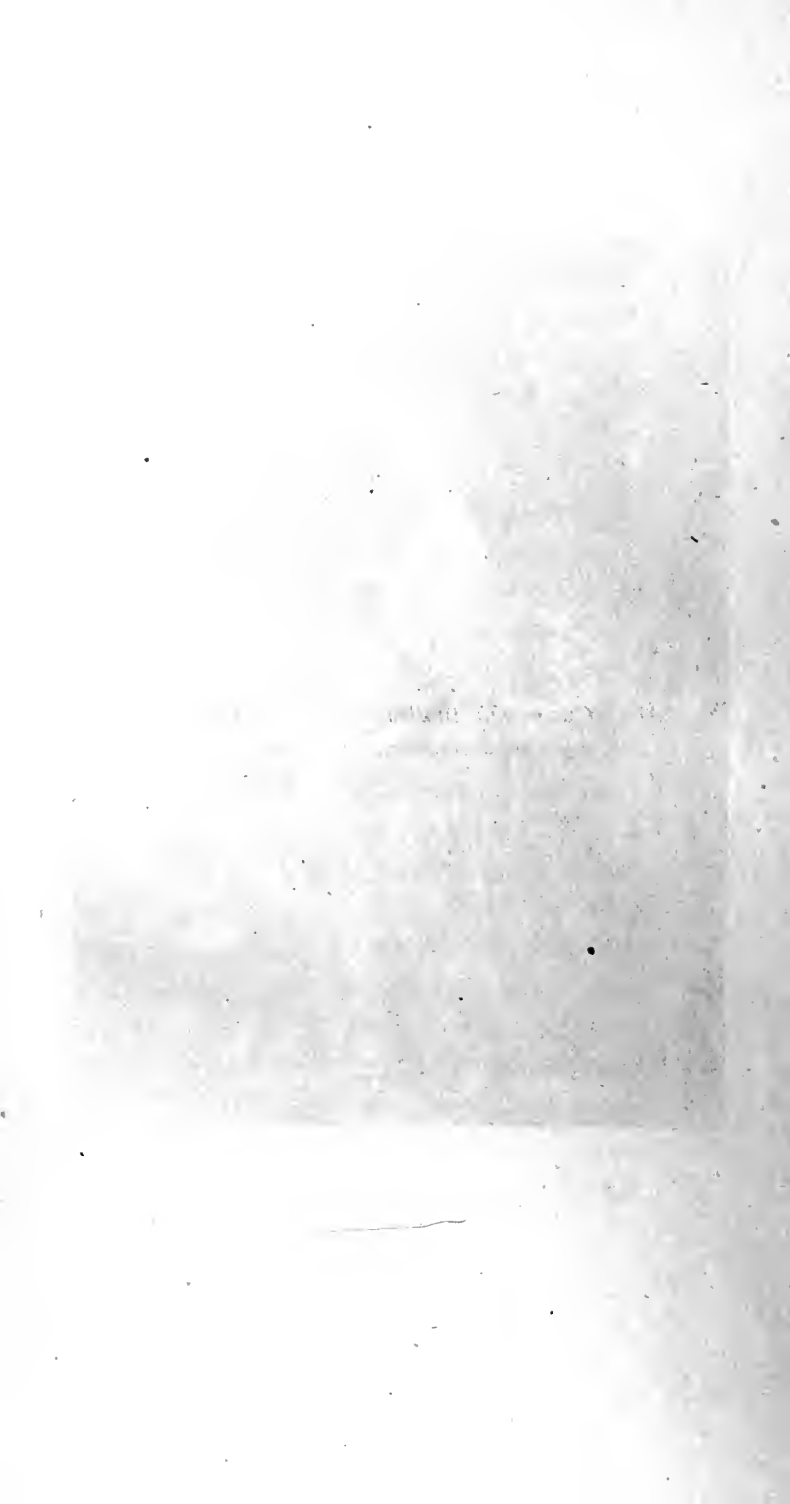
compliments to Sir John, desiring to see him, in order to discharge his demand. When they met, Fox produced the money, which Sir John no sooner saw, than, calling for pen and ink, he very deliberately began to reckon up the interest. "What are you doing now?" cries Charles. "Only calculating the amount of the interest," replied the baronet. "Are you so?" returned Fox, coolly, and at the same time returning the cash, which he had already thrown upon the table, to his pocket. "Why, I thought, Sir John, that my debt to you was a debt of honour; but as you seem to view it in another light, and seriously mean to make a trading debt of it, I must inform you that I make it an invariable rule to pay my Jew creditors last; you must, therefore, wait a little longer for your money, sir, and when I meet my money-lending Israelites I shall certainly think of Sir John Jehu, and expect to have the honour of seeing him in the company of my worthy friends from Duke's Place."

The Hon. Mr. L. one night lost at Brookes's seventy thousand pounds, with his carriages, his horses, etc., which were his last stake. Mr. Fox, who was present and partook of the spoils, moved that an annuity of fifty pounds per annum should be settled on the unfortunate gentleman, to be

paid out of the general fund. This motion was agreed to *nem. con.*, and a resolution was entered into, at the instance of the same distinguished character, that every member who should be completely ruined in that house, should be allowed a similar annuity out of the same fund, on condition that he never be admitted as a sporting member, as, in that case, the society will be playing against their own money.

An anecdote, for the truth of which, however, it is impossible to vouch, is thus related concerning Mr. Fox and Mrs. Crewe :

At one period of his life he was fond of ranking among her admirers. A gentleman, who had lost a considerable sum to her at play, knowing Mr. Fox's acquaintance with the lady, and being obliged to leave town suddenly, gave him the money to pay her, and begged he would apologise to the lady for his not having paid the debt of honour in person. Mr. Fox, whose necessities were always very pressing, apprehended that he might trespass a little on the good-nature of the lady, and accordingly, instead of waiting on her with the money, appropriated it to his own uses, or, in other words, actually lost every shilling of it before morning. Mrs. Crewe often met her supposed debtor in



Mrs. Crewe and Brother (Hebe and Cupid)

Engraved in mezzotint by R. B. Parkes





public afterward, and was astonished that he took no notice of the sum she had won from him; at length, when a considerable space had elapsed, she hinted the matter delicately to him. "Bless me," said he, with surprise, "I paid the money to Mr. F. three months ago." "Oh, you did, sir!" replied Mrs. Crewe, who was not more remarkable for beauty and sense than good-nature; "then probably he has paid me, and I have forgotten it; but I shall speak to him; for either his memory or mine must be very treacherous on this occasion." When he was taxed with the matter, he owned the truth, but swore he could not have taken so much liberty with any woman on earth but herself, begged she would give him a little time; but whether he ever paid her, was much doubted by many well-informed sceptics about St. James's.

The lines which Mr. Fox wrote on the above-mentioned lady, about the year 1780, prove the versatility of his genius, and that he who made such a distinguished figure in the fields of eloquence might have attained no small degree of eminence in the regions of Parnassus, had inclination and circumstances led him to the cultivation of the poetic talent with which he was gifted:

“ Where the loveliest expression to features is join'd,
By nature's most delicate pencil design'd ;
Where blushes unbidden, and smiles without art,
Speak the softness and feeling that dwell in the heart ;
Where, in manners enchanting, no blemish we trace,
But the soul keeps the promise we had from the face ;
Sure, philosophy, reason, and coldness must prove
Defences unequal to shield us from love !
Then tell me, mysterious enchanter ! O tell,
By what wonderful art, by what magical spell,
My heart is so fenc'd, that for once I am wise,
And gaze without raptures on Amoret's eyes ;
That my wishes, which never were bounded before,
Are here bounded by friendship, and ask for no more.
Is't reason ? No : that my whole life will belie,
For who so at variance as reason and I ?
Is't ambition that fills up each chink of my heart,
Nor allows any softer sensation a part ?
Oh no ! for in this all the world must agree,
One folly was never sufficient for me.
Is my mind on distress too intensely employ'd,
Or by pleasure relax'd, by variety cloy'd ?
For, alike in this only, enjoyment and pain,
Both slacken the springs of those nerves which they strain.
That I've felt each reverse that from fortune can flow,
That I've tasted each bliss that the happiest know,
Has still been the whimsical fate of my life,
Where anguish and joy have been ever at strife.
But, tho' vers'd in th' extremes both of pleasure and pain,
I am still but too ready to feel them again.
If then, for this once in my life, I am free,
And escape from a snare might catch wiser than me,

'Tis that beauty alone but imperfectly charms,
For, though brightness may dazzle, 'tis kindness that warms.
As on suns in the winter with pleasure we gaze,
But feel not their warmth, though their splendour we praise,
So beauty our just admiration may claim,
But love, and love only, our hearts can enflame."

It appears to have been then, as it is at present, the practice of persons in the higher circles to amuse themselves with private theatrical representations. In the month of January, 1774, we find Mr. Fox enjoying this recreation at Winterslow House in Wiltshire, the seat of his brother Stephen. On the 8th of the above-mentioned month he sustained the part of Horatio in the tragedy of the "Fair Penitent," and that of Sir Harry's servant in "High Life Below Stairs." The other parts were performed by the various members of the family, or fashionable friends, among whom was the Hon. Mr. Fitzpatrick. The following day the mansion of Winterslow was unfortunately consumed by fire. But it is now time to return to the political exertions of this celebrated character.

Fox, although in his disposition candid, liberal, and of the most expanded benevolence, yet, in his temper ruling and irritable, was filled with resentment at the mode of his dismissal, and now became

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a most strenuous and formidable opponent of the minister. One of the principal features in his character was openness; and in every part of his conduct, whether public or private, boldness and decision have been equally prominent. Whether the ends which he pursued were beneficial or hurtful, there was no petty intrigue, no duplicity in the means. Such a character was totally unfit for the tricks and suppleness of a mere courtier. The greatness of his mind was as incompatible with the frivolity of court etiquette, as his candour the duplicity of court artifice.

The year 1774 was pregnant with remarkable events to Mr. Fox. He was discarded from the treasury; his father died in July, his mother in August, and his elder brother, Stephen, Lord Holland, on the 26th of November. To this may be added that, at the general election in the same year, he was an unsuccessful candidate for Poole, though he was afterward chosen for Malmsbury, in Wiltshire, with William Strahan, Esq., joint printer to his Majesty.

He now joined, in the most unqualified manner, in the opposition to the measures of the minister, and to this opposition he owed the commencement of his reputation. Just before his dismissal he

had made a speech, in which he described, in glowing terms, the happiness of the nation ; but the striking difference which afterward took place in the tone of his declamation, occasioned the following lines of Pope to be applied to him :

“ Ask men’s opinions — Scoto now shall tell
How trade increases, and the world goes well.
Strike off his pension, by the setting sun,
And Britain, if not Europe is undone.”

From the year 1774 to 1781, the question of compliance with the demands of the colonists, or taxation and rigorous coercion ; the utility or prejudicial influence of each particular measure adopted by administration ; the prudence or folly of raising all Europe in arms against Britain, at the moment when she was at war with her own subjects, gave rise to a long series of the most eloquent debates that ever took place within the walls of an English House of Commons.

Fox, Burke, Barré, Dunning, were the most eloquent speakers on the side of opposition. Thurlow, Wedderburne, Lord North, spoke on the other side with different, though scarcely inferior talents. Fox, trained by Burke to the industry of a leader, and instructed by him in the details of business,

became continually more eminent as an orator and a statesman in the House. The efforts of opposition weakened the hands of ministers; rendered them timid, uncertain, more anxious to avoid censure, than by exertion to command success. They contributed signally to produce the misconduct they arraigned, and the misfortunes which they affected to deplore. American freedom was not more strongly vindicated by the arms of Washington, than by the eloquence of the members of the opposition.

It was chiefly during this period that the permanent principles, political and moral, of Charles Fox, must have been formed. By his father he had been taught to think that everything was pardonable to active and splendid political talents; that by political exertion and intrigue he ought to make his fortune; that fashionable excesses, if they could be reconciled with political industry, were only commendable proofs of spirit and genius. From the Rockingham party he learned to believe that the great Whig families, whose ancestors were the authors of the revolution, and of the settlement in favour of the house of Hanover, ought still to hold the crown, as it were, in tutelage, and to leave to the sovereign little more than the

empty honours, and the mere nominal power of government. From Junius, from Franklin, from Dunning, from the remonstrances of the city of London and of the Americans, from Hume, Smith, Voltaire, and Price, he imbibed a taste for that philosophy which prefers an ideal semblance of right to tried order and expediency. Burke taught him to throw the veil of fanciful ornament and of sophistical refinement over that practical good sense which, in politics, it was almost natural for him, even unconsciously, to exercise. His practice at the gaming-table, in the House of Commons, in the meetings of party cabal, had given him new confidence in his own powers, new control over his own passions, a deeper insight into the complexities of human character, and the frailties of human nature — by no means a nicer sense of honour, or a more sacred observance of moral principle, but certainly more of that lofty magnanimity which the ingenuous mind delights to cherish, when it feels itself capable of surmounting every difficulty of fortune, and of triumphing over the most skilful artifices of its opponents.

The measures which led to the American war had now come to a crisis, and were loudly execrated by a formidable party in the mother coun-

try. To this party Fox united himself, and, from his conspicuous talents, soon acquired the authority of a leader. In 1774 he opposed the introduction of the Boston Port Bill, and apologised for the conduct of the colonies. In his speech on this occasion, he arraigned the measures of the minister in bold and energetic language, and explained the principles of the constitution with masculine eloquence. The treasury bench now began, for the first time, to calculate the loss it had sustained, the opposition to estimate the strength it had acquired. The session of 1775 opened with a speech declaring the necessity of coercion. On this occasion, Fox poured forth a torrent of his powerful eloquence. In that plain, forcible language, which forms one of the many excellencies of his speech, he showed what ought to have been done, what ministers had promised to do, and what was done. He affirmed that, "Lord Chatham, the King of Prussia, nay, even Alexander the Great, never gained more in one campaign than Lord North had lost. He has lost," said he, "a whole continent." His sagacious mind, at the commencement of the war, foresaw the event. Fox perceived, and predicted, that men fighting for liberty would ultimately prove successful. He endeav-

oured to dissuade his country from war, foreboding that discomfiture must be the event of such a contest. Unfortunately, administration disregarded his admonitions, and the consequent calamity far exceeded the anticipation even of Mr. Fox's foresight.

Nevertheless, persons were not wanting who ascribed Fox's opposition less to patriotic motives than to the effects of private pique against Lord North. That minister particularly interested himself in procuring the refund of the money due to the public by Lord Holland; whose executors actually paid into the treasury two hundred thousand pounds, part of a much larger sum, which came into his hands while paymaster-general, and never passed the auditor's office. This was surmised to be, in part, the reason of the virulence which Mr. Fox displayed against him on every occasion.

In 1776 Mr. Fox paid another visit to France, and his sudden return, at the commencement of the following year, not a little embarrassed the minister, who was in hopes that he would have amused himself on the Continent during the remainder of the session. While his political antagonists thought him engaged in the diversions of

the *Plaine de Sablons*, he was gleaning the best intelligence relative to the affairs of Europe, which his knowledge of the language, his intimacy with the French *noblesse*, and, above all, his superior address, gave him every opportunity of doing.

It was this that enabled him with such confidence to contradict, in December, 1777, the statements of the minister, who declared that France did not threaten to molest Great Britain, nor did he believe that either France or Spain entertained any such intention. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, insisted that the whole house of Bourbon was hostile, and only waited for a favourable opportunity, which would present itself the very instant the first bad news should arrive from America. How exactly the event justified his predictions, is too well known to be here repeated.

About this time Mr. Fox obtained admission to a seat at the meetings of the literary club, founded by the celebrated Johnson, which likewise numbered Gibbon, Burke, and Sheridan, among its members. His attendance was eagerly encouraged; but it was remarked that, when Johnson was present, the statesman rarely engaged in the conversation. This taciturnity, which could not

possibly proceed from fear, probably arose from a desire of information and instruction, which a young man, not inferior in abilities, might reap from the knowledge and experience of the sage.

In the autumn of 1777 Mr. Fox visited Ireland. This gave rise to a silly report, that he was gone to solicit of the viceroy a seat in the Irish Parliament, in order to support administration; particularly as he was often seen at the castle of Dublin, and in company with the placemen and pensioners of that kingdom. These visits, however, were nothing more than the relaxations of a man of pleasure and fashion.

In this tour of Ireland, Mr. Fox, among other places, went to see the Lake of Killarney, near which stood the mansion of Sir Boyle Roche, gentleman usher of the castle, and whose talents at making bulls were so notorious, that every whimsical blunder of that description was placed to his account. Sir Boyle took a pride in escorting the orator, and showing him all the curiosities of that part of the country. In the course of their peregrinations, he took him to a lofty mountain by the side of the lake, to the top of which the traveller is conducted by a circuitous road. At the summit is a small lake, which, from the popular idea

that it cannot be fathomed, has acquired the appellation of the Devil's Punch-bowl, and the water of which is excessively cold. Mr. Fox arriving on the brink, rather heated, stripped and plunged in, but this indulgence had nearly cost him his life; a severe indisposition was the result of his imprudence.

Mr. Fox was never at any pains to conceal his vices and his foibles from the public, and it cannot therefore appear surprising if he occasionally received a gentle hint on that subject. At a masquerade at the Pantheon, in March, 1778, a newspaper was distributed among the company, entitled the *American Gazette*, published by order of Congress. One of these was put into the hands of Mr. Fox, who turned his eye first to the following paragraph of resolutions, passed by that assembly: "That no plan of reconciliation will be regarded, unless Lord Chatham is made premier; Lord Camden lord chancellor; the Rev. John Horne lord chief justice; the Hon. Charles Fox, Archbishop of Canterbury, and collector of the duties on cards and dice."

His antipathy to the Jews was so notorious that, on the publication of Mlle. d'Eon's poetical Epistle to Lord Mansfield, which at first appeared

without any name, it was ascribed by many to Mr. Fox, on account of the severity with which the children of Israel were treated in it. His own countenance, it was at the same time observed, was so strongly Judaic, that, had a stranger been asked at his Jerusalem levee which of the chosen race present had most of the blood of Jacob in his veins, Mr. Fox would have been pointed out as the man.

Just after the prorogation of Parliament, in 1778, Mr. Fox being one morning at Almack's, after losing all his money, and a short slumber, he started up, and sent for his valet. "Egad," said he, "I shall be too late — my motion is to come on to-day." Almack set him right, and told him that he need not be in such a perturbation of spirits, as the Parliament was prorogued. "Well, that may be," replied Charles; "I must raise my supplies then without the committee of ways and means."

During the whole American war, Mr. Fox successively protested against every measure of hostility directed against the colonies; and when he found that they had entered into treaties of commerce and amity with the Kings of France and Spain, and that consequently both those powers

were bound in gratitude and good faith to assist them, as well against the resentment of Britain, as the endeavours of the ministry to destroy their connection, Mr. Fox declared that the duty of England, after the bloody transactions her unjust policy had occasioned, was to endeavour to secure a large share of their commerce, by a perpetual alliance on a federal foundation.

In the sessions of 1776, finding that all attempts to prevent the continuance of the war were unavailing, the manner of conducting it next became a subject of animadversion. In the discussion of this point in the House of Commons, Fox took the lead. The Americans, he contended, had been successful in the preceding campaign; their success must have been owing either to the weakness or inadequacy of the ministerial plans, or to the misconduct or misfortune of the British naval and military commanders. He therefore moved an inquiry, as the means of fixing the blame if there were any. "Admitting," said he, "the coercion of America to be right, the question now is about the means. The means have not hitherto answered the end; we must inquire to what this has been owing, that we may apply better means, or apply them with greater vigour. If we wish to subdue

America, let us see how it is to be done ; and, for that purpose, what has till now prevented our progress." The necessity of this inquiry Mr. Fox pressed with such force that the ministry could not give him a direct answer, but were obliged to elude the question by the commonplace expedient, that this was not the proper time for an inquiry. Indeed, whenever Fox chose the right side, and exerted the whole force of his mind in support of it, evasion was the most prudent mode of opposition to his arguments.

On the arrival of the news of the melancholy catastrophe of Burgoyne's expedition, Mr. Fox proposed a number of motions for an inquiry into the state of the forces in America, from the commencement of the war, and of the losses that had been sustained. His object was to demonstrate that the men and money employed in the contest had been thrown away, and that the reduction of America by force was an object not to be attained. This proposal was opposed by administration, who alleged that it would be imprudent to expose the number of our forces. Mr. Fox asserted that twenty thousand men had already perished in the contest, but the minister replied, that not more than twelve hundred had been slain. Ever prompt

in the application of a just criterion, when truth was his object, Mr. Fox moved for an account of all the men sent to America, and of all that still remained, when the difference would be the amount of the loss sustained ; but the minister declined to furnish this information, on the ground of inexpediency.

In the dispute between Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser, — a dispute kindled entirely by the artifices of opposition, — Mr. Fox, as might naturally be supposed, was extremely active in supporting the former, who was his relation and partisan. Sir Hugh, in justice to his own character, was obliged to call for a court martial on his commander and himself, and they were both honourably acquitted of any misconduct in the indecisive action which took place between them and the French fleet, in July, 1779.¹ This dispute excited the utmost animosity not only in the navy, but throughout the whole nation ; and during these commotions, Sir Hugh resigned his situation as lieutenant-general of marines, together with his seat in Parliament, to accommodate a timid ministry overawed by a

¹ The trial of Admiral Keppel is remarkable for having afforded the first opportunity to one of the greatest judicial speakers of modern times (Mr. Erskine, now lord chancellor) to display his extraordinary powers.

powerful opposition. The court martial having pronounced his conduct highly meritorious and exemplary, the minister soon afterward conferred on him the appointment of governor of Greenwich Hospital, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy. This step was considered by Mr. Fox and his party as a measure of so much criminality, so incongruous to the sense and derogatory to the honour of the nation, that it drew from the relative of Admiral Keppel a torrent of indignant oratory, and a motion of censure on the appointment.

Mr. Fox has been heard to say that all private aversions he sincerely and solemnly disclaimed; and he has often protested that there was not that man upon earth against whom he harboured the least personal antipathy. "Malignity," he has said, "is, I thank God, a sensation totally foreign to my feelings." Those, however, who recollect the pointed and personal abuse which Mr. Fox never failed to lavish, upon every occasion, upon Lord North, during the American contest, will justly be inclined to doubt the sincerity of these declarations. This bold and undisguised manner in which he spoke of men and their actions not only involved him in altercations, but, in one instance, brought his life into danger.

In the session of 1779, Mr. Adam, a Scotch gentleman, and representative for Gatton, who had previously acted in concert with the minority, hinted to the House that he should vote with administration. This secession greatly altered the opinion of Mr. Adam's former friends concerning the integrity of his views, and raised the tone of the party he had joined. Ministers countenanced the idea that all the misfortunes and disasters in the prosecution of the war were chargeable to the opposition, who impeded the measures of government and defeated its operations. Mr. Fox warmly defended himself and his friends from the imputation of struggling as a party merely for place, power, and emolument. Such a preposterous mode of slandering opposition, he observed, scarcely merited a serious answer. "I can bear well enough, in some respects," said he, "and even make allowance for the ignorance, folly, incapacity, corruption, love of place, emolument, and power in these men. I can even pity them for their wants, their impudence, and their gross stupidity. I feel for their miserable infatuation, not knowing whether to rush headlong into immediate ruin or retreat with safety. Despicable and unprincipled as they are, I have nevertheless

learned to regard their persons with respect, from the conspicuous stations they hold in the view of the public. But when such men, thus involved, and involving others in every possible misfortune and disgrace, urge their claims of merit for what deserves an axe or a halter, and, under a complication of great national calamities, coolly contend that those disasters, which every individual feels, do not exist, or if they do, that they ought justly to be ascribed to opposition, such a lump of deformity and disease, of folly and wickedness, of ignorance and temerity, thus deeply and incurably smitten with pride and distended by audacity, breaks all measures of patience."

This portraiture of the new associates of Mr. Adam was rather galling to that gentleman; it is, therefore, not very surprising that a misconstruction in a warm debate should lead him to think his personal honour impeached by the pointed allusions to the whole party of which he had become a member. Mr. Adam was a lawyer, but he forgot that it was wrong to strengthen by his own example a custom sanctioned by the savage etiquette of puerile resentment, which often stakes a valuable life against the most worthless, and involves the innocent in those

calamities which should be the exclusive portion of the guilty.

The day after the obnoxious expressions had been uttered by Mr. Fox, he received a note from Mr. Adam to the following effect :

“Mr. Adam presents his compliments to Mr. Fox, and begs leave to represent to him, that upon considering again and again what passed between them last night, it is impossible for him to have his character cleared to the public without inserting the following paragraph in the newspapers :

“‘ We have authority to assure the public that, in a conversation that passed between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam, in consequence of the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday last, Mr. Fox declared that, however much his speech may have been misrepresented, he did not mean to throw any personal reflection upon Mr. Adam.’ ”

In a postscript was added :

“Major Humberston does me the honour of delivering this to you, and will bring your answer.”

The reply of Mr. Fox was as follows :

“SIR:—I am sorry it is utterly inconsistent with my ideas of propriety to authorise the putting

anything into the newspapers relative to a speech, which, in my opinion, required no explanation. You, who heard the speech, must know that it conveyed no personal reflection upon you unless you felt yourself in the predicament upon which I animadverted. The account of my speech in the newspapers is certainly incorrect, and as certainly unauthorised by me; and therefore, with respect to that I have nothing to say. Neither the conversation that passed at Brooks's nor this letter is of a secret nature; and if you have any wish to relate the one, or show the other, you are perfectly at liberty to do so.

“I am, etc.,

“C. J. Fox.”

The result was a duel, which took place on the morning of the 28th of November. Mr. Adam was accompanied by Major Humberston and Mr. Fox by Colonel Fitzpatrick.

The following account of this affair was published by the seconds:

“In consequence of a previous misunderstanding, they met, according to agreement, at eight o'clock in the morning. After the ground was measured out at the distance of fourteen paces,

Mr. Adam desired Mr. Fox to fire, to which Mr. Fox replied, 'Sir, I have no quarrel with you; do you fire.' Mr. Adam then fired and wounded Mr. Fox, which we believe was not at all perceived by Mr. Adam, as it was not distinctly seen by either of ourselves. Mr. Fox fired without effect; we then interfered, asking Mr. Adam if he was satisfied. Mr. Adam replied: 'Will Mr. Fox declare he meant no personal attack upon my character?' Upon which Mr. Fox said: 'This is no place for apologies,' and desired him to go on. Mr. Adam fired his second pistol without effect; Mr. Fox fired his remaining pistol in the air, and then saying, as the affair was ended, he had no difficulty in declaring he meant no more personal affront to Mr. Adam than he did to either of the gentlemen present. Mr. Adam replied: 'Sir, you have behaved like a man of honour.' Mr. Fox then mentioned that he believed himself wounded, and upon opening his waistcoat, it was found he was so, but to all appearances slightly. The parties then separated, and Mr. Fox's wound was, on examination, found not likely to produce any dangerous consequences.

“RICHARD FITZPATRICK.

“T. MACKENZIE HUMBERSTON.”

This affair had the effect of increasing the popularity of Mr. Fox. The fortitude, generosity, and courage he had displayed, exalted him in the public opinion, and he was visited and congratulated on his escape by many of the most distinguished characters in the kingdom. He soon recovered of his wound; for on the 6th of December we find him in the House delivering an eloquent harangue on the affairs of Ireland. "What was it," he asked, "that had armed forty-two thousand men in Ireland with arguments carried on the points of forty-two thousand bayonets? The American war. It was this ruinous war that had brought on the distresses of Ireland. It was this war that had obliged the government here to abandon that of Ireland. It was this war that had consequently armed Ireland; and in short, reduced the people to associate, in order to defend themselves, as well against their domestic enemies, the ministers of Great Britain, as their foreign foes. The Irish associations had been termed illegal; but legal or illegal, he entirely approved of them. He approved of that manly determination which, as the last resort, flies to arms to obtain deliverance. When the last particle of good faith in men is entirely exhausted, they will

seek in themselves the means of redress; they will recur to first principles; to the spirit as well as to the letter of the constitution: and they can never fail in such resources, though the law may literally condemn such a departure from its general and unqualified rules; for truth, justice, and public virtue, accompanied with prudence and judgment, will ever bear up good men in a good cause, that of private protection and national salvation."

Among the various subjects of attack against the administration, the waste of the public money was one of the most important. The burthen of the imposts began to be sensibly felt, and the means of reducing them to be discussed not only by the senate, but by the people at large. The subject roused the attention of the inhabitants of the metropolis, and of the different counties of the kingdom. The county of York took the lead, and the example was followed by Westminster. A meeting was held in the hall of the said city, and Mr. Fox was unanimously called to the chair. Petitions were prepared, and associations formed all over the kingdom, for the purpose of procuring a decrease in the public expenditure, and a more equal representation in Parliament.

In the Parliament which was dissolved in the year 1780, Gibbon, the celebrated historian, had a seat. What Mr. Fox thought of the political principles of that gentleman, was made public in a singular manner. On the sale of his library the following memorandum and verses were found written in the first volume of Gibbon's history, on the author's accepting a seat at the Board of Trade :

“The author of this book, upon the delivery of the Spanish rescript, in 1779, declared publicly at Brooks's ‘That there was no salvation for this country, unless six of the heads of the cabinet council were cut off and laid upon the tables of the Houses of Parliament as examples’ — and in less than a fortnight after this declaration, he took an employment under that same cabinet council.”

“THE VERSES.

“King George in a fright,
Lest Gibbon should write
The story of Britain's disgrace,
Thought no means more sure
His pen to secure,
Than to give the historian a place.

“But his caution is vain,
'Tis the curse of his reign
That his project should never succeed :

Though he write not a line,
Yet a cause of decline
 In the author's example we read.

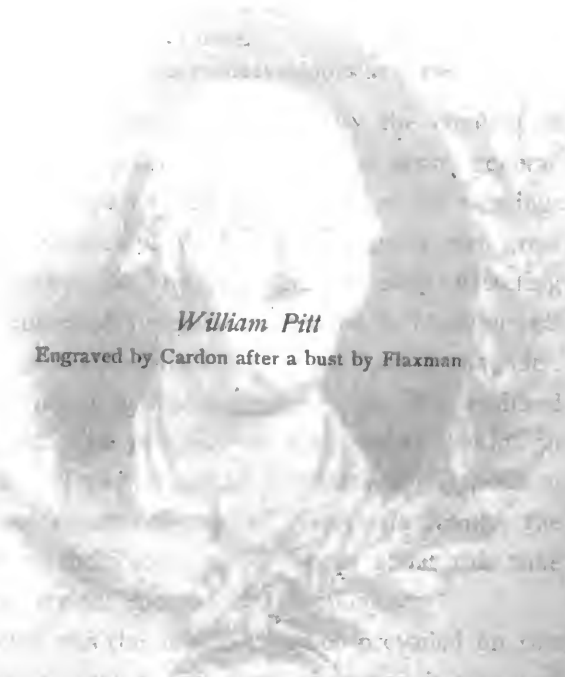
“ His book well describes
How corruption and bribes
 Overthrew the great empire of Rome ;
And his writings declare
A degen'racy there,
 Which his conduct exhibits at home.”

The discontents occasioned by the conduct of administration became more and more general. The active part taken by Mr. Fox at the meetings of the electors of Westminster acquired him great popularity, and he received the most flattering assurances of support, if he chose to offer himself as a candidate for the representation of that city. Encouraged by these promises, Mr. Fox suffered himself to be proposed at the general election in 1780. Notwithstanding the powerful opposition he experienced from the Newcastle family, the Man of the People, as he began about this time to be styled, secured his election.

Such was the animosity which prevailed on this occasion, that a few days afterward it was currently reported that Mr. Fox had been killed in a duel by Lord Lincoln, the rival candidate. An immense concourse of people immediately assem-



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William Pitt

Engraved by Cardon after a bust by Flaxman





bled round Mr. Fox's house to inquire the truth. A wag passing by at the time advised them not to make themselves uneasy, "for," says he, "you may depend upon it there is no truth in it, otherwise the Tower guns would certainly have been fired on the occasion." This observation struck many of them so forcibly that they immediately departed, perfectly satisfied.

A scrutiny was expected to have taken place, but when all the necessary forms had been gone through previous to commencing it, Lord Lincoln declined giving any further trouble, as his friends had discovered that a legal majority of the electors were in favour of Sir G. Rodney and Mr. Fox.

In February, 1781, Mr. Burke revived his plan of economy, which he had unsuccessfully proposed in the preceding session of Parliament. In this business he experienced the cordial coöperation of Mr. Fox, and their exertions were seconded by one who was destined to make a distinguished figure on the theatre of politics as the rival of the latter. On this question William Pitt, then in his 22d year, made his first speech in the House of Commons, and he acquitted himself in such a manner as to justify the anticipation of the public in his favour. Though he joined, in some measure, the

party headed by Fox and Burke, he, however, maintained the sentiments of his father with respect to the independence of America.

Towards the close of the session, a motion was made and introduced by the energetic eloquence of Fox, for the House to resolve itself into a committee to consider of the American war; but though it was supported by the whole force of opposition, by a rare combination of talents of the highest rank, by Fox, by Pitt, by Burke, by Dunning, and by Sheridan, their exertions failed of producing the desired object.

The ill success of the operations in America, and the capture of Lord Cornwallis, furnished the opposition with new matter for criminating the ministry. It was concerted that, immediately after the Christmas recess, Mr. Fox should make a motion for an investigation into the conduct of Lord Sandwich, who was at the head of the admiralty. Indisposition for some days prevented that orator from attending the House, on which Mr. Burke said: "No one laments Mr. Fox's illness more than myself; and I declare, that should his indisposition continue, the inquiry into the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty shall be proceeded in. Should even the country suffer a

calamity so serious as his death, still it ought to be followed up earnestly and solemnly ; nay, of so much importance is this inquiry to the public, that no bad use would be made of the skin of my departed friend (should such be his fate), if, like that of John Zisca, it be converted into a drum, and used for the purpose of sounding an alarm to the people of England."

The illness of Mr. Fox was not, however, of long continuance. On the 7th of February, 1782, he commenced his attack on the ministry, by moving accusations against Lord Sandwich, under five several heads, which he summed up as the ground of a resolution declaratory of mismanagement in naval affairs. Though the motion was negatived, yet the majority was so small as to render it probable that ministers could not much longer maintain their ground. After the debate on this subject, when the minority were returning into the house from the lobby on the division, having lost their question, the facetious Mr. Selwyn, just as Mr. Fox was passing by him, put himself into the attitude of a banker tallying at faro, and, making as though he turned up cards to the right and to the left, called out in the style of that game, "Charles, knave loses — king wins." A *bon mot*

which at the time was received with universal applause.

Soon afterward Lord John Cavendish made a motion declaring that the House could no longer repose confidence in the ministry, which was rejected by a small majority; but on a similar motion being made, after an interval of a few days, Lord North rose and declared he was no longer minister. In the month of March a new administration was formed; the Marquis of Rockingham was its nominal head, but Mr. Fox, as secretary of state, became the principal efficient minister.

At this period of Mr. Fox's history, it may not be deemed improper to take a brief retrospective view of his political and public conduct.

From his first entrance into public life, Mr. Fox had a desperate game to play, and he played it on the principles of a desperate gamester. He first appeared as the public encomiast and personal friend of Lord North, and that at a time when it was the fashion to carry the prerogative to its utmost extent.

The old Whig interest was then in strong opposition to the court; nor had Whigs at that period forfeited every pretension to principle. Mr. Fox opposed them — spoke against them — turned them

into ridicule — was the most forward in suppressing the spirit of liberty out of the House of Commons, and the foremost in recommending prosecutions against those who supported the people's rights, and who exposed the weakness of the most unfortunate administration with which the kingdom had ever been cursed.

It certainly was suspected that this conduct of Mr. Fox was well calculated to advance his interest at St. James's. Lord North, though a professed Tory, wanted a little of Mr. Fox's boldness. He declined to go the violent lengths which Mr. Fox had recommended, and in consequence that gentleman was dismissed from the treasury board with every circumstance of rudeness and personal insult.

By this conduct Lord North proved himself a short-sighted politician. Mr. Fox, finding one avenue to preferment closed upon him, shook off with the utmost ease his old connections and his old principles. The Whigs, who for four years had smarted under the lash of his eloquence, refused him their confidence until the breach between Lord North and him appeared irreparable. From their decided enemy he became their leader. With indefatigable industry he opposed,

for more than seven years, every measure of Lord North's administration, and with as strong marks of personal enmity and insult as parliamentary terms would allow. For the same space of time he was the champion of the people against a majority of the House of Commons, whose proceedings he canvassed, exposed, and ridiculed at the Shakespeare, the King's Arms, and among a mob in Westminster Hall.

At length, when even in the opinion of the most sanguine the country was in a very miserable state, but absolutely ruined in the opinion of Mr. Fox, the king resigned himself implicitly into the hands of a new administration.

Mr. Fox now came into power, with the favourite appellation of the Man of the People, and with the support of the Whig families, who, though inheriting the estates, displayed none of the splendid abilities of their ancestors. In this administration were combined the king's friends, as they were called, the Rockingham and Newcastle Whigs, and the Pitt and Grenville Whigs. Those who were distinguished as the king's friends were not, however, disposed to act cordially with a party whose avowed object was to restore the reign of the Whig aristocracy, and to conciliate

to the great Whig families the favour of the people, by concessions which were judged to be not perfectly compatible with the order of good government.

The first measure proposed by Mr. Fox as minister appeared rather too precipitate. Overtures of peace were made to Holland and America, but by the former they were received very coldly. Mr. Fox soon afterward brought a message from the king, recommending the adoption of a plan for the retrenchment of the public expenditure. The object of this was to pave the way to the revival of Burke's reform bill, which passed after it had undergone several modifications. Various popular measures were proposed and adopted. Contractors were excluded, by act of Parliament, from the House of Commons; officers of the customs and excise were disqualified from voting at elections; and the resolutions of 1769, relative to the Middlesex election, was expunged from the journals of the House. The only party measure with which this administration could be charged, was the appointment of Admiral Pigot to supersede Rodney, of whose glorious victory, on the 12th of April, they were still ignorant. They were proceeding to carry into execution all their plans for domes-

tic government, and for the arrangement of the foreign affairs of the empire, when the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the nominal head of the whole party, enabled the sovereign to emancipate himself from its control.

The Marquis of Rockingham died on the 1st of July. Upon this event Mr. Fox expected to be called by the sovereign to fill the post of prime minister. Several days, however, elapsing, without this expectation being verified, he summoned a secret council at his house in Grafton Street, consisting of the Cavendishes, Lord Keppel, Mr. Burke, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. T. Townshend, etc., when he concisely informed them that, unless they firmly united to oppose such a measure, the Earl of Shelburne would be appointed minister. On this it was unanimously agreed that the Duke of Portland would be an excellent man of straw for prime minister under their auspices, and that Mr. Fox should immediately wait upon the king with a strong recommendation of his Grace by this majority of his cabinet. Mr. Fox, however, reached the closet only time enough to learn that Lord Shelburne had just gone out with the appointment of first lord of the treasury. Mr. Fox expressing great astonishment on hearing

this, asked his Majesty, if, under this circumstance, he had any objection to his (Mr. Fox's) naming the new secretary of state? To this his Majesty replied, "That, sir, is already done." On which Mr. Fox rejoined, "Then I trust your Majesty can dispense with my services." The answer to this was, "Certainly, sir, if you feel them the least irksome." Mr. Fox bowed, retired, and the next day had a further audience, only to deliver up the seals of his office. Mr. Pitt, who had refused a high situation in the Rockingham ministry, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and Lord Temple succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary of state for the northern department.

The sentiments expressed by Mr. Fox, on quitting administration, were highly honourable. "In resigning my situation as secretary of state," said he, "I am not insensible to the convenience, I might almost say, to the necessity of its emolument; but, in a case where honour or profit must be sacrificed, I could not be long in resolving what to do. I dictate to no gentleman how he is to act; but as there are several in the same predicament with myself, if they feel as I do, they will act as I do."

Indignant at the secret manner of Lord Shel-

burne's elevation,¹ after they had considered him as having agreed that the Duke of Portland should be invested with the office of prime minister, several of Mr. Fox's friends followed his example. Among these were Mr. Burke and Lord John Cavendish. In the next meeting of Parliament each of them, in an able speech, assigned the motives of their resignation. Lord Shelburne was known to be hostile to the independence of America, the declaration of which was considered,

¹ To demonstrate the habitual insincerity of this nobleman, the following anecdote was about this time related as a fact well known at St. James's, and to those who frequented the political circles. When Lord Shelburne was a young man, he was employed by the Earl of Bute to negotiate between him and the father of Mr. Fox, who had been promised, through Lord Shelburne, the dignity of earl. From some intrigues in the cabinet this was opposed, and the rank of baron only was conferred. Lord Bute was at a loss how to act, as he had promised the earldom; he mentioned his embarrassment to Lord Shelburne, who undertook to extricate him, by desiring the earl to say, that if Lord Shelburne had promised that dignity, he exceeded his commission. Mr. Fox said he would leave the matter entirely to the young nobleman with whom he negotiated. Lord Shelburne was sent for, and, with unblushing front, insisted that he had promised only a barony. Mr. Fox, astonished at such behaviour, was silent for some moments; when he recovered himself, he addressed Lord Shelburne in these words: "Young man, you have begun your political life with an act that generally terminates the political existence of the oldest statesmen, falsehood and deceit."

by Fox and his party, as an indispensable preliminary to peace. Mr. Pitt, on this occasion, bore honourable testimony to the merits of Mr. Fox. He said, he could not think the retreat of the right honourable gentleman warrantable at such a crisis, and that his singular abilities marked him to be public property.

So persuaded was the Duke of Portland that Mr. Fox could not remain in office, if Lord Shelburne were appointed first lord of the treasury, that as soon as he heard of the appointment, he wrote a letter from Dublin to Mr. Fox, which he directed to the Hon. Charles James Fox, and began it by remarking that, if Mr. Fox read the superscription, he would see that he took it for granted he would be a private man again before the letter would reach him, as he could not imagine it possible that two such opposites as he and Lord Shelburne could ever coalesce.

Soon after the resignation of Mr. Fox and his friends, the well-known Charles Macklin, being asked his opinion of them, replied: "I am no astronomer, but they seem to me to be wandering planets; though it would be much better for the people of this distracted country if they were fixed stars at Tyburn, or Temple Bar."

About this time Mr. Fox conceived a strong attachment to the celebrated Mrs. Robinson, who was then distinguished by the appellation of Perdita. She had a house in Berkeley Square, which commanded a view of the princely mansion of Lord Shelburne. Here Mr. Fox was so constant in his attentions, that his friends seldom saw his face. A gentleman one day meeting him accidentally, asked him the reason of his absence from Brookes's, where his friends used to enjoy his company and conversation almost every evening. "You know," replied the orator, with his usual presence of mind, "I have pledged myself to the public to have a strict eye on Lord Shelburne's motions; that is my sole motive for residing in Berkeley Square, and that, you may tell my friends, is the reason they have not seen me at Brookes's."

Notwithstanding this reply, Mr. Fox never attempted to conceal this intrigue. He appeared in public with Mrs. Robinson, and drove about with her in her own carriage. This furnished the witty George Selwyn an opportunity to observe, at Arthur's, that "the connection was perfectly right; the 'Man of the People,' and no other, should be the *cicisbeo* to the 'Woman of the People.'"

Mrs. Robinson's affairs soon afterward became so much involved that she was under the necessity of going to the Continent, to avoid the importunities of her creditors. Her place, in Mr. Fox's affections, was supplied by Mrs. Armstead. Of this lady it was observed that she was the most extraordinary character in the class to which she belonged. She lived in splendour, kept two sets of horses for her carriages, a proportionable establishment of servants; her table was the constant resort of all the young men of fashion in the kingdom; yet no one ever heard of any person being ruined by his attachment to her, which is more than can be said of any other woman who has been fashionable for many years. For a considerable time previous to her connection with Mr. Fox, Mrs. Armstead had been the *chère amie* of Lord George H. Cavendish. His lordship's conduct toward her was generous and noble. On their separation he made her a liberal settlement, and their intimacy was only dissolved in consequence of an advantageous marriage with a lady who is a pattern to her sex.

It was probably about this period that Mr. Fox composed the following :

" INVOCATION TO POVERTY.

" O Poverty ! of pale consumptive hue,
 If thou delight'st to haunt me still in view,
 If still thy presence must my steps attend,
 At least continue, as thou art, my friend.
 When Scotch example bids me be unjust,
 False to my word, unfaithful to my trust,
 Bid me the baneful error quickly see,
 And shun the world to find repose with thee.
 When vice to wealth would turn my partial eye,
 Or int'rest shutting ear to sorrow's cry,
 Or courtiers' custom would my reason bind
 My foe to flatter, or desert my friend, —
 Oppose, kind Poverty, thy temper'd shield,
 And bear me off unvanquish'd from the field.

" If giddy fortune e'er return again,
 With all her idle, restless, wanton train ;
 Her magic glass should false ambition hold,
 Or av'rice bid me put my trust in gold ;
 To my relief, then, virtuous goddess, haste,
 And with thee bring thy daughters ever chaste,
 Health, Liberty, and Wisdom, sisters bright,
 Whose charms can make the worst condition light,
 Beneath the hardest fate the mind can cheer,
 Can heal affliction, and disarm despair ;
 In chains, in torments, pleasure can bequeath,
 And dress in smiles the tyrant-hour of death !"

On the meeting of Parliament, in the winter of 1782, Mr. Fox found himself too weak to act without assistance, and he now thought it high time to

play a new game. Perceiving the growing strength of those by whom he and his adherents had been supplanted, and how utterly unable they were to make any effectual opposition, he opened a negotiation, and signed a treaty with Lord North, that man whom he had described as the "submissive minister of the Crown," "the supporter of corrupt influence," "the patron of contractors," "the father of jobs," "the enemy of America," "the sleeping state pilot," "the man whose blood was to expiate the calamities he had brought on his country." Such were the epithets which he had himself applied to Lord North for eight successive years, and yet, with this man did Mr. Fox now unite.

The causes which more immediately led to this political connection are probably known only to a few, and these may not be in haste to reveal them. The conduct of public men is not sometimes so happy as to carry its reasons on the face of it, and the real motives, which confound the pursuits and annihilate the distinction of parties, are seldom avowed. With regard to this coalition between Mr. Fox and Lord North, which proved peculiarly obnoxious to the majority of the nation, it was insinuated that the latter was induced to accede to

the measure in consequence of debts to a considerable amount, contracted by his son at the gaming-table, and a large portion of which were due to Mr. Fox.

Be this as it may, on the signature of the preliminary treaty with France and Spain, when the terms were submitted to Parliament, they excited the utmost disapprobation of Mr. Fox, Lord North, and their respective friends; though the former had affirmed that peace upon any terms would be desirable. The coalition incurred the bitterest invectives, both in and out of Parliament, but it procured a majority in the House, and passed a vote of censure on the ministry. Of the combined parties, it was impossible to assert that either the one or the other enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, or of the people; they, nevertheless, claimed a right to seize the government, on this ground, and on this ground alone, that they had a majority of the House of Commons in their favour; and, after an ineffectual struggle of six weeks, their adversaries were completely driven out of the field. The king was obliged to yield to the torrent. A new administration was formed, the efficient authority of which was divided between Mr. Fox and Lord North, who were appointed the

principal secretaries of state, while Lord John Cavendish was made chancellor of the exchequer, and the Duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treasury.

Mr. Fox, having now accomplished the object of his ambition, continued nevertheless to adhere to the counsel given him by his father, from which, it must be acknowledged, he never swerved. In a letter, written with his own hand, Lord Holland gave his son the following advice, on the subject of his political conduct: "Aspire, Charles, to the first employments, but do not aim at being a favourite; that is acquired with difficulty, preserved with anxiety, and lost often with despair."

On coming into office, Mr. Fox sold his horses, and erased his name from the books of the several clubs of which he was a member, and received the praise due to such a laudable sacrifice of his private propensities to his public duties. It was not long, however, before he again purchased horses, and in October, 1783, he attended the meeting at Newmarket. The king's messenger was obliged to appear on the course to seek one of the ministers of England among the horsemen on the turf, to deliver him despatches on which the fate of the country might have depended. The messen-

ger was observed, as if part of the shame was his to be seen at such a place, with the greyhound under cover, and all the marks of office studiously concealed.

With the aid of Lord North's old friends and contractors, and with such assistance as the Cavendishes and Bentincks could give him, Mr. Fox struggled through that session ; but he was too wise not to know that, without some additional influence to counteract the king and the people, it would be impossible for him to stand.

Soon after the prorogation of Parliament, the definitive treaty with France and Spain was concluded at Paris. A few days before its arrival in London, Mr. Fox was boasting at Brookes's of the advantageous peace he had ratified, considering the odious preliminaries on which he had to ground it ; and, among other circumstances, said, he had at length prevailed upon the court of Versailles to relinquish all pretensions to the gum trade in favour of Great Britain. Mr. Selwyn, who was present, and appeared to be asleep in his chair, immediately exclaimed : "That, friend Charles, I am not at all surprised at ; for, having permitted the French to draw your teeth, they would be d—d fools indeed to quarrel with you about your gums."

As the ministry had been active before the close of the session in procuring a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales, its leading members were frequently in the company of his Royal Highness. This laid the foundation of a friendship between the prince and Mr. Fox, which has continued uninterrupted ever since. It cannot be doubted, that the example of that statesman and some of his associates had the effect of strengthening in the heir apparent to the throne propensities not perfectly compatible with the dignity of royalty. Encouraged by them, he plunged with eagerness into all the fashionable extravagancies and follies of the day, and frequently found himself in situations ill befitting his distinguished rank. These, however, often elicited traits highly honourable to the good sense and understanding of the prince, as the following fact will demonstrate.

In the month of April, 1784, his Royal Highness and three of his gay companions, elated with the bottle, were interrupted by the watch in a midnight frolic, and, after a scuffle, overpowered and taken to the watch-house in Mount Street. The party were obliged to send for one of their tradesmen, who, on entering, started at the sight

of the prince. The constable and watchmen, on discovering the rank of their prisoner, pressed around him, and hoped his Royal Highness would not be offended at their having detained him. The prince, who was only elevated with wine, exclaimed: "Offended! my good fellows! By no means. Thank God, the laws of this country are superior to rank; and when men of high station forget the decorums of the community, it is fit that no distinction should be made with respect to them. It should make an Englishman proud, to see the Prince of Wales obliged to send for a tailor to bail him."

The session of Parliament opened on the 11th of November, 1783, and, on the 18th, Mr. Fox introduced, in a speech that few have equalled, and he himself never surpassed, his famous bill for the government of India. The system proposed by Fox characterised his ardent and daring spirit, his comprehensive, expanded, and inventive genius. He assumed the position that the East India Company had so completely mismanaged their affairs as to be in a state of insolvency, and that their servants had been guilty of the most atrocious oppression in India. To prevent the continuance of this mismanagement, he proposed

to take from the East India Company all control over their affairs, territorial and commercial, and to vest all the power they possessed in the hands of certain commissioners, to be appointed in the first instance by the whole legislature, and afterward by the crown. Eight of the particular friends of Mr. Fox were mentioned as the intended commissioners.

In the opposition to this bill Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas took a decided part. It was attacked, by the former, as an infringement, or rather annihilation, of the company's charter; the violation of which would augur very unfavourably for the security of all chartered rights. He insisted that, besides its injustice to the company, it would be dangerous to the constitution, by establishing an influence independent of the legislature; an influence, which, from its nature, would be under the control of its creator, Mr. Fox. He did not hesitate to impute a plan so unjust and unconstitutional, to an ambitious desire of becoming perpetual dictator. Dundas, coinciding with the ideas of Mr. Pitt, entered into a detailed discussion of Mr. Fox's statement of the finances of the company, insisting that their affairs were by no means in the desperate state that Fox had alleged. The

proprietors and directors of the East India Company petitioned the House not to pass a bill, operating as the confiscation of their property and the annihilation of their charter, before they had proofs of specific delinquency, which alone could justify such a measure. The people, in general, were strongly impressed with the validity of the arguments adduced by the opposers of the bill, and by the representations of those whose rights and property it appeared so materially to affect.

The bill, nevertheless, passed the House of Commons, by a very great majority; but it was unexpectedly thrown out by the peers. The Pitt and Grenville Whigs looked upon this as no common scheme of opposition, which, if successful, must have excluded them from all hope of ministerial emolument and power. Those who were distinguished by the appellation of the king's friends, saw their political existence threatened by this measure with utter annihilation. Even the sovereign himself began to be alarmed for the honour of the Crown; and, though the ministry had a majority in Parliament, he thought fit to dismiss them from their offices, to which Mr. Pitt and his friends were appointed.

The circumstances attending the dismissal of Mr. Fox and his colleagues were rather singular. At twelve o'clock, on the night of the 13th of December, Mr. Fox and Lord North, the other secretary of state, were informed, by a special messenger, that his Majesty had no longer occasion for their services, and desiring them to render up the seals of their offices; at the same time mentioning that it was the royal pleasure that they should be delivered to him by the under secretaries, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him. The secrecy with which the measures, preparatory to this change, were carried on, was such that, though Mr. Fox had an interview with his Majesty the same day, and had a select party of friends at his house at ten o'clock in the evening, yet nothing of the operations had transpired.

The Prince of Wales acted on this occasion with the greatest dignity and manliness. He all along declared his approbation of the intended system for the government of India, and knew not that his royal father was inimical to the bill; but finding that he was so, he went into the closet, and gave the most unequivocal proofs of his filial duty and attachment. At the same time, he

begged leave to do honourable justice to Mr. Fox, and assured the king that, in all his conversations, so far from instigating him to a breach, that gentleman had inculcated the virtue of strict and perfect cordiality with the court.

Previous to the meeting of Parliament after Mr. Fox's dismissal, the following *jeu d'esprit* made its appearance :

“Intelligence Extraordinary

“On Monday, for the entertainment of British sportsmen, a noble hunting match will take place upon St. Stephen's common, in consequence of a remarkably fine Fox having been lately turned out of the king's park. The attention of the public has been uncommonly attracted upon this occasion ; and the odds are six to four that Reynard will not be run down.

“Though the hunters are well mounted, many experienced jockeys are of opinion that they will not be able to keep their seats, and others think that the puppies of the pack are not sufficiently staunch or entirely at command. It is whispered, also, that what the enemies of Reynard cannot accomplish by a fair chase, they mean to effect by way of fraud, a very capacious Pit being in his

way ; though it is generally imagined that instead of falling into it, the animal, from his known sagacity, will either run round, or leap over it ; and that upon the whole, instead of a Fox-hunt, it is not improbable the day's sport will end in a wild-goose chase !”

Being thus finally worsted in a contest with the Crown, and the Pitt and Grenville division of the Whigs, Mr. Fox returned to his former station as a leader of opposition. Not content with this character alone, he resumed that of the popular demagogue. He called meetings of his constituents, who assembled in Westminster Hall, where he endeavoured to inflame their minds against the new administration. At one of these meetings on the 14th of February, 1784, a bag was introduced by some unseen hand under the eminence on the hustings upon which Mr. Fox stood ; the noisome effluvia arising from it in a cloud for several minutes, affected him so much as almost to deprive him of breath. Its contents were afterward examined by a chemist of eminence, who declared them to be a mixture of euphorbium and capsicum, two of the most subtle poisons in nature, whose quality it is to ulcerate and blister whatever they touch. A reward of £200 was offered by the

Westminster Committee for the discovery of the authors of this unmanly trick.

This circumstance furnished Mr. Sayre, of Gray's Inn, with a subject for an ingenious caricature, representing Mr. Fox sneezing. The likeness was inimitable; the contortion of the features was portrayed in the lineaments of nature, and from every sneeze were supposed to issue ethereal particles, represented as so many rays partaking of the following qualities: Euphorbium, Coalition Capsicum, Receipt Tax, India Bill, Violation of Charters, Cromwell's Ambition, Catiline's Abilities, Damien's Loyalty, Machiavel's Politics. Underneath were these lines :

“Whereas, some d—d rogues have been guilty of treason
 In making me sneeze when I wanted to reason,
 And whereas it appears upon analysis
 That the bag's vile contents would have poison'd a nation,
 And whereas, tho' the scheme has for once been defeated,
 The dose may at some future time be repeated,
 I conjure my constituents wherever they be
 To take care of themselves and be careful of me.”

When Mr. Fox went down to one of the Westminster meetings, he was driven by Colonel Hanger, and Colonel North was mounted like a footman behind his carriage. When this came

to the ears of the queen, she dismissed the latter from his office of comptroller of her household, observing at the same time "that she did not covet another man's servant."

The antipathy of Fox's party and the ministerialists broke forth on occasion of Mr. Pitt's receiving the freedom of the city of London at Grocer's Hall, where a splendid entertainment was given in honour of him on the 1st of March, 1784. At night, on the return of the cavalcade, a mob assembled, drew the carriages, and broke the windows of many houses whose inhabitants refused to illuminate. Even the palace of the Prince of Wales was not spared, and when they came to Weltjie's, in St. James's Street, the tumult rose to a great height. Colonel North, Mr. Seymour Finch, and other gentlemen being in the house, appeared on the balcony, where they drank "Fox for ever!" and declared they would not illuminate. A volley of brickbats demolished the windows, on which the populace drew off the carriages to Brookes's. Here they drew up Mr. Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, Lord Sydney, and Lord Mahon under the windows, and began the attack, but the gentlemen from the balcony positively refused to comply with their demand for lights.

The mob vociferated: "Pitt and the constitution!" The other party returned: "Fox and a popular government!" The multitude now began to assail the house with stones, on which the chairmen, in waiting at the doors, sallied out with their poles, and in a few minutes dispersed the mob. A flambeau was thrown into the carriage, on which Mr. Pitt and his companions alighted, and made good their retreat into White's. The carriage, which belonged to the Earl of Chatham, was broken, but a guard arriving, order was soon completely restored.

On the 27th of March, 1784, a bill of indictment was preferred against Mr. Fox for bribery before the grand jury for the county Somerset, at Taunton, which was returned by them a true bill. The circumstances of this scandalous case were these: More than a year before Mr. Fox had received a letter from a freeman of Bridgewater stating the balance of an account between them, requesting payment, and desiring at the same time to know whether Mr. Fox wished him to vote for any particular person as mayor of Bridgewater. Mr. Fox's answer conveyed a draft for the money due, and the concluding paragraph pointed out a certain gentleman to whom Mr.

Fox wished success. This letter, having fallen into the hands of an enemy of Mr. Fox, it was thought that it might be turned to some account, if, by coupling the two distinct circumstances together, a man could be procured bold enough to give them the colour of bribery before a grand jury.

Meanwhile the majority in the House of Commons continued in favour of the opposition. A series of motions was proposed tending to prove that the minister ought not to continue in office without the support of the House of Commons. Though the majority was against the minister in the House, it was evident that it was for him in the nation. His Majesty, finding that the opinion of the Commons continued contrary to his own, and conceiving it to be opposite to that of his people, determined to enable the latter to manifest their approbation or disapprobation of their representatives by dissolving the Parliament.

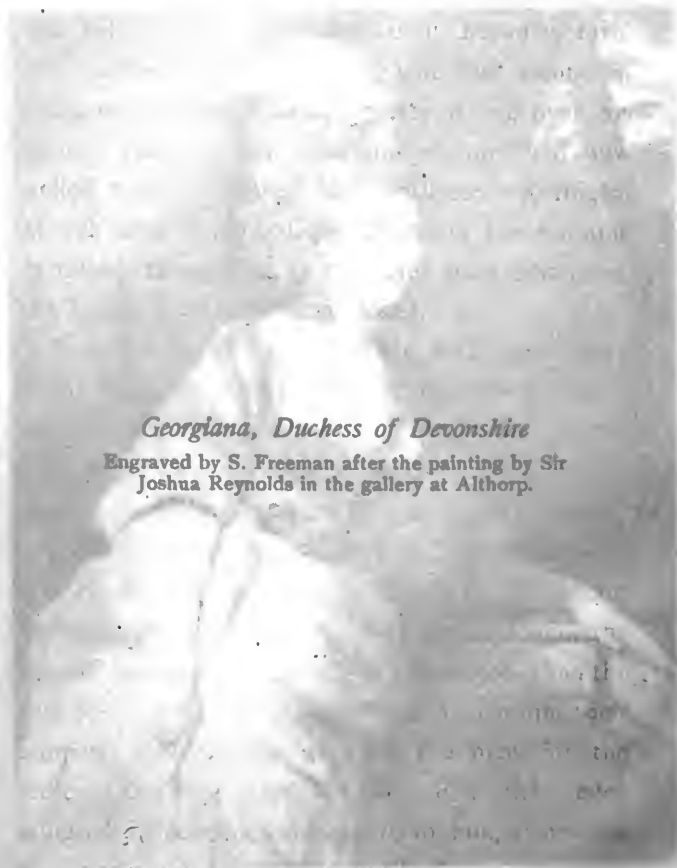
At the ensuing general election a most extraordinary contest took place for Westminster. The candidates for the representation of this city, besides Mr. Fox, were Lord Hood and Sir Cecil Wray, who, though formerly his colleague, was now supported by a formidable party disgusted

by the late coalition. The poll commenced on the 1st of April, and for some days Mr. Fox maintained the superiority; but on the 8th, 9th, and 10th the tide of popular favour began to turn, and on the 12th the baronet, who was second in point of numbers, had a majority of 318 over his former friend. Ten thousand electors had now polled, and the contest had continued a fortnight. It was even supposed, judging from the example of former times, that, as the votes were exhausted, the books must have been closed.

It is not improbable that Mr. Fox would have been defeated in this memorable contest had it not been for the irresistible exertions of his female auxiliaries. Several of the most beautiful and accomplished women of the age were zealously engaged in canvassing in his behalf, and with such success as to turn the popular tide in his favour. It was observed that, if Mr. Fox was no longer the man of the people, it could not be denied, from the number of females who attended to give him their support, that he was at least the man for the ladies. In their rage for Mr. Fox they even adopted a dress in compliment to him, composed of a mixture of garter-blue and buff.

Not the least serviceable of these lovely support-

1875
1876
1877



Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire

Engraved by S. Freeman after the painting by Sir
Joshua Reynolds in the gallery at Althorp.



ers was the late Duchess of Devonshire, then in the zenith of her beauty.¹ It was said of her, and her no less amiable sister, Lady Duncannon, now Countess of Besborough, while they were soliciting votes in favour of Mr. Fox, that they were the most lovely portraits that ever appeared upon a canvas.

The following lines were written on the former of these ladies, who, in her zeal to gain her favourite point, permitted a butcher to kiss her :

“ Condemn not, prudes, fair Devon’s plan
 In giving Steel a kiss;
 In such a cause, for such a man
 She could not do amiss.”

The following epigram was likewise composed on the same occasion :

“ Array’d in matchless beauty, Devon’s fair
 In Fox’s favour takes a zealous part:
 But oh! where’er the pilferer comes beware,
 She supplicates a vote and steals a heart.”

¹ The impression which the beauty of this accomplished female was calculated to make on every one who beheld her cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by the following fact: When the duchess made her first appearance at Derby races, after her marriage, an honest rustic, on her Grace being pointed out to him, exclaimed, in rapturous astonishment, “ that were he God Almighty, he would make her Queen of Heaven.”

It is said, that even the highest personages in the kingdom did not disdain to take a part in this election.

When his Majesty first heard that the Prince of Wales interested himself for the success of Mr. Fox, he deputed one of the lords of the bedchamber to wait upon his Royal Highness, and remonstrate with him on the impropriety of his behaviour. His Majesty, said the lordly messenger, is surprised that the heir apparent should take an active part on the subject of an election. "Be so good as to present my humble duty to the king," replied the prince, "and say, it does not appear half so strange that the heir to majesty, as that majesty itself should take an active part on such an occasion. I never employed Weltjie till his Majesty had first employed the Earl of Sandwich ; and if there was any difference between us, it was only that I had employed the more respectable messenger."

It is related that the Duke of Newcastle applied to Sir Henry Clinton, who had been Mr. Fox's opponent at the general election in 1780, and desired him to vote for Sir Cecil Wray. The general told his noble relation that his opinions were with Mr. Fox, but the duke peremptorily insisted on his voting for Sir Cecil. The general as peremptorily

declared, that no man should dictate to him in his choice. "Then," said the noble duke, "here, sir, are the accounts of the expense of your two last elections, which I desire that you will immediately discharge."

A very zealous partisan of Mr. Fox's during this election was the well-known Sam House. He did not long survive it, but carried his passion with him till his death. On the last day of his life he expressed to his physician, Sir John Elliott, his earnest desire to see Mr. Fox, adding, that he should then die contented. Sir John communicated the anxiety of his patient to Mr. Fox, who instantly waited upon him, and sat by his bedside for some time. From that moment the poor man declared himself to be perfectly resigned, and died in a few hours without a pang.

The unexampled violence of party spirit which prevailed during this election, produced frequent disputes between the adherents of the rival candidates. On the 1st of May, there were the whole day strong indications of a disposition to riot. On the hustings much low abuse passed on either side; and on the close of the poll several of Mr. Fox's friends, and particularly Colonel Fitzpatrick, were treated with very unbecoming indignity. In the

evening the butchers were in Covent Garden with their marrow-bones and cleavers, conducting Mr. Fox's friends to their carriages. As they came opposite Wood's Hotel, they were stopped, and were told that they must not sound their execrable music there. To this they replied with a general shout of "Fox for ever!" and a battle instantly commenced. For a time apprehensions of fatal consequences were entertained; for Sir Cecil Wray's party retreating into Wood's, they were pursued by the other, who pressed into the house, and committed many acts of outrage and disturbance. Several of the officers drew their swords, and a blunderbuss was fired to intimidate them; this, however, had but little effect, and it was only by the approach of a party of the guards that an end was put to the contest, fortunately without the loss of any lives. Toward the close of the poll one of the constables was actually killed in the discharge of his duty, in an affray near the hustings.

This election was productive of some whimsical circumstances. One evening, a young man of genteel appearance, and a physiognomy expressive of good humour, hilarity, and an honest heart, reeled, smiling, into the lower boxes of Covent Garden Theatre, "hot with the Tuscan grape and

high in blood." A gentleman soon afterward appearing with Mr. Fox's favours in his hat, the disciple of Bacchus vociferated, "Fox for ever!" A phlegmatic politician in the opposite interest immediately took up the matter gravely. "Sir," said he, "do you consider the place you are in?" "Fox for ever!" exclaimed the buck. "Sir, the audience must not be disturbed," rejoined the other. "Fox for ever!" was the reply. "Sir, you are intoxicated," said the grave man. "Fox for ever!" reiterated the buck. The grave man now began to be irritated: "D—n me," said he, "but I wish you were at Calais." "I am half seas over, already," replied the other. The grave man now rose with an air of the utmost self-importance: "Sir," said he, "you have offended the ladies and gentlemen round me, and I insist on your asking pardon." "Ladies and gentlemen round me," said the buck, with a bright effusion of good humour emanating from his eyes, "if I have offended you, I ask pardon; but as for this vinegar-faced curmudgeon" (looking at the grave man with ineffable contempt) "remember I make no apology to him — so, Fox for ever! and let me see if he will follow me out." Having said this, he withdrew; but the grave man, little expecting such a rebuff,

chose rather to stay quietly till the conclusion of the piece, than to accompany his antagonist out of the house.

Mr. Fox, in his canvass, having accosted a blunt tradesman, whom he solicited for his vote, the man answered, "I cannot give you my support; I admire your abilities, but d—n your principles." Mr. Fox replied, "My friend, I applaud you for your sincerity, but d—n your manners."

One day, toward the conclusion of the poll, a Quaker who stepped forward to the hustings, being asked the usual question, Whom do you poll for? replied: "For the man who calleth himself Lord Hood, and also for the man who calleth himself Sir Cecil Wray." Another Friend soon afterward voted: "For the man who is called the Man of the People."

When the ferment occasioned by this election was at its greatest height, a carpenter in Petty France, who had been greatly emaciated by a nervous fever, was attended by a physician well known for his strenuous exertions on the side of the ministerial party. During the doctor's visits, the patient's wife, not knowing the attachments of that gentleman, often expressed her regret that her husband could not get up to vote for Mr. Fox.

Toward the latter end of the poll, when every method was employed on both sides to procure suffrages, the doctor, calling one morning on his patient, to his great astonishment found him up, and almost dressed with the assistance of the nurse. "Hey-day! what is the cause of this?" exclaimed the doctor. "Why would you get out of bed without my leave?" "Dear sir," replied the carpenter in broken accents, "I am going to poll." "To poll!" rejoined the doctor with great warmth, supposing him of the same opinion as his spouse, "going to the devil, you mean; do you know that the cold air would infallibly destroy you? Get to bed, man, get to bed as fast as you can, or immediate death may ensue." "If that is the case, sir," returned the patient, "to be sure I must do as you advise me; but, I thought, while my wife was out, to take the opportunity to go to the hustings and vote for my friend Sir Cecil Wray." "How! what! for Sir Cecil?" "Yes, sir, I have some reasons to wish him well." "Have you?" cried the medical politician. "Hold, nurse, don't pull off his stockings yet. Let me feel his pulse. Very well!—a good firm stroke. Egad, this will do. You took the pills I ordered you last night?" "Yes, sir, but they made me

very sick." "Ay, so much the better. How did your master sleep, nurse?" "Oh, charmingly, sir." "Did he? Well, if his mind be uneasy about the election, he must be indulged. The body when diseased is prodigiously affected by uneasiness of the mind. Come; 'tis a fine day; throw a greatcoat about him, and the sooner he goes the better. Here, lift him up, a ride will do him good, and so — he shall go to the hustings in my chariot." The doctor was obeyed; the carpenter voted for Sir Cecil, and actually gave up the ghost two hours after his medical friend had left him at his own house.

Toward the close of this memorable contest the hustings resembled the stand at Newmarket, "An even bet that he comes in second," and "Five to four on this day's poll," being the language continually vociferated from every part of the building. By dint of extraordinary exertions the poll was continued till the 17th of May, and after a lapse of forty-seven days, it concluded with a majority of 235 in favour of Mr. Fox.

At the final close of the poll the numbers were :

For Lord Hood	.	.	.	.	.	6,694
For Mr. Fox	.	.	.	.	.	6,233
For Sir Cecil Wray	.	.	.	.	.	5,998

On the day of Mr. Fox's triumph there was a cabinet dinner, during which the persons present conversed on the subject of the splendid procession which took place when he was chaired, and one of the company expressed his wonder where the people had procured such an immense number of foxes' tails. "That is by no means to be wondered at," replied Mr. Pitt, "this has been a good sporting year, and more foxes have been destroyed than in any former season — I think upon an average there has been at least one Fox run down in every borough in the kingdom."

Notwithstanding the majority which appeared in favour of Mr. Fox, a scrutiny was demanded and obtained in favour of the unsuccessful candidate. The high-bailiff refusing to return the victorious one, he was afterward prosecuted, and paid damages to the amount of two thousand pounds. In the meantime, that officer, assisted first by Mr. Hargrave, and then by Mr. Murphy, as his assessor, commenced his laborious research on the 16th of June. After a long, tedious struggle, attended with enormous expense, which was defrayed by the great aristocratic families in the interest of Mr. Fox, that gentleman, who had been returned for a district of Scotch boroughs, Dornoc, Tain,

Dingwall, Wick, and Kirkwall, was declared duly elected.

The inveteracy of the court party against Mr. Fox, at this period, may be collected from the following incident. At a ball given in the month of June by the French ambassador, Lord Mountmorris had in vain canvassed the room for a partner. Not one lady of fortune was disengaged. He begged Miss Vernon to interfere, and to procure him the honour of a lady's hand for the country dance. Miss Vernon said she would exert her interest, and in a few minutes she introduced him to a very elegant young lady, with whom the noble lord danced for a considerable time, when, at one of the sideboards, a gentleman came up to him, and said: "Pray, my lord, do you know the lady with whom you are dancing?" "No," replied he, "pray who is she?" "Coalitions," answered the gentleman, "will never end. Why, it is Miss Fox, the niece of Charles, and sister of Lord Holland." The noble lord was thunderstruck. If Pitt should see him he was undone. He ran up to Miss Vernon, and exclaimed: "In the name of heaven, how could you introduce me to Miss Fox?" The lady drew him aside, and with a significant *hist*, whispered in his ear, "that it was

true she was Mr. Fox's niece, but she could not think she had acted improperly in introducing his lordship to her, for she had twenty thousand pounds to her fortune."

At the beginning of September, 1784, Colonel Fox, as the representative of Lord Holland, paid into the Bank for the use of government, £46,000. This payment was made by a bill on the house of Drummond. The reason why this balance was paid by the colonel and not by his elder brother Charles was, that the latter would not administer, from motives of delicacy, because he had engaged himself so deeply in politics.

The following fact, which occurred about this time, furnishes a striking illustration of the liberality of Mr. Fox's mind. A gentleman, high in the confidence of administration, was detected in a situation, the exposure of which would have degraded him from his species, and driven him into obscurity. The matter was mentioned to Mr. Fox, and his advice was asked whether the charge should not be exhibited for the political ruin of the culprit. Mr. Fox objected to the idea with scorn and contempt. "I am at war," said he, "only with political principles, and the public measures to which the gentleman gives countenance. I

have nothing to do with his pleasures or his tastes."

About this period a number of independent country gentlemen, who were in parliament, animated with a sincere desire to promote the interest of their country, conceived that this could not be done more effectually than by bringing about a reconciliation between the rival parties, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, who was supported by the Duke of Portland. They accordingly met at the St. Alban's Tavern, and appointed a committee, composed of the Hon. Mr. Grosvenor, the Hon. Charles Marsham, Sir William Lemon, and Mr. Powys, to confer with the leaders of the great political bodies by which the nation was agitated; and, if possible, to effect a union between them. Their exertions were continued for some time; but as Mr. Fox and the Duke of Portland insisted that Mr. Pitt should divest himself of his office, that, as they alleged, they might treat with him on equal terms, and as the minister absolutely refused to comply with this requisition, their endeavours proved unsuccessful.

In the early part of the year 1785, Mr. Fox had a private interview with his Majesty, which gave rise to a variety of rumours and conjectures; nor

was it till some time afterward that the occasion of it became publicly known. The Prince of Wales had often expressed a very ardent desire to visit the Continent. The court were perplexed, and every expedient was employed to prevail on him not to think of quitting the kingdom, but without effect. Mr. Fox, however, had sufficient influence with his Royal Highness to induce him to relinquish his intention, by representing to him the impressions it would give the public mind of his imbibing notions incompatible with the constitution of the empire he would one day be called upon to govern. The king, being informed of the success of Mr. Fox's efforts, expressed himself in terms of warm approbation, and directed Lord Southampton to inform that gentleman, how much his Majesty considered himself obliged to him; on which Mr. Fox attended on the king to pay his respects in return.

During the summer of 1785, Mr. Fox, who had acquired great popularity by his opposition to the new taxes laid on by Mr. Pitt, and particularly to the obnoxious shop-tax, paid a visit to Lord Derby at his seat near Prescot, in Lancashire. A petition from Manchester against the shop-tax, signed by 120,000 persons, had been presented to the

House of Lords by the Earl of Derby, who was obliged to request the assistance of two other peers to lay it upon the table. The gentlemen of that town and vicinity, hearing of his arrival in their neighbourhood, sent Mr. Fox and his lordship an invitation, and they accordingly proceeded to Manchester from Knowsley, accompanied by several other persons of distinction. They were met above a mile from the town by great numbers of respectable inhabitants on horseback, and the different trades with their bands of music in grand procession. The horses were immediately taken from the carriage in which were Lord Derby and Mr. Fox, and it was drawn amidst the acclamations of the surrounding multitudes to the town, where an elegant entertainment was provided. As soon as the circumstance was known at Liverpool, the merchants of that place copied the example of their neighbours, and invited Mr. Fox and his friends to a public dinner. This invitation was likewise accepted, and the two days were spent in both towns with great glee and satisfaction.

When the minister had resolved to endeavour to negotiate a commercial treaty with France, Mr. Eden (now Lord Auckland) was selected as the

person best qualified from his talents and pursuits to conduct the business. The appointment was accepted by Mr. Eden, though he had before acted in conjunction with the opposition. On his secession from their party, he was sharply attacked at the opening of the session in January, 1786, by Lord Surrey (now Duke of Norfolk), and Mr. Fox likewise rose to give him a rebuke. No sooner had he begun than Mr. Eden hung his head, and his misery and dejection were so apparent that the generous bosom of Fox revolted at the continuance of his torture. Turning to his friend, he said, in a whisper: "I cannot go any farther; 'tis like kicking a man when he is down," on which he immediately changed the subject.

Mr. Fox was now fast recovering that popularity which he had lost by his coalition with Lord North, by the strenuous opposition he made to the measures of the minister, who became disliked in the same proportion, on account of the new imposts which it was found necessary to lay upon the nation. The freedom of Hereford was decreed him; and on the first of June, 1786, it was presented to him in a box made of apple-tree wood by Mr. Walwyn, one of the members for that city.

The summer of 1786 was spent by Mr. Fox at St. Ann's Hill, though it was currently reported that he had undertaken a second journey to Ireland. The following singular anecdote relative to his visit to that country in 1777, having been accidentally omitted in its proper place, shall be introduced here. While in Dublin, he obtained permission to sit among the members of the House of Commons, that he might the better hear their debates. In a short time, however, the power of habit obliterated the remembrance of this circumstance from his mind, and in the middle of the debate he was so animated with the subject that he rose to speak; nor was it till the gentleman next to him reminded him of his situation, that he recollected he was not a member of the Irish House of Commons.

Mr. Pitt, with the assistance of Mr. Dundas, had formed a new system for the government of India, which was loudly reprobated by Mr. Fox and his adherents. To avenge themselves of the East India interest, and to embroil Mr. Pitt with those by whom he had been supported, they now instituted an impeachment of Mr. Hastings, the governor-general of the British possessions in the East. In this business Mr. Fox acted a principal

part, being appointed one of the managers for conducting the impeachment. This measure, at first, seemed likely to fulfil their hopes, but though a combination of talents rarely paralleled were indefatigably exerted to convict the accused, his innocence was finally crowned with a glorious triumph.

Among the amateurs of distinction, the Duke of Richmond gave, in 1786, frequent theatrical representations. On the 20th of April, the day on which the opening of the budget came on in the House of Commons, the duke sent Mr. Pitt a ticket of admission. The minister, observing the *nota bene* at the bottom, "None to be admitted after half an hour past seven," offered to return it on account of the improbability of his attendance, as he had the budget to open on the same day. The duke politely answered: "No, Mr. Pitt, keep the ticket; it is but fair that you should have an exclusive privilege." Mr. Fox being made acquainted with this circumstance, as soon as the House was up followed Mr. Pitt's carriage, and they both came to the door leading to the great saloon together. It was near nine o'clock, but the door-keeper, acquainted with Mr. Pitt's exclusive privilege, admitted him. Mr. Fox

following was significantly told it was more than half-past seven. "Poh! poh!" said he, with great vivacity, "I know that well enough; but to-night I am a rider on Mr. Pitt."

Mr. Fox still continued to retain his predilection for the turf. At the Newmarket meeting in April, 1788, he and the Duke of Bedford were the principal winners; they both betted on the same side, and shared eight thousand guineas. In the course of these races, Mr. Fox and Lord Barrymore had a match, when the horses came in so equally that, the judges not being able to determine the winner, the bets were withdrawn.

On one of the days of the same meeting (probably in the early part of it), Mr. Fox, being on the ground, missed his pocketbook, containing notes to the amount of several thousands of pounds, on which he gave the alarm, and a suspicious character being observed riding off at full speed, Mr. Wyndham and Sir T. Stepney galloped after him, and brought him back. Before they proceeded to search him, Mr. Wetherby rode up with the book, which he found lying on the table of the coffee-room. Mr. Fox gave the man five guineas, and was highly pleased at recovering the book, observing jocosely that it prevented his levanting

(running away), which he must have done, having laid several bets that had proved to be on the wrong side.

On the decease of the Earl of Poulet, Mr. Fox was, in April, 1788, unanimously elected recorder of Bridgewater.

After taking a very active part in promoting the election of Lord John Townshend, as colleague to himself for Westminster, Mr. Fox again went to the Continent in the summer of 1788. This journey, according to report, was partly undertaken for the purpose of seeing a natural son, who was then at Geneva for the benefit of his education. This child, possessing good abilities, had the misfortune to be born dumb, and at the period of which we are speaking, was about eleven years of age.

He accordingly proceeded to Switzerland and visited Lausanne, where the celebrated author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" then resided. "The man of the people," says Gibbon, "escaped from the tumult, — the bloody tumult of the Westminster election, to the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, and I was informed that he was arrived at the Lion d'Or (at Lausanne). I sent a compliment: he answered it in person, and settled at my house for the remainder of the day.

I have eat, drank, and conversed, and sat up all night with Fox in England, but it never has happened, perhaps it can never happen again, that I should enjoy him as I did that day, alone from ten in the morning till ten at night. Our conversation never flagged a moment; and he seemed thoroughly pleased with the place and with his company. We had little politics, though he gave me in a few words such a character of Pitt as one great man should give of another, his rival; much of books, from my own, on which he flattered me very pleasantly, to Homer and the 'Arabian Nights;' much about the country, my garden (which he understands far better than I do), and upon the whole I think he envies me, and would do so were he minister. The next morning I gave him a guide to walk him about the town and country, and invited some company to meet him at dinner. The following day he continued his journey to Bern and Zurich, and I have heard of him by various means. The people gaze on him as on a prodigy, but he shows little inclination to converse with them."

The historian might here be accused of some misrepresentation from partiality to his countryman. The truth is, that in this tour, in which he

was accompanied by Mrs. Armstead, they were totally neglected by the people of any consideration. The opinion that his talents were on the decline had been generally adopted by the English residing in Switzerland, and the native gentry respected, with such invariable propriety, each due decorum of life as to be above all intercourse with persons whose characters were not free from the slightest slur.

In another of his letters, written in September, 1788, Gibbon thus characterises him: "In his tour of Switzerland, Mr. Fox gave me two days of free and private conversation. He seemed to feel, and even to envy the happiness of my situation; while I admired the powers of a superior man, as they are blended in his attractive character with the softness and simplicity of a child. Perhaps no human being was ever more perfectly exempt from the taint of malevolence, vanity, or falsehood."

The opinion which the historian entertained of Mr. Fox's oratory is whimsically demonstrated in the following anecdote: When the debates between Pitt and Fox were first rising into notice, Gibbon, rapping his box with his usual sign of mental penetration, compared Mr. Pitt's eloquence to a pretty painted little pleasure-boat. "But,

woc betide it," continued he, "if he run foul of Charles Fox's great black collier!"

Leaving the majestic mountains of Switzerland, Mr. Fox proceeded to the delicious plains and classic soil of Italy. Having visited Bologna, he was on the way to Rome, when he was overtaken, about the middle of November, by a messenger despatched to acquaint him with the alarming indisposition with which his Majesty was afflicted. He instantly set out on his return, leaving Mrs. Armstead behind him at Bologna. He never quitted his chaise during the whole journey, traveling night and day, and with such expedition that in nine days he performed a journey of 1,020 miles, the distance between Bologna and London, where he arrived on the 24th of November.

It is not improbable that this extraordinary haste might have been partly occasioned by the intelligence of the illness of his nephew, Lord Holland, whose indisposition had reduced him to such extremity, that his death was actually announced in the public prints toward the conclusion of October. Had this event taken place, Mr. Fox would have succeeded to his fortune and honours.

After his arrival in England Mr. Fox was for some time indisposed with dysentery and an ob-

struction of the bladder, which gave his friends very great alarm, though he persisted, at this momentous crisis, in attending his parliamentary duty. Both these complaints originated in his travelling with such expedition; yet such is the force of habit, that the courier who was despatched for him rode the whole journey on horseback, and attended him on his return in the same way as far as Calais. Nor would he have stopped there, so little did he find his health and spirits diminished, had it not been for the humanity of Mr. Fox, who insisted on his remaining two days to take rest and refreshment.

On the 20th of November both Houses of Parliament met, and were officially informed of the king's incapacity to attend to the affairs of government. An adjournment for a fortnight was proposed and agreed to. In this interval Mr. Fox was not inactive. He had several private conferences with the Prince of Wales, and his whole party resolved to exert their utmost influence in favour of the prince's right to be sole regent, with all the powers of the sovereign. Had they been successful in establishing this point, what a vast field would have been opened to the ambition of Mr. Fox! The civil list, patent places, reversions,

peerages, in short, every power of Great Britain would have been at his disposal.

The two Houses of Parliament met, according to adjournment, on the 4th of December; and on the 10th the chancellor of the exchequer proposed the appointment of a committee to search for precedents, in order to learn what had been the principle and practice of the constitution in similar exigencies. Mr. Fox combated the necessity of appointing this committee, which would only be productive of delay, as the house had before them all the information that could be obtained. With respect to precedents, there was not one to the point, not one of a suspension of government when there was an heir apparent of full age and capacity. He was fully convinced himself, from the history of former times, from the principles and practice of the constitution, from the analogy of the common law of the land, that where the sovereign, from sickness or infirmity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, if the heir apparent were of full age and capacity, he had as natural and indisputable a claim to the full exercise of the executive power, in the name, and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of

his natural demise. This incapacity, while it lasted, was a civil death, the Houses of Parliament were not competent to exercise any of their functions, much less to decide on a point which the constitution had already placed beyond the reach of their cognisance, even if they had assembled with the usual and necessary formalities, or their powers were competent in other instances. He conceived all farther delay to be improper, because the heir apparent, although, from his character, he would not be forward to signify his claim without some sort of notice from the House, was yet so well acquainted with that constitution, and with those principles which had seated the house of Brunswick on the throne, as to know that he had such a claim.

Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, maintained that in every interruption of the personal exercise of the royal power it rested with Parliament to determine in whom it should be vested. To assert the contrary — to say that these branches of the constitution were not to be consulted, but that a right of sovereignty instantly devolved to any person, was little less than treason. He therefore contended that, until the sanction of Parliament was obtained, the Prince of Wales had no more right to exercise

the powers of government than any other person in these realms.

On the 12th Mr. Fox denied his having asserted the right of the prince in the terms which had been ascribed to him, affirming the right to be absolute, but admitting it, nevertheless, to be subject to the adjudication of Parliament, — a distinction not in itself very satisfactory, and rendered still more ambiguous by the doubts which were suggested of the legality of the existence of Parliament.

Still Mr. Fox's explanation implied a concession, in whatever degree it might be construed ; but it was the concession of an individual which bound no one else ; and that it might not be taken in too large a sense, either of deduction or of authority, Mr. Sheridan brought back the claim to its original position, by "warning the House of the danger of provoking a claim from the Prince of Wales, which as yet had not been asserted." At the same time the whole party in both Houses violently opposed the examination of the right, not merely as being unnecessary, but tending to produce dangerous consequences.

Among other digressive arguments, Mr. Fox charged Mr. Pitt with not being in the confidence

of the prince, with a foreknowledge that his Royal Highness, when in power, would make a change in the administration, and with a consequent determination to tie up the hands of his successors, and to disable them from conducting the public business. Through the whole tenor of this declaration it was clearly understood that Mr. Fox meant to hold himself out as destined to fill an important place in the impending succession.

Mr. Burke, in plain terms, though thinly veiled in hypothetical language, announced the intended elevation of Earl Fitzwilliam to the dignity of Marquis of Rockingham, and a new peerage destined for the house of Cavendish. He gave very flattering assurances to the country gentlemen of the House of Commons, that they might also come in for their share in the general distribution; and was preparing to exhibit a complete list of projected creations, except perhaps such as might be held up for competition and conversion, when the acclamations of his opponents warned him of his indiscretion, and his own party repressed his impetuosity. His next sally was of a more serious kind, and when considered as the avowal of one of the party, uncontradicted by the rest, most alarming in its tendency, and most wicked in its

intention. The king, he said, might possibly recover; he might relapse, and the disorder might attend him, with lucid intervals, through life: that it was therefore the duty of Parliament to provide against the mischiefs incident to such a condition of the first magistrate, by fixing a firm and durable government; that is (for such a declaration could admit of no other possible construction), by dethroning the king, and placing the crown on the head of his son.

Such were the loose hints by which the advocates for an unlimited regency, either incautiously betrayed, or intentionally proclaimed their own connection with, and interest in its establishment, the principles on which they recommended it, and the measures which were to have resulted from it.

The principal debate on this most important subject took place on the 16th of December, when Mr. Pitt moved three resolutions, which went to this point: that it was necessary that the two Houses of Parliament should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given in Parliament to such bill as might be passed by the two Houses respecting the exercise of the powers and authority of the Crown, in the name and on behalf of the king, during the continuance

of his Majesty's indisposition. A most animated and interesting debate took place on the subject of these resolutions, and it was not concluded till seven in the morning of the 17th, when, on the division, the minister was supported by a majority of sixty-four. The number that voted for him was 268, for his opponents 204.

“As lovers of our country, and lovers of human nature,” says a spirited writer in treating of this subject, “we must rejoice to see that a powerful body who had the common spirit of honour in them, forsook neither their beloved sovereign, nor the interests of the people. Posterity will rejoice to observe that some virtue was left among us, when they contemplate the names of those who dared to defend themselves when attacked in their very vitals; of those who voted in the majority on the morning of the 17th. But had there not been that majority, still would two names, by the superior excellence that attaches to them, rescue us from the disgrace which would otherwise have covered us. Throughout the present contest they have been eminently illustrious for the firmness, the consistency, the honest integrity, the calm wisdom of their possessors. Long after the period when we shall be taken from this scene of

agitation and struggle ; when the factions of Britain shall be no more ; when her obscurity will perhaps equal that of the present Ilium or Athens, will the names of Thurlow and of Pitt be known to future patriots ; the virtuous leaders of party will be emulous to imitate them ; and the generous youth, while grounding themselves in the principles of public honour, will think of them with veneration, and mention them with rapture. In this cruel affliction of the king, cut off from the family whom he loved, and the wife whom he adored, and with whom he had lived a matchless example of conjugal fidelity and happiness ; the virtuous heart dwells with emotion on those generous words that still vibrate in the ear of sensibility : ‘When I forget his favours, may God forget me!’”¹

The same writer has some observations on the character and conduct of Mr. Fox, which appear so just that we cannot refuse them a place here. “The personal influence,” says he, “of the man whose talents might make us bless him, but whose character makes us fear him, is too well known to

¹ Such, it is well known, was the emphatic exclamation of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in one of his speeches on this important business.

mention ; in every province of England he has a supporter ; he revels in all the pride of dominion in Westminster. It was such a combination of great families and talents which, in another kingdom, and under a despotic government, controlled and insulted the last prince of the house of Valois. It was such a combination which, in the anarchies of the Roman republic, overcame the efforts of all good men ; and after tearing the very bowels of the states, ended in tyranny and a perpetual dictatorship. Who that has seen this man, who, like the conspirator Shaftesbury, has ten thousand brisk boys ready to start at a motion of his finger, making a progress through his kingdom of Westminster, and supported by the Pompeii and the Crassi of Britain, will not be able to liken the present times and factions to that period of antiquity, when the Roman liberty and the mild power of the senate perished together? It has been the fashion of late among the admirers of this man — I do not mean his more intimate associates, for they are too like him in all points of his conduct not to suppose him perfection, but those admirers which he has among citizens, who are even honest and well-disposed, but subject to the frailties and mistakes common to human nature —

to admit his profligacy and total disregard of all regularity, but to dwell upon those shining abilities, and that profundity of political knowledge which mark him as the most accomplished minister of the age. It may be so: those who have the fortune to be in the complete possession of his mind may tell them so; but we, who compose the mass and body of the citizens, are so far removed from this intimate acquaintance with his superiority, that we can only judge of his abilities in this point by the proofs he has given of them; and whether well or ill for the country, he has not had much opportunity for displaying these proofs. Where, I would ask, was this astonishing knowledge, which is to penetrate into the views of all the courts of the world, overshadow all other ministers, and tower above the genius of all the enemies of Britain — where was it acquired? In those temples consecrated to the destruction of all that is good and generous, where the dæmon of chance and gaming keeps his ‘pale-eyed vigils,’ — or in that admirable selection of the accomplished youth of this country, who, not dreaming that there are things in the state worthy their attention, waste their spirits and their fortunes at Ascot and Newmarket? Was it acquired in those habitations

of filth and meanness with which the metropolis, splendid as it is, abounds, and with which this companion of the scum of the people, as well as of the proudest of the nobles, in his many canvasses, has been perfectly acquainted? Or was it in the arms of a faded beauty, whom, reeking with public prostitution, this virtuous citizen is not ashamed to take to his bosom, and, to the honour of Britain and the pride of her matrons, to introduce as his companion among the nations of Europe? Human nature must sigh when she contemplates these nauseating parts of his character, and lament that one who was formed to be her ornament and pride can suffer his passions to make him her disgrace."

Such, too, were the sentiments pretty generally entertained at this crisis. Fox found, as on a former occasion, that the want of character in the estimation of the people was highly injurious to his own interest, and those of his political associates. The voice of the country was against them, though they omitted no possible means to change that voice, and with such success, that there was scarcely a country paper in England which was not filled with misrepresentations of the proceedings in Parliament. Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Fox himself, and the other leaders of his party, were looked

upon as needy and desperate political adventurers, who sought office only for the sake of its emoluments; who would shamelessly squander the public money if it were entrusted to their hands, and who would venture upon any measure, however unconstitutional and flagitious, that would but acquire and secure to them the powers of the government.

During the agitation of the regency business, a new arrangement of administration was spoken of with the greatest confidence, and Mr. Fox was mentioned as one of the intended secretaries of state. So secure were some of his friends of succeeding to the appointments destined for them, that Earl Spencer, who, according to the new arrangement, was to have been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, actually ordered liveries with that view, and insured his plate to the amount of one thousand pounds for the voyage. On the same idea a medal was struck, representing the prince on one side, and his crest on the other, with the inscription, "His Royal Highness, George Augustus Frederic, Prince Regent, 1789."

Fortunately for the nation, symptoms of convalescence began to manifest themselves in his Majesty early in the year 1789. He was soon able

to resume all the functions of sovereignty, and thus the cup of hope, which Mr. Fox and his party had just raised to their lips, was suddenly dashed to the ground.

During the whole of the proceedings relative to the regency, the illness with which Mr. Fox was attacked immediately after his arrival from the Continent continued to hang about him in such a manner that, though he seldom stayed away from the House of Commons, his friends were at times alarmed for his safety. His indisposition increased in violence toward the end of January, 1789. His whole system was much relaxed, and his physicians enjoined him a total abstinence from business, as well as the strictest attention to regimen. They likewise prescribed a journey to Bath, and if that failed of producing the desired effect, they recommended a visit to the German Spa.

He accordingly went to Bath, and during his residence there he went to the Pump-room every day precisely at half-past one o'clock. Such was the eagerness of the public to see him, that the room was filled a considerable time before, besides a great concourse of people who followed him to and from the carriage. Mr. Fox derived so much benefit from the waters of Bath, that toward the

end of February he returned to London perfectly recovered.

For several years Mr. Fox had been a considerable gainer on the turf. At the spring meeting at Newmarket, 1789, he is said to have won not less than £50,000, and at the October meeting at the same place, the following year, he sold two of his horses, Seagull and Chanticleer, for 4,400 guineas.

After the hopes excited by the king's illness were frustrated, Fox's parliamentary exertions were vigorously renewed and prosecuted. The measures of the minister were often suggested, always corrected, and sometimes disappointed by him. When a contention arose with Spain respecting Nootka Sound, Mr. Fox's opposition was exercised for the purpose of averting the calamities of war. When Russia was menaced on account of her ambitious designs against the Turkish empire, Mr. Fox not only opposed the intended hostilities in Parliament, but is even said to have sent an agent from himself and his party to the Empress Catherine, to concert with her the best means of frustrating the English minister's design. So much, however, is certain, that the Empress of Russia entertained so high an opinion of Mr. Fox's

exertions to prevent a rupture between the two countries, that she wrote to her ambassador in London to request Mr. Fox to sit to Nollekins for a bust in white marble, which she intended to place between the statues of Demosthenes and Cicero, as a mark of her esteem for a man whose eloquence and wisdom had preserved his own country and the British empire from the calamity of war. It is needless to add that her request was complied with; and the bust was transmitted in the month of August, 1791. When it was shipped at the custom-house, the artist represented to the officers that the bust might be injured by opening the box which contained it, on which, with an honourable liberality, they not only declined the inspection, but refused to accept the usual fees.

On the dissolution of Parliament in 1790, and the general election by which it was succeeded, Mr. Fox and Lord Hood were opposed by John Horne Tooke, who proposed himself as a candidate for the representation of Westminster. At the final close of the poll, on the 2d of July, the numbers were :

For Mr. Fox	3,516
For Lord Hood	3,217
For J. Horne Tooke, Esq.	1,679

A petition against the return was presented by Mr. Horne Tooke to the House of Commons. Mr. Fox's conduct on this business was throughout consistent with his own dignity. When the petition was presented, he insisted on the necessity of trying its merits, and forbore any censure of those parts to which other gentlemen objected. When a committee was appointed for this purpose, Mr. Fox's agent, by his own particular direction, struck off the names of all his particular friends who had been returned by ballot. The investigation proved fatal to the pretensions of Mr. Tooke, whose petition was by the committee deemed frivolous and vexatious.

The first events of the French Revolution now began to attract the attention of mankind. In Britain they were generally hailed as auspicious to the state of social life. Englishmen had pitied and despised the French as slaves, and now rejoiced, with liberal philanthropy, to see them emancipated into a freedom like their own. Among those whose minds were transported by the first wildly beautiful and magnificent, but delusive prospects presented by the French Revolution, we are not surprised to find Charles Fox. The opinion that it was likely to produce more

happiness to the natives of France, and more tranquillity to adjoining states, especially to this country, seems to have been one of the principal causes that rendered him so favourable to the new order of things. The anticipation of this happiness and of this tranquillity appears to have proceeded from the circumstance that his attention was rather directed to the general effects of liberty, than to the contemplation of the particular character of its new votaries, and to the principles and views of its most active supporters. Had his comprehensive mind recurred to the events of history, he would have immediately perceived that free nations have been as propense to hostility as the subjects of an arbitrary prince, and with much more effect, because with much greater energy; but the reasonings of the orator were deduced rather from abstract principles than from experience.

Such were the sentiments expressed by Mr. Fox at the discussion of the army estimates for the year 1790. His friend, Mr. Burke, soon afterward delivered his opinion on the subject. Entertaining the highest respect for the genius and wisdom of Mr. Fox, he expressed his anxiety lest the approbation bestowed on the French by a man

whose authority carried so much weight should be understood to hold up the transactions in that country as a fit object for imitation in our own. He declared his thorough conviction that nothing could be farther from the intentions of such an able and uniformly patriotic champion of the British constitution, and entered on the merits of his arguments and of the question from which they had arisen. Fully coinciding with Fox respecting the evils of the old despotism, he, however, thought very differently of the tranquillity to neighbours and happiness to themselves likely to ensue from the recent proceedings in France. Burke concluded his first public discussion of the French Revolution with a very high eulogium on the genius and disposition of his friend, Mr. Fox. It was in reply to this speech that Fox, after expressing his esteem and veneration for Burke, declared that, "were he to put all the political information that he had gained from books, all that he had learned from science, or that the knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement he had derived from Mr. Burke's conversation and instruction into the other, the latter would preponderate." Still, however, he could not agree with the

opinion of his friend respecting the French Revolution, at which he rejoiced, as an emancipation from despotism. He declared himself as much an enemy to democratical despotism as to that of aristocracy or monarchy, but he entertained no apprehension that the new constitution of France would degenerate into tyranny of any description whatever.

After this discussion between Fox and Burke, in the session of 1790, the latter adhered uniformly to the sentiments he had avowed. He opposed the repeal of the test-act, and a motion for a reform in Parliament. Mr. Fox and he still continued on terms of friendship, though they did not meet so often as before.

In 1791, a bill was proposed for the formation of a constitution in Canada. In the discussion of this subject Burke entered into the general principles of legislation, considered the doctrine of the rights of man, proceeded to its offspring, the constitution of France, and expressed his conviction that in this country a design had been formed against the established government.

Burke had been more than once called to order by the members of the opposition, when Mr. Fox rose. Conceiving that an insinuation of main-

taining the republican principles had been made against him, and that part of Burke's speech tended to strengthen the idea, in order to remove the impression, he declared his conviction that the British constitution, though defective in theory, was, in practice, admirably adapted to this country. He, however, repeated his praises of the French Revolution; he thought it, on the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind, and expressed his dissent from Burke's opinions on the subject, which he said were inconsistent with his former principles. He also contended that the discussion of the French Revolution was irrelative to the Quebec Bill.

Burke in reply said: "Mr. Fox has treated me with harshness and malignity; after harassing with his light troops in the skirmishes of order, he has brought the heavy artillery of his own great abilities to bear on me." Having defended his opinions relative to the French constitution and vindicated himself from the charge of inconsistency, he avowed that Mr. Fox and he had often differed, and that there had been no loss of friendship between them; "but," continued he, "there is something in the cursed French constitution which envenoms everything." Fox whispered:

“There is no loss of friendship between us.” Burke answered: “There is — I know the price of my conduct: our friendship is at an end.” He then concluded with exhorting the two great men at the head of the opposite parties, “whether they should move in the political hemisphere, as two blazing stars in opposite orbits, or walk together as brethren, to preserve the British constitution, and to guard it against innovation.”

On hearing this declaration of his former friend and political instructor, the feelings of Mr. Fox were too powerful to be suppressed. He rose to reply, but they denied him utterance. Relieved by involuntary tears, while the most profound silence pervaded the House, he said, “that however events might have altered the mind of his honourable friend, for such he must still call him, he could not so easily consent to relinquish and dissolve that intimate connection which had for twenty-five years subsisted between them. He hoped that Mr. Burke would think on past times, and whatever conduct of his had caused the offence, that he would at least believe such was not his intention.” In the course of his speech he still maintained that Burke had once held very different principles, and that he himself had

learned from him those very principles which he now reprobated. He endeavoured to support his allegation by references to measures which Burke had either proposed or promoted, and also cited ludicrous expressions and observations of his to the same purpose. Mr. Fox concluded with making a beautiful application of a passage he recollected: "We may bear to be ill-used and abused by those on whom we have conferred favours, and who owe everything to our kindness. It is a calamity which the mind may endure. The injustice and ingratitude of the world are old topics of reflection. But to be ill-used and abused by one who has previously won and engaged the soul by kindness is an affliction for which a grateful heart has no balm."

The repetition of the charge of inconsistency which Mr. Fox made in the middle of this speech, completely effaced in Burke's mind that impression which the tenderness displayed at the beginning and the conclusion were calculated to produce.

This separation Mr. Fox painfully felt to the latest period of his life. Both before and after the public declaration of Mr. Burke's resolution, he spared no efforts to effect a reconciliation, but Mr. Burke's invariable reply was: "Will he pro-

nounce the renunciation?" He alluded to a singular paper drawn up by himself, containing a solemn renunciation of the principles of the French Revolution, and a promise that he would never again propose a reform in Parliament or the abolition of the test. Mr. Burke insisted that Mr. Fox should make the contents of this paper a part of his speech in a full House, a call of which he proposed to procure, that, as he said, nothing might be wanting to the impossibility of future apostasy.

To this humiliation Mr. Fox could not submit; and though their mutual friends exerted their good offices — though the late Duchess of Devonshire — though Mr. Windham,¹ the favourite, and almost the adopted son of Mr. Burke, united all their efforts, the latter still remained inflexible.

¹ The opinion which Mr. Fox entertained of Mr. Windham he once expressed in the following words: "He is indeed a singular character, and almost the only man whom I ever knew, who was a thinking man, without being a grave man; a meditating man, with so much activity; and a reading man, with so much practical knowledge. He is so absent that Sheridan once betted that he would introduce the Duchess of Devonshire to him, and say, 'I met Mrs. Windham by the way, sir, and took a seat in her carriage home,' and Mr. Windham would not know the difference. Sheridan's bet was not taken, or I am persuaded he would have won it. I once saw him stir the fire, and take the poker out of the room, at St. James's."

To one of these applications he replied: "My separation from Mr. Fox is a principle, and not a passion; I hold it as a sacred duty to confirm what I have said and written by this sacrifice; and to what purpose would be the reunion of a moment? I can have no delight with him, nor he with me."

The severe remarks on Mr. Fox's friends, in which Burke frequently indulged, were constantly reported to Fox; but such was the attachment of the latter that nothing could eradicate it. This was so well known to his friends, that at St. Ann's Hill Burke was never mentioned but with respect. A gentleman having once observed that Burke was a sophist, and would be thought nothing of but for his dazzling eloquence, Mr. Fox immediately replied that he entertained a very different opinion of that gentleman. "The eloquence of Mr. Burke," says he, "rather injures his reputation; it is a veil over his wisdom; remove his eloquence, reduce his language, withdraw his images, and you will find that he is more wise than eloquent; you will have your full weight of the metal, though you should melt down the chasing."

Lord Lauderdale once said in the presence of

Mr. Fox, that Burke was a splendid madman. "It is difficult," replied Mr. Fox, "to say whether he is mad or inspired; whether one or the other, every one must agree that he is a prophet."

The first intelligence of the last illness of Burke, conveyed in a letter from Lord Fitzwilliam, deeply affected Mr. Fox. When he was afterward informed that it could not fail to terminate fatally, he was agitated as with the expectation of some great calamity. In this state of mind he wrote to Mrs. Burke, expressing his intention of passing through Beaconsfield; and the following day received by an express this answer:

"Mrs. Burke's compliments to Mr. Fox, and thanks him for his obliging inquiries. Mrs. Burke communicated his letter to Mr. Burke, and, by his desire, has to inform Mr. Fox that it has cost Mr. Burke the most heartfelt pain to obey the stern voice of his duty, in rending asunder a long friendship, but that he had effected this necessary sacrifice; that his principles remained the same; and that, in whatever of life yet remained to him, he conceives that he must continue to live for others, and not for himself. Mr. Burke is convinced that the principles which he has endeavoured to maintain are necessary to the good and dignity of his

country, and that these principles can be enforced only by the general persuasion of his sincerity. For herself, Mrs. Burke has again to express her gratitude to Mr. Fox for his inquiries."

Thus terminated for ever the connection between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, who wept bitterly when he received the intelligence of the death of that venerable man.

To the honour of Mr. Fox, he has been a strenuous advocate for the abolition of the slave trade ever since the first agitation of the question in April, 1791. In the discussion of this subject on the 18th of that month, party considerations gave way to those of justice and humanity, and united in one cause the two great leaders in Parliament, hostile as they were on almost every other occasion. In an animated speech, in which he described the sufferings of the injured Africans, Mr. Fox likewise took occasion to pronounce an elegant eulogium on the Christian religion, which had the greater weight as coming from a man whose conduct had justly led many to doubt the existence of any fixed religious principles in his mind. He called on gentlemen to make the case of the negroes their own. "Let them suppose," said he, "what might happen, that in some im-

probable turn in human affairs England should be overrun with a tribe as savage as Englishmen were on the coast of Africa ; and that they carried into slavery a number of the people of England. From what class of Englishmen, however low and uneducated, could they find men so generally dull and senseless as to have no feeling to the wretchedness of personal slavery ? What arrogance and blasphemy was it then to suppose that Providence had not endowed men with equal feelings in other countries ! Let them look to the words of our Saviour ; let them deeply weigh one of the most splendid doctrines of the Christian dispensation — a doctrine which served, perhaps, more than any other to illustrate the unparalleled beauty and grandeur of that most amiable of all religions — a doctrine before which slavery was forced to fly ; and to which doctrine he attributed the memorable and glorious fact, that soon after the establishment of Christianity in Europe human slavery was abolished. This doctrine was — high and low, rich and poor, are equal in the sight of God ! Here was a doctrine which required only to be duly impressed on the heart of man to extinguish the term of slave ; and, accordingly, what all the ancient systems had failed to do, Christianity

accomplished; and yet in the ancient systems of philosophy, we find a liberality and views of human rights as perfect as in any of the theories of the present day. It would be idle to pay so false a compliment to any of the great names that adorned the present time, as to say that there were men now alive more capable of delivering the truths of an enlightened philosophy and a commanding eloquence than Demosthenes and Cicero—that there were historians and writers more capable of asserting the rights of men than Tacitus or Thucydides; and yet these were contented to live in states where men were slaves. It was in his opinion to the pure light which this great doctrine of our Saviour diffused over the heart of man that the abolition of slavery was to be ascribed.” Mr. Fox concluded his speech with pledging himself to continue in all situations to exert himself for the accomplishment of the object, a promise which, as we shall see hereafter, he did not neglect to fulfil.

Such was the enthusiasm in favour of the French Revolution in its early stages, that an anniversary dinner was given in celebration of it on the 14th of July. To this dinner the members of the Whig Club, to which Mr. Fox had for

many years belonged, were invited in 1791, but many of them, and Mr. Fox among the rest, prudently declined the invitation. The mischiefs resulting from a similar proceeding to Doctor Priestley and his friends at Birmingham on the same day are too well known to be repeated.

On the 2d of May, 1792, Mr. Fox obtained a verdict in the court of King's Bench for £195, the amount of damages sustained by him in defending himself against the petition of John Horne Tooke, complaining of an undue election for Westminster, which a committee of the House of Commons pronounced frivolous and vexatious.

During the year 1792 the operation of French principles in Britain became very extensive and very dangerous. The minds of the people were inflamed by the writings of Paine and other political incendiaries, which were circulated with the utmost industry. About the same time an association was formed by the principal members of opposition, comprising great talents, property, and respectability, under the names of the "Friends of the People," to procure a reform in Parliament. Although the character of the individuals that composed this association, and the stake which many of them had in the country, precluded

every idea that their object was anything more than a moderate reform, yet they afforded a pretext for the formation of societies of a different description in every quarter of the country. From these societies deputations were sent to congratulate the French on the murder of their king, and their victories over the allied armies; and they in return published their offers of support to all people desirous of vindicating their liberty, or, in other words, inclined to overthrow the legitimate government of their country.

The British constitution was openly threatened with destruction; and, had it not been for the uncommon activity, vigilance, and promptitude of the administration and their friends, the consequences might, perhaps, have proved highly calamitous. Alarmed at the dangers which seemed to threaten the country both from within and without, and roused by the eloquence of Edmund Burke, the leaders of the Whig aristocracy began to think it high time to unite cordially with the ministerial and parliamentary supporters of the Crown in order to avert the impending ruin.

Mr. Fox and his party ridiculed the idea of internal danger, and, considering the invasion of France as a combination of despots against free-

dom, expressed their joy at the compulsory retreat of the Prussian and Austrian armies. Fox censured ministry for removing from their commands military officers who had sought and received fraternity from the enemies of regal government abroad, and were connected with societies inimical to the British constitution at home. He seemed indeed to have retained his admiration of the French spirit, even when it was producing effects the very reverse of those which, had he paid sufficient attention to them, his patriotism, benevolence, and wisdom would have approved. With a mind possessing an energy and comprehension which few have equalled, he did not always direct his observation to the whole circuit of affairs. The love of liberty, a sentiment so congenial to the feelings of a noble and generous mind, so entirely occupied Mr. Fox, that he cherished its excesses, and even its counterfeit, while his ardour rendered him blind to the mischiefs that were likely to result both to its votaries and the rest of mankind.

On this principle Mr. Fox made every possible effort to prevent Britain from being involved in a war with republican France. His motives for such conduct, as may naturally be supposed, were

traduced by the opposite party. Among the base insinuations thrown out, about the conclusion of 1792, by the ministerial prints against him, one of those papers positively asserted that Brissot's journal of a certain date, published at Paris, stated that Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey were, on such and such particular days, immediately after the opening of Parliament, to make such and such specific motions, which were accordingly made. A wilful and malicious falsehood, which was soon exposed to the detestation it so justly deserved.

At this juncture occurred an event which tended greatly to diminish the strength of Mr. Fox's party. At a meeting of the Whig Club on the 20th of February, 1793, the members agreed to the following resolution: "That this club think it their duty at this extraordinary juncture to assure the Right Hon. Charles James Fox that all the arts of misrepresentation which have been so industriously circulated of late for the purpose of calumniating him, have had no other effect upon them than that of confirming, strengthening, and increasing their attachment to him." This resolution was productive of a schism in the club. Forty-five noblemen and gentlemen, among whom were Edmund Burke and his son, conceiving that

something more than a personal mark of respect was implied, and that it conveyed an approbation of the principles supported by Mr. Fox, which they conceived detrimental to the interest of their country, withdrew their names from the list of its members. In consequence of their secession and of that of the Duke of Portland, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Spencer, and other leading men of the old Whig interest, the party of Mr. Fox received a blow from which it was never afterward able to recover.

Before they decidedly separated from Mr. Fox, his old associates, in conjunction with those who still firmly adhered to his principles, performed for him an act of noble generosity and substantial justice. After recovering a fortune at the gaming-table and on the turf, he was once more stripped of all his winnings, and left without a shilling. His political friends saw his distress, and resolved effectually to relieve him. Accordingly, on the 5th of June, 1790, a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen took place at the Crown and Anchor, for the purpose of giving Mr. Fox some effective testimony of gratitude for his long and unweary political exertions. The object of the meeting was explained by Mr. Francis, who observed, at

the conclusion of his speech, that every possible precaution had been taken to keep the steps hitherto pursued with regard to the business from the knowledge of Mr. Fox. The chairman, Mr. Serjeant Adair, then addressed the assembly, and said, "Whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to the particular measures which Mr. Fox may have supported or opposed, in the long course of his parliamentary exertions, there is one point to which all mankind must agree, and which even his most inveterate enemies will not dare to call in question, — that if the wonderful talents of his mind, instead of being exerted in the service of his country, had been directed to objects of private interest and personal ambition, they would long ere this have placed their possessor in a situation of opulence and power equal to his fame and celebrity. That this has not been the fact is equally notorious, and it must therefore be the natural wish of every man of liberal feelings, that he who has conducted himself in so distinguished a manner should be placed in a situation as independent as his mind."

Several resolutions founded on the above statements were put and unanimously agreed to. They tended to this point: that an effective demon-

stration and honourable proof of the affection, esteem, and gratitude of his constituents, and of the public, ought to be offered to Mr. Fox, as an acknowledgment and retribution due to his services and merits. A committee was appointed to forward the execution of the plan, consisting of the following noblemen and gentlemen: Lord John Russell, Lord G. H. Cavendish, Messrs. Francis, Crewe, Vyner, Wrightson, Skinner, Coombe, and Adair. Mr. Coke, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Byng were requested to act as trustees, in the discharge of any personal trust which might be found necessary for carrying the resolutions into complete execution. The meeting then adjourned till the 11th.

On that day Mr. Serjeant Adair reported from the committee that he had communicated their resolutions to Mr. Fox, and that Mr. Fox had returned the following answer:

“ST. ANN’S HILL, June 6, 1793.

“DEAR SIR:— You will easily believe that it is not a mere form of words, when I say that I am wholly at a loss how to express my feelings upon the event which you have in so kind a manner communicated to me.

“In difficult cases it is not unusual to inquire what others have done or said in like circumstances, but in my situation, this resource is denied me; for where am I to look for an instance of such a proof of public esteem as that which is offered to me? To receive at once from the public such a testimony to the disinterestedness of my conduct, and such a reward as the most interested would think their lives well spent in obtaining, is a rare instance of felicity which seems to have been reserved for me.

“It would be gross affectation, if, in my circumstances, I were to pretend that what is intended me is not in itself of the highest value. But it is with perfect sincerity that I declare, that no other manner in which a fortune could have come to me would have been so highly gratifying to the feelings of my heart. I accept, therefore, with the most sincere gratitude, the kindness of the public, and consider it as an additional obligation upon me, if any were wanting, to continue steady to the principles which I have uniformly professed, and to persevere in the honest and independent line of conduct, to which alone I am conscious that I am indebted for this, as well as for every other mark of public approbation.

“I hope I need not add, my dear sir, that I could not have received this honourable message through a more acceptable channel.

“I am with great truth, my dear sir,

“Your most obliged humble servant,

“C. J. Fox.

“*Mr. Serj. Adair.*”

The committee assured the meeting that the zeal and spirit with which their plan had been adopted in the capital gave them the greatest reason to hope that they should not only be able to secure a permanent income to Mr. Fox, but shortly to present him an honourable testimony of the public esteem. Nor were these hopes disappointed; by means of a general subscription, they raised a sum sufficient to purchase for him an annuity for life, of not less than £3,000; and this annuity was settled in such a manner as to render it impossible for him to squander it in those amusements to which he was known to be so strongly addicted.

War with France was at length resolved upon by a great majority of the British Parliament. Fox, still true to his former principles, proposed that, instead of declaring war, an ambassador

should be sent to treat with the French. It was argued that if Fox could propose a negotiation with men polluted by every crime that can disgrace human nature, he must likewise be willing to share their guilt. A general outcry was excited against him by the enemies of revolution, and he himself began to fear that he might have lost the favour of the people, which he had preferred to every other possession. To repel the accusation with which he was assailed, he thought it necessary to exhibit himself in the character of an author. In a letter addressed, in 1793, to the electors of Westminster, he endeavoured to vindicate the wisdom, the integrity, and the constitutional propriety of those proposals for negotiation, on account of which he was most abusively calumniated.

This composition is not more remarkable for being the only production of Mr. Fox's pen that he gave to the world, than for the penetration into the future which it bespeaks. In one place he says: "Let us not attempt to deceive ourselves: whatever possibility, or even probability, there may be of a counter-revolution from internal agitation and discord, the means of producing such an event by external force can be no other than the

conquest of France. The conquest of France! — O calumniated crusaders, how rational and moderate were your objects! — O much injured Louis XIV., upon what slight grounds have you been accused of restless and immoderate ambition! — O tame and feeble Cervantes, with what a timid pencil and faint colours have you painted the portrait of a disordered imagination!”

With the same prophetic spirit he, early in 1794, deprecated the idea that, while the Jacobin system existed, no peace could take place with France. He asked, “whether it was not more advisable, provided honourable terms could be obtained with the present government of France, to trust to our caution and vigilance for the preservation of the country, than to continue hostilities, attended with an enormous waste of blood and treasure, but not more productive of security than a pacification? Allowing the danger to be equal in either case, that which freed us from an immense charge was unquestionably preferable to the other. It was vain to calculate the resources of the French at the rate of a commercial proportion. They had no commerce — they derived no expectations from any other funds than the productions of their soil — the depreciation of their paper money had not

depressed their affairs ; and wherever men were willing and resolved to bear hardships, historical experience had proved that their resources were inexhaustible. In war it sometimes happens that rage and courage supply the want of ordinary arms. Xenophon, in his 'Cyropædia,' has observed that iron commands gold. The French," continued Mr. Fox, "when their assignats fail, as it is predicted they will do, may plunder their neighbours. It must be allowed, indeed, that plunder is but a fleeting resource ; yet when a nation has abandoned habits of peace and industry, and acquired the views and manners of predatory warriors, it is a resource that enables it to spread desolation far and near."

It has been lamented by many sincere friends to the country, that Mr. Fox did not enter into administration with Earl Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Portland, toward the close of 1794. The error of ministers was, not that they entered into the war, but that they knew not the most favourable moments for concluding an advantageous peace. Had Fox been placed in a suitable situation, it is not improbable that he would have procured peace on various occasions which were unfortunately lost. In that case, France might not perhaps have at-

tained that gigantic power she at present possesses, and much bloodshed and misery might have been spared to all Europe.

Before the meeting of Parliament, in November, 1795, frequent meetings of disaffected persons, calling themselves the London Corresponding Society, took place in the fields in the vicinity of the metropolis, and inflammatory discourses were delivered by factious demagogues, tending to excite a spirit of resistance to the measures of government. Nor was this all. On the 29th of October, when his Majesty was proceeding in the usual state to the house of peers, he was not only insulted, and assaulted with stones, but on his return his state coach was demolished by the infuriated mob. These outrages called for strong measures on the part of the government, and bills were brought into the House of Commons, for the more effectually preventing of seditious meetings and assemblies. In the different debates on these bills, very energetic expressions were used, which themselves became the occasion of very animated discussion. Among their most strenuous opposers was Mr. Fox. "Should these bills pass," said he, "by the mere influence of the minister, contrary to the sentiments of the great majority of the

nation, and he was asked without doors what was to be done, he would say: 'This was not now a question of morality or of duty, but of prudence. Acquiesce in the bills only as long as you are compelled to do so. They are bills to destroy the constitution, and parts of the system of an administration aiming at that end.' " Being interrupted by loud cries of "Hear! hear!" Mr. Fox said, "he knew the misconstruction to which such sentiments were liable, and he braved it. No attempt of the Stuarts called for more opposition than the present bills, and extraordinary times demanded extraordinary declarations."

On this Mr. Pitt, with great warmth, observed "that the right honourable gentleman's declaration could not be misunderstood. He thanked him for making it, that the public might see him setting up his own judgment against a majority of the House, attempting the dissolution of society, and persuading the people of England to have recourse to the sword if they thought they could succeed by it. Let him not imagine, however," continued Mr. Pitt, "that Englishmen will want spirit to support the laws. The right honourable gentleman will probably find the law too strong for him; but if that should not be so, I hope he will find the

valour that should aid the law." Mr. Fox replied that he would not retract a syllable of his assertions, which, he said, the right honourable gentleman had much misrepresented. He had stated that, if bills tending to destroy the constitution were passed against the sense of the majority of the nation, he would give the advice which he had mentioned. He would stand and abide by his words, which he was willing to have taken down, if required. The words might be strong, but strong measures called for strong words. Mr. Windham observed, that from the declaration of Mr. Fox, people would now see the necessity for a vigour stronger than the laws. Mr. Sheridan made an able reply to Mr. Windham, and said "that when plot-forging ministers meditated attacks upon the constitution ; when the secretary of war had made London, the seat of Parliament, a garrison, and talked of a vigour stronger than the law, he would advise every man to resist the establishment of the system of terror in this country."

During the discussion of these bills, the attention of the House of Commons was called to a work published by Mr. John Reeves, entitled "Thoughts on the English Government," which

was pronounced a daring libel on the constitution. It must be observed that, at the time when this subject was brought before Parliament, Mr. Reeves had promoted in the city of Westminster and various parts of the county of Middlesex a very strong petition in opposition to one procured by Mr. Fox against the treason and sedition bills, and nothing could prevent, in a greater extent, the effect of the measure, than to bring the promoter of it into disrepute. This explains the motives of the chiefs of opposition, and their success demonstrates the skilfulness of the manœuvre.

On the passing of those bills a committee of the Whig Club was formed for the purpose of obtaining their repeal; and of this committee Mr. Fox was an active member.

At the dissolution of Parliament, in 1796, Mr. Fox again offered himself as a representative for Westminster. The other candidates were Admiral Sir Alan (now Lord) Gardner and Mr. Horne Tooke. On the second day of the poll, the latter seemed greatly out of humour at his being the lowest, and observed "that if Mr. Fox and Sir Alan were returned by the electors of Westminster, they would be literally not represented at all; they would be like a man setting out in a

carriage with one horse harnessed before and the other behind, both pulling different ways, which was a pretty method of arriving at the journey's end."

It was understood that while Mr. Fox and Mr. Tooke secretly threw in their second voices to each other they studiously avoided all appearance of coalition. The latter was assisted in the poll by Mr. Thelwall, and it was observed with pleasure that Mr. Fox, though cautious of offending, carefully avoided all the impertinent intrusions by which he endeavoured to draw him into conversation. All idea of a coalition was, however, repeatedly disclaimed by Mr. Fox, which greatly irritated Mr. Tooke, who declared "that the only distinction between them was, that Mr. Fox was Right Honourable ; but as he himself was neither Right Honourable nor Honourable, he must consider himself as a private in the ranks ; and though he was afraid he could never command, yet he could fight as bitterly and as effectually as any of them."

The indecency of the election exceeded all that had been formerly practised at Westminster. Admiral Gardner was one day even pulled from his carriage by the mob in the interest of Mr. Tooke.

The gallant admiral behaved with the greatest coolness, and expostulated with his furious antagonists, who commenced a general assault with stones, that obliged him to take refuge in a shop, on which the populace proceeded to destroy his carriage.

At the final close of the poll the numbers were :

For Mr. Fox	5,160
For Sir A. Gardner	4,814
For Mr. Horne Tooke	2,810

The new Parliament commenced its operations in October, when Mr. Fox expressed his hearty concurrence in the endeavours of the minister to restore peace, by opening a negotiation with France, and sending an ambassador to Paris. In December he moved for a vote of censure against Mr. Pitt for having advanced money to the Emperor of Germany and the French emigrant princes, without even the previous consent or knowledge of Parliament. The debate on this occasion was long and animated, and even some of the minister's friends concurred in the sentiments of Mr. Fox on this transaction. An amendment was proposed, by Mr. Bragge, by which the motion was finally lost by a majority of 285

against 81. So large a minority was considered as unprecedented since the commencement of the war.

In the early part of 1797, a number of gentlemen who had before given their support to Mr. Pitt, alarmed at the strong measures adopted by government, formed themselves into a sort of confederacy, by the appellation of the Neutral Squad. They were desirous of seeing an administration formed on the principles of Mr. Fox, and in which his friends should have a decided majority, but from which, in tenderness to the prejudices of the Tory party, that gentleman himself was to be excluded. Private applications were made to the friends of Mr. Fox, but with a consistency which did them honour, they refused any participation in such a measure, unless under the immediate auspices of their distinguished leader.

Mr. Fox was one of three gentlemen, who, on the 10th of May, 1797, presented to his Majesty a petition from Bristol for the dismissal of ministers, signed by between three and four thousand persons. A similar petition was a few days afterward presented by him from Antrim; and as a privy counsellor of the king, he desired an audience in the closet, in which he represented

to his Majesty the alarming situation of the two kingdoms. The king was, however, too well convinced of the ability and integrity of those to whom he had committed the management of affairs, to suffer the insinuations of the opposite party to make any impression on his mind.

On the 23d of May, 1797, Mr. Fox moved for the repeal of the treason and sedition bills, but on a division, found himself in a minority of 52 against 260. A few days afterward, on the 26th, his friend, Mr. Grey, submitted to the House a motion for a reform in the representation of the people in Parliament, in which he was seconded by Mr. Erskine. On this occasion Mr. Fox expatiated at great length on the urgent necessity of a reform, and concluded one of the most brilliant and argumentative speeches ever delivered in Parliament, in the following words :

“I now return my most hearty thanks to those who brought forward this motion, in the hope that it will save the country. We are now at our last stake, and if public affairs are continued to be managed by the present men, the nation must go to ruin. If it be thought that I have any personal wish to be one of their successors, it is a mistaken idea ; it is true that I should be glad to see other

men fill their situations, but I solemnly declare that I have no wish to be one of them. I heard it said: 'You do nothing but mischief when you are here, and yet we should be sorry to see you away.' I do not know how we shall be able to satisfy the gentlemen who feel toward us in this way; if we can neither do our duty without mischief, nor please them by doing nothing, I know but one way by which we can give them content, and that is by putting an end to our existence. With respect to myself, and I believe I can also speak for others, I do not feel it to be consistent with my duty totally to secede from this House. I have no such intention; but I have no hesitation in saying that, after seeing the conduct of this House; after seeing them give to ministers their confidence and support, after convicted failure, imposition, and incapacity; after seeing them deaf and blind to the consequences of a career that penetrates the hearts of all other men with alarm; and that neither reason, experience, nor duty are sufficiently powerful to influence them to oppose the career of government, I certainly do think that I may devote more of my time to my private pursuits, and to the retirement which I love, than I have hitherto done: I certainly think

that I need not devote so much of it to fruitless exertions and to idle talk in this House. Whenever it shall appear that my efforts may contribute, in any degree, to restore us to the situation from which the confidence of the House, and an incapable administration, has so suddenly reduced us, I shall be found ready to discharge my duty. Sir, I have done; I have given my advice. I propose the remedy; and fatal will it be for England, if pride and prejudice shall much longer continue to oppose it."

Conformably to this declaration, Mr. Fox retired from his ordinary service in Parliament, and even signified his readiness to resign his seat, if he should be called upon to do so by his constituents. About this period he was daily pestered with abusive letters, under the signature of "An Elector of Westminster." For this vexation there was no remedy. On receiving the letters he used to throw them on the table, and say, "There are another score of electors." On opening them and looking at the subscription, if he found the word Elector, "Here's more paper for the cook," he would exclaim, and throw one after the other upon the floor. "Lord North," he observed on one of these occasions, "read everything that was written

against him, and rewarded those who wrote wittily, but I cannot imitate him, for I could wish to believe that I have no enemies.”

Mr. Fox now steadily adhered to his resolution of coming forward in Parliament only on important occasions. One of these presented itself on the discussion of the assessed tax bill, when he resumed his seat, and appeared in strenuous opposition to that measure.

If Mr. Fox discontinued his attendance in the House of Commons, still his exertions were not wanting to cheer and animate his party. At the numerous meetings of the Whig Club, by which the anniversary of his birthday, and of the first election for Westminster, had been for many years celebrated, he never failed to be present. At these convivial assemblies, it is not improbable that their libations to Bacchus heated their imaginations to such a degree as to cause Mr. Fox and his friends to transgress those limits which prudence in their cooler moments would have prescribed.

The anniversary of his birthday was held on the 24th of January, 1798, at the Crown and Anchor. Tickets, to the number of eighteen hundred, were issued; and several who had paid for admission

were obliged to seek entertainment elsewhere. So great was the crowd, that many were hurt in attempting to gain admission. The principal leaders of the Corresponding Societies attended.

The Duke of Norfolk presided as chairman. After dinner his Grace addressed the meeting. "We are met," said he, "in a moment of difficulty, to celebrate the birth of a man dear to the friends of freedom. I shall only recall to your memory that, not twenty years ago, the illustrious George Washington had not more than two thousand men to rally round him when his country was attacked. America is now free. This day full two thousand men are assembled in this place. I leave you to make the application." The duke then gave this toast: "Our sovereign's health, the majesty of the people." The consequence of this intemperate and indecent conduct (to say no more of it) in the first peer of the realm, was that in a few days his Majesty signified his pleasure, that the duke should be displaced from his appointment of lord lieutenant of the West Riding of the county of York, and also from the command of the militia of that Riding.

So far from being daunted by this mark of royal displeasure, Mr. Fox not long afterward, by

a similar conduct, incurred a like disgrace. On the 3d of May a great number of the members of the Whig Club dined together at Freemason's Tavern. Mr. Fox was in the chair; and after the ordinary toasts, he said: "I will give you a toast, than which I think there cannot be a better, according to the principles of this club — I mean the Sovereignty of the People of Great Britain." He then, in a speech fully declaratory of his sentiments, condemned ministers in the most pointed manner for the strong measures at that time adopted in Ireland, and which measures, he said, they certainly intended should soon be enforced in England. He however declared that he would be one of the first in repelling any foreign enemy, under what government England might be. He compared the ministry to the Directory of France; affirmed that he was resolved upon retirement, but that he would be happy to come forward whenever the country demanded his services. He entertained no apprehensions of an invasion (the country being then menaced by the French), and was fully persuaded that, should the enemy be rash enough to land even with a formidable force, the people would soon rout them and destroy the invaders. The opinion entertained by his Majesty

of the sentiments avowed by Mr. Fox on this occasion, was immediately manifested in the erasure of his name from the list of privy counsellors.

At the trials for high treason which took place in the same month at Maidstone, Mr. Fox was one of the many distinguished characters whose testimony was given in favour of Arthur O'Connor. Though he undoubtedly gratified the feelings of private friendship by the part he acted on this occasion, yet it was not calculated to add to his reputation with the public, many of whom did not hesitate to stigmatise him as a secret accomplice of the prisoners, one of whom paid the forfeit of his life to the violated laws of his country.

Turning now from scenes of clamorous opposition, we shall follow the statesman into the privacy of domestic life, at St. Ann's Hill, where he spent the principal part of his time in profound retirement during his secession from Parliament. Here he was able to resume those literary pursuits which pleasure and dissipation, or the performance of his senatorial duties, had so long interrupted.

His mode of life was regulated with great uniformity. Contrary to the practice of former times, he rose very early. Habits of regularity, more suited to his advancing years, were now substi-

tuted for the watching of the tavern and the ferment of the gaming-houses. Burke, before his rupture with Mr. Fox, used frequently to call on his friend on his way to the House, and found him at three o'clock beginning his breakfast. "There's Charles," he would say, "while I am exhausted by reading and business, he is quite fresh; it is no wonder that he is so much more vigorous in the House."

In his retirement Mr. Fox became acquainted with the pleasures and advantages of early rising. On the western extremity of St. Ann's Hill stands a solitary beech-tree, which grows upon a narrow platform elevated above the general surface of the hill. This point commands an extensive view of the vale through which Father Thames winds his majestic course from Chertsey to Windsor. This was a favourite spot with Mr. Fox, who caused a seat to be made around the tree, and this was his usual walk before breakfast.

Such was his attachment to study, that he had formed a certain daily plan, to which he adhered so inflexibly that he was sometimes impatient when interrupted. He dedicated an hour before breakfast either to the acquisition of a new language, or the recollection of one in some degree

obliterated. His method of learning a language was singular. After labouring a week at his grammar, in getting by heart the declinable parts, the substantives, adjectives, and verbs, he immediately began, with the assistance of his dictionary, to read some classic author, learning the syntax by reference as the examples occurred.

After breakfast Mr. Fox usually employed himself in reading till two o'clock, and in this he also followed a certain method. In reading Gibbon's history, for example, he compared that author with the writers whose authority he has quoted. Of Gibbon and Hume he observed, that the one so loved a king, and the other so hated a priest, that neither of them could be depended upon where either a priest or a king was concerned. He discovered that the former had quoted many books as authority of which he had only read the preface. Of this he produced a singular instance, where the historian has quoted a passage of a writer as being in the third book, though the whole work consists only of two. Into this error Gibbon was led by a mistake in the preface of the book quoted. Mr. Fox disliked the florid style and verbosity of Gibbon as much as he approved his historic concentration. "He thinks," said he, "like Tacitus,

and writes like Curtius." It was a very frequent practice with him in his reading to erase unnecessary words with a pen; this method he likewise followed with his copy of Gibbon's work, which could not fail to be interesting to the public.¹

Smith's "Wealth of Nations" was a favourite elementary book with Mr. Fox, who, however, used to observe that he was tedious, formal beyond the necessity of his work, and too fond of deduction where there is nothing to deduce. "He proves," said Mr. Fox, "where no one can doubt, and enters upon a chain of reasoning to produce a most unmeaning result. However closely and dryly he has written, one half of his book may be omitted with great benefit to the subject." Of the works of Turgot he spoke with contempt, and said, "that the French had not liberty enough to understand finance and political economy." Henry's History of England he treated with respect, but often expressed his surprise at Belsham's George III., and would exclaim, "How can a man with his eyes open write in this manner!"

Mr. Fox regularly took every paper morning and evening. The *Morning Chronicle*, which

¹ It is said to be at present in the possession of Lord Lauderdale.

might justly be denominated the mouthpiece of his party, was of course his favourite. Though we cannot affirm that he ever wrote for that paper, yet his friends have, on various occasions, imagined that they recognised not only the style, but the very ideas and words which he expressed in conversation.

Having passed the morning in this manner, Mr. Fox, when the weather permitted, would walk to Chertsey, and thence to Laleham, and return to dinner. He seldom had any company; the Duke of Bedford was occasionally his guest, but most frequently he was alone with Mrs. Armstead. His mode of living was simple and unexpensive; his wine indeed cost him nothing, for at the earnest request of one of his ardent admirers, who was a wine-merchant, he permitted him to supply his table, and could never prevail upon him to produce his bill.

According to his own confession, Mr. Fox enjoyed his tea more than either breakfast or dinner. A novel was an invariable appendage of his tea-table; and he would read alternately with Mrs. Armstead and the Duke of Bedford, when that nobleman was present. On the arrival of Miss Burney's "Camilla," Mr. Fox was at dinner, and

was eager to begin reading the book immediately ; but Mrs. Armstead took it from him, laughing, telling him at the same time that he must be regular and wait till tea. The books were accordingly conveyed to the tea-room ; the wished-for moment came ; Mrs. Armstead commenced, and it was truly pleasing to see the interest with which Mr. Fox listened to the work.

It is pretty certain that Mr. Fox wrote very little, and persons intimately acquainted with him have no hesitation to declare that his History of the Revolution, of which so many silly reports have been propagated, existed only in idea. He has been heard, indeed, to say, that no reign is so unsatisfactorily written as that of William the Third, but he never intimated any serious intention of supplying the deficiency himself.

Mr. Fox was an excellent swimmer, and from his boyish years bathing was his delight. He used daily to plunge into the river, but remained in the water a very short time. In summer he walked much in the evening, and never retired to bed till a very late hour.

In this manner day after day passed away in tranquil retirement. His felicity was not a little heightened by the society of the female whom he

had chosen for his companion, and whose conduct during her whole connection with Mr. Fox appears to have been truly exemplary. So sensible was he to the share which Mrs. Armstead contributed to his felicity, that he presented her, while at the breakfast table on the morning of the 24th of January, 1799, the following elegantly complimentary lines :

“ Of years I have now half a century past,
And none of the fifty so blest as the last.
How it happens my troubles thus daily should cease,
And my happiness still with my years should increase,
This defiance of nature's more general laws
You alone can explain, who alone are the cause.”

From this enviable solitude the statesman was occasionally called forth by the discussion of important questions in the House of Commons. On the 3d of February, 1800, he delivered a long and animated speech on the subject of the overtures of peace made by Buonaparte, on his elevation to the consulship. He likewise took an active part in the debate on the 25th of March, 1801, when Mr. Grey moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation.

The union with Ireland was productive of circumstances which rendered it necessary for Mr.

Pitt to retire from office. Mr. Fox and his associates were held forth by the opposition as the only public men fit to succeed the ministers who had resigned. The king, however, could not reconcile such an appointment with his feelings, and the arrangement of a new administration was confided to Mr. Addington. Under his auspices the peace of Amiens was negotiated. Mr. Fox, who had always been inimical to war, assented to the measure, not, perhaps, on the ground of its being the best possible peace, but merely because it was in every point of view preferable to the state of warfare in which the country had been for so many years involved.

For the abilities of Mr. Addington, Mr. Fox entertained the most sovereign contempt. He once observed in a large party: "My Lord Salisbury would make a better minister, only he is wanted for court dancing-master." Being asked what Mr. Addington would do after he had made peace, he replied: "I cannot say; but it will be something which will render him ridiculous to the end of time. If Mr. Addington wishes for supreme authority, let him be King of Bath, if he has interest enough at the rooms; he will find it more pleasant, and more to his reputation."

In March, 1802, Mr. Fox lost one of his firmest friends and supporters in the Duke of Bedford. In moving for a new writ for Tavistock, for the election of a member for that borough in the place of the present duke, Mr. Fox took occasion to pronounce the following eloquent eulogium on his deceased friend :

“ If the sad event which has recently occurred were only a private misfortune, however heavy, I should feel the impropriety of obtruding upon the House the feelings of private friendship, and would have sought some other opportunity of expressing those sentiments of gratitude and affection, which must be ever due from me to the memory of the excellent person whose loss gives occasion to the sort of motion of course, which I am about to make to the House. It is because I consider the death of the Duke of Bedford as a great public calamity, because the public itself seems so to consider it ; because, not in this town only, but in every part of the kingdom, the impression made by it seems to be the strongest and most universal that ever appeared upon the loss of a subject ; it is for these reasons that I presume to hope for the indulgence of the House, if I deviate, in some degree, from the common course, and introduce my motion

in a manner which I must confess to be unusual on similar occasions. At the same time, I trust, sir, that I shall not be suspected of any intention to abuse the indulgence which I ask, by dwelling, with the fondness of friendship, upon the various excellencies of the character to which I have alluded, much less by entering into a history of the several events of his life, which might serve to illustrate it. There was something in that character so peculiar and striking, and the just admiration which his virtues commanded was such, that to expatiate upon them in any detail is unnecessary, as upon this occasion it would be improper. That he has been much lamented, and generally, cannot be wondered at, for surely there never was a more just occasion of public sorrow. To lose such a man! — at such a time! — so unexpectedly! The particular stage of his life, too, in which we lost him, must add to every feeling of regret, and make the disappointment more severe and poignant to all thinking minds. Had he fallen at an earlier period, the public, to whom he could then (comparatively speaking at least) be but little known, would rather have compassionated and condoled with the feelings of his friends and relations, than have been themselves very severely afflicted by the loss.

It would have been suggested, and even we who were the most partial must have admitted, that the expectations raised by the dawn are not always realised in the meridian of life. If the fatal event had been postponed, the calamity might have been alleviated by the consideration that mankind could not have looked forward for any length of time to the exercise of his virtues and talents. But he was snatched away at a moment when society might have been expected to be long benefited by his benevolence, his energy, and his wisdom ; when we had obtained a full certainty that the progress of his life would be more than answerable to the brightest hopes conceived from its outset, and when it might have been reasonably hoped that, after having accomplished all the good of which it was capable, he would have descended not immaturely into the tomb. He had, on the one hand, lived long enough to have his character fully confirmed and established, while, on the other, what remained of life seemed, according to all human expectations, to afford ample space and scope for the exercise of the virtues of which that character was composed. The tree was old enough to enable us to ascertain the quality of the fruit which it would bear, and, at the same time, young enough

to promise many years of produce. The high rank and splendid fortune of the great man of whom I am speaking, though not circumstances which in themselves either can or ought to conciliate the regard and esteem of rational minds, are yet so far considerable, as an elevated situation, by making him who is placed in it more powerful and conspicuous, causes his virtues or vices to be more useful or injurious to society. In this case, the rank and wealth of the person are to be attended to in another and a very different point of view. To appreciate his merits justly, we must consider, not only the advantages, but the disadvantages, connected with such circumstances. The dangers attending prosperity in general, and high situation in particular, the corrupt influence of flattery, to which men in such situations are more peculiarly exposed, have been the theme of moralists in all ages and in all nations ; but how are these dangers increased with respect to him who succeeds in his childhood to the first rank and fortune in a kingdom such as this, and who, having lost his parents, is never approached by any being who is not represented to him as in some degree his inferior ! Unless blessed with a heart uncommonly susceptible and disposed to virtue, how should he who

has scarcely ever seen an equal, have a common feeling, and a just sympathy, for the rest of mankind, who seemed to have been formed rather for him, and as instruments of his gratification, than together with him for the general purposes of nature? Justly has the Roman satirist remarked :

“ ‘ Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illa
Fortuna.’

“ This was precisely the case of the Duke of Bedford, nor do I know that his education was perfectly exempt from defects usually belonging to such situations ; but virtue found her own way, and on the very side where the danger was the greatest was her triumph most complete. From the blame of selfishness no man was ever so eminently free. No man put his own gratification so low, that of others so high in his estimation. To contribute to the welfare of his fellow citizens was the constant, unremitted pursuit of his life, by his example and his beneficence to render them better, wiser, and happier. He truly loved the public ; but not only the public, according to the usual acceptance of the word, not merely the body corporate (if I may so express myself) which bears that name, but man in his individual capacity, all

who came within his notice and deserved his protection were objects of his generous concern. From his station the sphere of his acquaintance was larger than that of most other men ; yet in his extended circle, few, very few, could be counted to whom he had not found some occasion to be serviceable. To be useful, whether to the public at large, whether to his relations and nearer friends, or even to an individual of his species, was the ruling passion of his life.

“ He died, it is true, in a state of celibacy, but if they may be called a man’s children whose concerns are as dear to him as his own — to protect whom from evil is the daily object of his care — to promote whose welfare he exerts every faculty of which he is possessed ; if such, I say, are to be esteemed our children, no man had ever a more numerous family than the Duke of Bedford.

“ Private friendships are not, I own, a fit topic for this House, or any public assembly ; but it is difficult for any one who had the honour and happiness to be his friend not to advert (when speaking of such a man) to his conduct and behaviour in that interesting character. In his friendship not only he was disinterested and sincere, but in him were to be found united all the characteristic

excellencies which have ever distinguished the men most renowned for that most amiable of all virtues. Some are warm, but volatile and inconstant; he was warm, too, but steady and unchangeable. Never once was he known to violate any of the duties of that sacred relation. Where his attachment was placed, there it remained, or rather there it grew; for it may be more truly said of this man than of any other that ever existed, that if he loved you at the beginning of the year, and you did nothing to forfeit his esteem, he would love you still more at the end of it. Such was the uniformly progressive state of his affections, no less than of his virtue and wisdom.

“It has happened to many, and he was certainly one of the number, to grow wiser as they advanced in years. Some have even improved in virtue, but it has generally been in that class of virtue only which consists in resisting the allurements of vice, and too often have these advantages been counterbalanced by the loss, or at least the diminution, of that openness of heart, that warmth of feeling, that readiness of sympathy, that generosity of spirit, which have been reckoned among the characteristic attributes of youth. In this

case it was far otherwise ; endued by nature with an unexampled firmness of character, he could bring his mind to a more complete state of discipline than any man I ever knew. But he had, at the same time, such a comprehensive and just view of all moral questions, that he well knew to distinguish between those inclinations which, if indulged, must be pernicious, and the feelings which, if cultivated, might prove beneficial to mankind. All bad propensities, therefore, if any such he had, he completely conquered and suppressed, while, on the other hand, no man ever studied the trade by which he was to get his bread — the profession by which he hoped to rise to wealth and honour — nor even the higher arts of poetry or eloquence, in pursuit of a fancied immortality, with more zeal and ardour than this excellent person cultivated the noble art of doing good to his fellow creatures. In this pursuit, above all others, diligence is sure of success, and accordingly it would be difficult to find an example of any other man to whom so many individuals are indebted for happiness or comfort, or to whom the public at large owe more essential obligation.

“ So far was he from slackening or growing cold in these generous pursuits, that the only dan-

ger was lest, notwithstanding his admirable good sense and that remarkable soberness of character which distinguished him, his munificence might, if he had lived, have engaged him in expenses to which even his princely fortune would have been found inadequate. Thus the only circumstance like a failing in this great character was, that, while indulging his darling passion for making himself useful to others, he might be too regardless of future consequences to himself and family. The love of utility was indeed his ruling passion. Even in his recreations (and he was by no means naturally averse to such as were suitable to his station of life), no less than in his graver hours, he so much loved to keep this grand object in view, that he seemed by degrees to grow weary of every amusement which was not in some degree connected with it. Agriculture he judged rightly to be the most useful of all sciences, and more particularly, in the present state of affairs, he conceived it to be the department in which his services to his country might be most beneficial. To agriculture, therefore, he principally applied himself, nor can it be doubted but, with this capacity, activity, and energy, he must have attained his object, and made himself eminently useful in that

most important branch of political economy. Of the particular degree of his merit in this respect, how much the public is already indebted to him — how much benefit it may still expect to derive from the effects of his unwearied diligence and splendid example, is a question upon which many members of this House can form a much more accurate judgment than I can pretend to do. But of his motive to these exertions I am competent to judge, and can affirm, without a doubt, that it was the same which actuated him throughout — an ardent desire to employ his faculties in the way, whatever it might be, in which he could most contribute to the good of his country and the general interest of mankind.

“With regard to his politics, I feel a great unwillingness to be wholly silent on the subject, and at the same time much difficulty in treating it with propriety, when I consider to whom I am addressing myself. I am sensible that those principles upon which in any other place I should not hesitate to pronounce an unqualified eulogium, may be thought by some, perhaps by the majority of this House, rather to stand in need of apology and exculpation, than to form a proper subject for panegyric. But even in this view I may be

allowed to offer a few words in favour of my departed friend. I believe few, if any, of us are so infatuated with the extreme notions of philosophy as not to feel a partial veneration for the principles, some leaning even to the prejudices, of the ancestors, especially if they were of any note, from whom we are respectively descended. Such biasses are always, as I suspect, favourable to the cause of patriotism and public virtue; I am sure, at least, that in Athens and Rome they were so considered. No man had ever less of family pride, in the bad sense, than the Duke of Bedford; but he had a great and just respect for his ancestors. Now if, upon the principle to which I have alluded, it was in Rome thought excusable in one of the Claudii to have, in conformity with the general manners of their race, something too much of an aristocratical pride and haughtiness, surely in this country it is not unpardonable in a Russell to be zealously attached to the rights of the subject, and peculiarly tenacious of the popular parts of our constitution. It is excusable, at least, in one who numbers among his ancestors the great Earl of Bedford, the patron of Pym, and the friend of Hampden, to be an enthusiastic lover of liberty; nor is it to be wondered at if a descendant of

Lord Russell should feel more than common horror for arbitrary power, and a quick, perhaps even a jealous discernment of any approach or tendency in the system of government to that dreaded evil. But whatever may be our differences in regard to principles, I trust there is no member of this House who is not liberal enough to do justice to upright conduct even in a political adversary. Whatever, therefore, may be thought of those principles to which I have alluded, the political conduct of my much-lamented friend must be allowed by all to have been manly, consistent, and sincere.

“It now remains for me to touch upon the last melancholy scene in which this excellent man was to be exhibited, and to all those who admire his character, let it be some consolation that his exit was in every respect conformable to his past life. I have already noticed that prosperity could not corrupt him. He had now to undergo a trial of an opposite nature. But in every instance he was alike true to his character, and in moments of extreme bodily pain and approaching dissolution, when it might be expected that a man’s every feeling would be concentrated in his personal sufferings, — his every thought occupied by the awful

event impending, — even in these moments he put by all selfish considerations; kindness to his friends was the sentiment still uppermost in his mind, and he employed himself, to the last hour of his life, in making the most considerate arrangements for the happiness and comfort of those who were to survive him. While in the enjoyment of prosperity he had learned and practised all those milder virtues which adversity alone is supposed capable of teaching; and in the hour of pain and approaching death, he had that calmness and serenity which are thought to belong exclusively to health of body, and a mind at ease.

“ If I have taken an unusual, and possibly an irregular, course upon this extraordinary occasion, I am confident the House will pardon me. They will forgive something, no doubt, to the warmth of private friendship — to sentiments of gratitude which I must feel, and, whenever I have an opportunity, must express to the latest hour of my life. But the consideration of the public utility, to which I have so much adverted as the ruling principle in the mind of my friend, will weigh far more with them. They will in their wisdom acknowledge, that to celebrate and perpetuate the memory of great and meritorious individuals, is in

effect an essential service to the community. It was not therefore for the purpose of performing the pious office of friendship, by fondly strewing flowers upon his tomb, that I have drawn your attention to the character of the Duke of Bedford; the motive that actuates me is one more suitable to what were his views. It is that this great character may be strongly impressed upon the minds of all who hear me—that they may see it—that they may feel it—that they may discourse of it in their domestic circles—that they may speak of it to their children, and hold it up to the imitation of posterity. If he could now be sensible to what passes here below, I am sure that nothing could give him so much satisfaction as to find that we are endeavouring to make his memory and example, as he took care his life should be, useful to mankind.

“I will conclude with applying to the present occasion a beautiful passage from the speech of a very young orator.¹ It may be thought, perhaps, to savour too much of the sanguine views of youth to stand the test of a rigid philosophical inquiry; but it is at least cheering and consolatory, and that in this instance it may be exemplified, is, I

¹ The Hon. William Lamb.

am confident, the sincere wish of every man who hears me: 'Crime,' says he, 'is a curse only to the period in which it is successful; but virtue, whether fortunate or otherwise, blesses not only its own age, but the remotest posterity, and is as beneficial by its example as by its immediate effect.' "

At the general election in 1802, Mr. Fox and Lord Gardner again appeared as candidates for Westminster, but an extraordinary opposition took place on the part of Mr. John Graham, a sheriff's broker. Notwithstanding the small number that at first polled for the latter, he persevered till the ninth day, by which time he became such a favourite with the populace as to obtain many more votes than could have been imagined. The friends of Mr. Fox then began to exert all their influence on his behalf, and even resolved on a personal canvass of the electors, which induced Mr. Graham to relinquish his pretensions. At the close of the poll, the numbers were:

For Mr. Fox	2,673
For Lord Gardner	2,434
For Mr. Graham	1,691

Mr. Fox, after taking an active part in promoting the election of his friend, Sir Francis Burdett, for Middlesex, set out for the Continent about the

beginning of August. It was generally reported that the object of this visit was to make historical researches at the Scotch College at Paris, for materials toward his intended history of the Stuarts. That Mr. Fox did actually engage in some researches of that nature is certain; but whether he ever entertained the design ascribed to him may, as has been already observed, very justly be questioned.

Previous to his departure, resolving to spare himself the mortifications he had experienced in his tour in 1788, he procured a license, and was married to Mrs. Armstead. The ceremony was private, and was performed by the Honourable and Reverend Mr. St. John.

On the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Fox at Calais, they were waited on by the municipality in their scarfs, and treated with the most flattering marks of respect. In a handsome speech to Mrs. Fox, the mayor expressed "the high gratification which he and his fellow citizens felt in seeing in their municipality the great and disinterested statesman, whose counsels, had they been seasonably adopted, would have prevented the calamities that have distracted the world." They desired to know if they would order any particular play for the even-

ing. This they declined to do ; and the next day proceeded on their way to Amsterdam, whence they went to Paris by the way of Spa.

At Lisle Mr. Fox was recognised, though he travelled incognito. He immediately received congratulations in the name of the citizens and of the garrison, and was invited to an entertainment given in honour of him the next day at the circus. At the theatre, which was very full, his reception was extremely flattering ; fireworks announced his return to the circus, which was illuminated with much taste, and thronged. The band of the 61st Demi-brigade waited for him at his lodgings to give him a serenade.

On his arrival at Paris, every one hastened to hail the "English patriot, and the benefactor of the human race." This homage was not only paid him by private individuals, but he received addresses from all the public and learned bodies, complimenting him with the same term. He visited all by whom he was invited : and as he was invited everywhere, his circle of acquaintance was very extensive. This afforded him an opportunity of seeing and studying many of the most eminent characters during the Revolution, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

At the consular court Mr. Fox was received with the highest distinction. It was even said that, a few days after his arrival, Mr. Fox having sent his compliments to the first consul, requesting to know when he might wait upon him, received for answer from Buonaparte, "that he would be happy to see such a man as Mr. Fox at any hour of the day or night he might choose to appoint."

At the public audience on the 3d of September, Mr. Fox was presented by Mr. Merry. Twice did the first consul accost him, and among the flattering things, said, "that there were in the world but two nations, the one inhabiting the east, the other the west. The English, French, Germans, Italians, etc., under the same civil code, having the same manners, the same habits, and almost the same religion, are all members of the same family,¹ and the men who wished to light up again the flame of war among them wish for civil war; these principles, sir, were developed in your speeches with an energy that does as much honour to your heart as your head." Mr. Fox dined the

¹ This was spoken by the same man who a few weeks before had sanctioned in his official paper, the *Moniteur*, a tirade equally violent, puerile, and illiberal, abusing the natives of England for burning coal, eating beef, and drinking porter!

same day with the first consul, who had a very long conversation with him in the presence of a numerous company.

It is certain that Buonaparte entertained a very high regard for Mr. Fox, and eagerly seized every opportunity of manifesting it. He publicly declared that, if the then English ministers had been such men as Mr. Fox, England and France might remain at eternal peace, and mutually concur in each other's happiness. From the intimacy of Mr. Fox with the details of the French administration, his country might probably have derived advantage, had it pleased Providence to prolong his life. In the formation of many of the internal arrangements of the French government he was personally concerned. He explained to their ministry the English law of the liberty of the press, and aided them in the adaptation of the civil code to the circumstances of France at that period.

On the 16th of September Mr. Fox assisted at the extraordinary sitting, which took place at the Tribunal. A few minutes before the opening of the sitting, M. Boyer, captain of the guard of the Tribunal, advanced to Mr. Fox, and addressed him in these words: "I am one, sir, of two hundred French prisoners, who, in the year 3 (1795), were

prisoners at Portchester. We applied to you, and you had the generosity to exert your eloquence in our favour. On a sudden our chains were broken, and we were almost free. This benefit will never be forgotten by my companions in misfortune: but I am at present happier than they are, because I am able to declare to you publicly my gratitude. I entreat you to add to it, if it be possible, by condescending to accept my weak but sincere expression of it." Mr. Fox appeared to be much affected by this expression of gratitude. He replied, with a motion indicative of modesty: "Oh, yes, sir, I recollect."

To ape Mr. Fox was now the fashion at Paris. His dress, his manner of speaking, nay, his very dinners, were imitated. The beaux of Paris exhibited a singular contrast between what they actually were and what they endeavoured to appear. It was the fashion to be a thinking man, to think like Fox, and the coxcombs endeavoured to model their features to that character. At the opera he attracted every eye, and was followed as a spectacle through the streets. His picture was exhibited in every window, and no medallions had such a ready sale as those which bore the head of Mr. Fox. The artists alone felt some dissatisfaction,

as he refused to sit for his portrait. It is said that a celebrated statuary sent his respects to Mr. Fox, and informed him that, being desirous to partake of his immortality, he purposed to execute a statue of him, and would call the following day, when he flattered himself that Mr. Fox would have no objection to sit half an hour in his shirt, while he took the exact contour of his body.

Among the fashionables of Paris who were particularly attentive to Mr. Fox was Madame Recamier. She called for him one day in her carriage, but Mr. Fox hesitated to accompany her. "Come," said the lady, "I must keep my promise, and show you on the promenade. The good people of Paris must always have a spectacle. Before you came I was the fashion; it is a point of honour, therefore, that I should not appear jealous of you. You must attend me, sir." A few days afterward appeared an ode, in which Mr. Fox and Madame Recamier were transformed into Jupiter and Venus. The author, with all the modesty of a Frenchman, put a copy of this ode into the hand of Mr. Fox, and another into that of Madame Recamier, whom he was attending to the opera. On reading the subject, Mr. Fox

appeared confused, but his fair companion smiled. "Let them say what they please," said she, "as long as Monsieur Recamier preserves his senses and laughs at them, as I do." Of this lady Mr. Fox entertained the highest opinion, and observed that she was the only woman who united the attractions of pleasure to those of modesty.

During his residence at Paris, Mr. Fox had frequent interviews with Buonaparte, of whom he formed a very peculiar opinion. Mr. Burke, speaking of the French Revolution, asserted that it had not only shaken all Europe, but almost every man individually; that it had shaken Mr. Fox till it had shaken his heart into the wrong place. Though this might, perhaps, be too severe, the best friends of Mr. Fox will not attempt to deny that he had this French bias. Mr. Fox said of Buonaparte, that he was a man as magnificent in his means as in his ends; that he possessed a most decided character; that he would pursue his purpose with more constancy and for a longer period than was imagined; that his views were not directed against Great Britain, but that he looked only to the Continent. His commercial enmity was, he asserted, only a temporary measure, and was never intended to be acted upon as

permanent policy. He observed that he had a proud candour, which, in the confidence of success in whatever he resolved, scorned to conceal his intentions. "I never saw," said he, "so little indirectness in any statesman as in the first consul. He makes no secret of his designs." How far these opinions of Mr. Fox were well founded, it is not our purpose to investigate.

About the middle of November, 1802, Mr. Fox returned to England. He soon committed his reflections on the manners of the French to writing at considerable length. He was induced to do so by an observation of Lord Fitzwilliam, that "the Revolution had found them a nation of coxcombs, and left them a nation of blackguards; that manners, the civility of man to man and the chivalrous homage to woman, which softens and gives a picturesque splendour to life, had wholly vanished, and a nation of citizens had replaced a nation of gentlemen." Mr. Fox, on the other hand, maintained that the same gallantry still continues to exist, though the foundation is gone, and that a distinction of rank, sufficient for the purpose of social order, still remains. He allowed that the Revolution had doubtless done much mischief, but the ferment had ceased, and the sedi-

ment sunk to the bottom never to appear again; and affirmed that a century hence the French government would exhibit a most interesting spectacle, that of a government not founded on feudal principles.

The period of this, his last visit to France, Mr. Fox always recollected with satisfaction. He used to say that he had learned more of the French character during this short tour than in his former longer excursions. He not only saw more, and in different points of view, but, possessing a greater maturity of judgment, he probably formed more solid estimates.

Scarcely had Mr. Fox returned home, than we find him opposing the new administration, who seemed inclined to renew the contest. On the motion of an address to his Majesty on the 23d of November, 1802, he expressed his opinion, "that the object of security would be best promoted by a small military establishment, whether with a view of preserving the peace, or of renewing the war. Supposing for a moment," added he, "that war was to be renewed, gentlemen would do well to reflect in what manner hostilities would be conducted. On this part of the subject I will not go into detail; but suppose that

a determination were taken to recommence hostilities, it is obvious that our means of annoying the enemy would consist simply either in retaking the places which by the treaty we have agreed to cede, or in retaining those still in our hands. Now, I say distinctly, that to violate the treaty of peace for such an object as this — and under the present circumstances there is no other object which could be obtained — would be to place the ministers of this country, and the members of the last Parliament, who approved of the treaty, in a situation to excite the ridicule of all Europe. The continuance of peace, I do contend, is infinitely desirable; I feel its importance in the strongest manner. Adverse, however, as I am to the contest, I do not mean to assert that no circumstance may have followed the treaty of Amiens which would fully justify ministers for refusing to comply with its provisions. I am not ashamed to avow an opinion, for which I have been not unfrequently exposed to ridicule, and now explicitly declare, that I consider the preservation of national honour as almost the only legitimate cause of war. This doctrine I hold on the plain principle that honour is inseparably connected with self-defence. If it can be proved to

me that the national honour has been insulted, or the national dignity disgraced, I will without hesitation declare my opinion, which is, that it would be a fair and legitimate cause for recommencing hostilities. I must, however, hear a very strong case made out, before I can give my vote for replunging the country into those disasters which a calamitous contest had produced, and from which we have been so recently delivered."

On the 9th of March, 1803, when the king's message was brought down to the House, Mr. Fox expressed his alacrity to vote for the address, but he at the same time observed, "that there never was a situation in which it would be more imprudent to engage the country in an unnecessary war than at that moment; and never were any ministers more guilty than they would be, in recommending or supporting a line of policy so destructive to the best interests of the people."

Notwithstanding this, after the declaration of war, when Colonel Patten, on the 3d of June, moved for a vote of censure on ministry, Mr. Fox did not give his support, though he found it impossible to approve of all their conduct, partly because it was too late, and partly because he did

not know that their successors might not be more objectionable to him than they.

On the 18th of July, he expressed his concurrence in the Additional Force Bill, on which occasion he observed, that he had absented himself for the last three weeks, because, having already assigned his reasons for not approving of the war, he did not wish to oppose those measures which must, of course, be necessary for carrying it on with effect.

On the 7th of March, 1804, we find Mr. Fox vindicating the conduct of his brother, General Fox, as commander-in-chief in Ireland, and insisting on the propriety of an inquiry into the government of that country during the recent insurrection there. On the 22d of the same month, he pressed the minister relative to any communications which might have been received on the subject of the mediation of Russia; and, on the 23d of April, he made a motion on the posture of national affairs. After a long and able speech, in which he hinted at the impolicy of the war, while he at the same time openly accused the ministers of incapacity, Mr. Fox concluded by moving, "that it be referred to a committee to revise the several bills which have passed the House during the last and present

session of Parliament, for the defence of the country, and to consider of such further measures as may be necessary to render the said defence more complete and permanent." On this occasion he was seconded by Mr. Pitt, who professed his cordial and zealous support of the measure. On the division which followed an animated debate, these two rivals found themselves in a formidable minority of 234 against 256.

Mr. Addington being incapable of holding any longer the reins of administration, they were again placed in the hands of Mr. Pitt. It was now imagined by many that the critical state of public affairs, and the common safety of the empire, would have produced a coalition between the minister and his former adversary, who had meanwhile effected a union between his own and the Grenville party. Lord Grenville declared that he was resolved to accept no official situation unless Mr. Fox were included in the new arrangement. Mr. Pitt expressed his readiness to comply, and it is supposed that nothing but the invincible dislike of Mr. Fox manifested by his Majesty, prevented the execution of the plan. Mr. Fox, however, is said to have spoken of Mr. Pitt's conduct in this transaction with a liveliness of indignation unusual

to him. At the same time he did justice to his rival, and acknowledged that he was almost the only man who had ever subdued such great talents under such complete subjection to official formality.

On Mr. Pitt's return to power, the war was immediately extended to Spain, which had hitherto been permitted to enjoy all the benefits of an insidious neutrality. This measure was strongly censured by Mr. Fox, who, in the adjourned debate on the subject, February 12, 1805, entered at large into a discussion of the negotiation with the court of Madrid, in the course of which he maintained that a characteristic duplicity appeared the most conspicuous feature in the whole of the transaction. He afterward asserted that the detention of the Spanish frigates was a measure of war and not of precaution; insisted on the excellence of the old practice of commencing hostilities by a declaration, and concluded with stating his sincere conviction that ministers had acted rashly and unjustly in their conduct toward Spain.

In the discussion on the 8th of April, relative to Lord Melville's alleged malversation, while treasurer of the navy, Mr. Fox spoke with his accustomed energy. He began with observing,

“that he could not reconcile it to his mind to be silent on such an occasion, lest he should be suspected of declining to mark with the strongest reprobation guilt of a nature so glaring, that any man who gave it the sanction of his vote, or attempted to protect it from punishment, must be viewed in the light of an accomplice, or one at least disposed to become the accomplice of similar transactions.”

“Before he would proceed to the merits of the charges under consideration, he thought it proper to notice the arguments of the gentlemen upon the other side; not because he considered these arguments possessed of any intrinsic force, but lest, from the authority of the persons from whom they proceeded, they might have the effect of leading the House to a decision which, if it should correspond with the wishes of those by whom such arguments were used, must destroy its character with the country and with all Europe. The first gentleman with whom he would begin was the last who spoke (the master of the rolls). That learned gentleman directed the whole of his observations to show that the House should go into a committee, in order to ascertain whether the breach of the act of Parliament, not of which

Lord Melville stood charged, but of which he confessed himself guilty, proceeded from corrupt motives. If corruption consisted merely in a man putting money into his own pocket, according to the vulgar conception, perhaps some of the deductions of the learned gentleman would be right. But he would contend that nothing could be more corrupt, in his opinion, than to permit a man's own agent to convert the money of others to his own private emolument. This was the amount of Lord Melville's confession; and although it might be possible, from a further examination, to prove the noble lord more guilty, it did appear to him utterly impossible to prove him less so. For the most conclusive evidence of the noble lord's corruption, he would only refer to the declaration of the noble lord, who stated that, 'although he knew his agent Trotter was applying the public money to other purposes than that for which it was legally intended, he did not prohibit him from doing so.' What was that, he would ask, but complete corruption, even taking the case *simpliciter*? But combining it with other circumstances, could any man entertain a doubt upon the subject of his guilt? What greater aggravation of his delinquency in tolerating the breach of his own

act of Parliament could be imagined, than allowing his agent to misapply the public money, for the safe custody of which that act was intended? But it is pretended that no loss had accrued to the public from this malversation, and a very singular argument was advanced: that as there was no loss, there was no risk. Now (said Mr. Fox), it happened in certain parts of my life, which I do not quote with a view to recommend my example to others, that I was in the habit of engaging in speculations, which are commonly called gaming. If a man should, in that kind of speculation, win a large sum of money, I am sure that an argument would not thence arise that he had made no risk. I rather think the natural inference would be that his risk was considerable. Probably, however, in this case, Lord Melville did not care that Mr. Trotter should lose any money. Mr. Trotter was the confidential agent of Lord Melville, and Lord Melville was the confidential agent of the state. Therefore, in this sort of speculation in which Trotter engaged, Lord Melville could guard against much risk. If two men play cards together, and a third person stands behind one of them and throws hints to the other, he that receives the hints is tolerably sure of

winning. Just so in this business : Lord Melville knew when the navy bills were likely to be funded, and Mr. Trotter could act upon the information he might receive. Will any one say, then, that from such acting upon such information, no loss would accrue to the public? On the contrary, I maintain that the public would suffer a loss of one per cent. upon the discount of such bills. But then, the learned gentleman desired the House to go into an inquiry, in order to obtain further evidence. He would appeal to the judgment of the House, whether any further evidence could be necessary to enable it to come to a decided opinion upon the breach of law, which the noble lord himself confessed! That opinion the House was called on to declare. The public had a right to demand it from them. It was said that the House ought not to think of acting judicially, of inflicting punishment, without the fullest examination into the merits of the accusation, and affording the accused the fullest opportunity of vindicating himself. And so far as the confession of Lord Melville went, he had been already tried. He would, however, defy those gentlemen who rested their objection so very much upon the question of punishment, to show

that it was at all times in the power of that House to inflict any punishment on such delinquents as Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter. But if the House should determine on prosecution in any way with a view to punishment, whether by directing the attorney-general to prosecute, whether by moving an impeachment, or preparing a bill of pains and penalties, which perhaps would be a more proper mode of proceeding, he would maintain that the confession of the party accused would be evidence to proceed upon, and that the House was now called upon to act, as it must in every similar case, as a grand jury, to pronounce upon the guilt of the accused. It was strange to hear it asserted that the accused was not guilty, because no loss accrued from this scandalous transaction. To those to whom the loss of honour was nothing, perhaps it might be said that no loss had arisen. But what was the loss of honour to that government which, after such a palpable instance of delinquency, should preserve its connection with the delinquent? And what is the loss of character and honour to that House, should it attempt by its vote to screen such a delinquent? Infinitely more than any sum of money could possibly amount to. Whatever the learned gentleman to whom he had

already adverted might assert, he could not see that any further inquiry could be necessary to enable the House to decide that a great public officer, who allowed his servants to make illicit profit from the public money, in the teeth of an act of Parliament, was guilty of a most serious offence. The guilt consisted in the violation of the law, and it never could be pretended that any such violation could be innocent. There were, indeed, many cases in which the most severe punishments attached to offences to which the charge of moral turpitude did not apply, but which were criminal in consequence of the precept of the law. Such were many of the offences against our revenue laws. Not two years ago an act was passed declaring a man guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, if paper of a certain sort should be found in his possession, this sort of paper being used for the manufacture of bank-notes. Now the reason of this statute was this, that a man could not be presumed to have such paper in his possession but with a criminal intention. Therefore the breach of the act was proof against him. And the act of the 25th of the king, which applied to the case under consideration, was drawn up upon a similar principle, and the breach of it was

to be deemed the proof of the criminal intention. Upon this proof, which arose out of the reason of the law, he had no hesitation to pronounce the noble lord guilty. The noble lord, it would be recollected, retained the office of treasurer for nine years after he was appointed to that of secretary of state. [This was denied by the chancellor of the exchequer across the table.] No matter, resumed Mr. Fox, as to the precise time. The noble lord retained the office for several years; and when in that House allusion was made to the circumstance of his holding two offices, the answer from the other side of the House was, that although he held those offices, he only received the salary of secretary of state, and nothing from that of treasurer of the navy. Ay, that is, nothing of the legal salary. Did not this justify something more than suspicion? Why should the noble lord so fondly cling to this office of his friend, Mr. Trotter? There were many other persons among even his own relations who would have been glad to occupy this situation. But no, Lord Melville seemed particularly attached to it; and would common sense, in considering a thing of this kind, make no inference from that attachment? Another objection arose against the pro-

posed committee, from this consideration : that he did not see that any of the difficulties which some gentlemen complained of could be removed — that any of the obscure accounts could be explained. Those accounts were indeed of such a nature that the parties themselves could not understand them, and how then could it be possible for a committee of that House to make anything of them ?

“It had been said that the House should proceed with the utmost deliberation in deciding upon character. But upon whose character were they to decide on this occasion ? Not certainly upon that of Lord Melville, for his character was entirely gone, but upon the character of the House and the government, which must depend upon the vote of this night. As to the character of Lord Melville, it was so completely destroyed in public estimation for ever, that he would venture to say that, were the vote of the House unanimous in his favour, it would not have the slightest effect in wiping away the stigma that was universally affixed to his name. What then must the world think of retaining such a man at the head of the glory of the country ? It was dreadful to reflect that the most honourable claims, honourable pro-

fessions, should be placed at the disposal of a man with whose name dishonour was inseparably associated, who had confessed himself guilty of an act of corrupt illegality. The honourable gentleman took notice of an ingenious and forcible argument advanced by a noble friend behind him (Lord Henry Petty), whose speech he considered, and he was sure the House felt it to be, the best that had been delivered in the course of the debate. He recollected, that when the right honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. Pitt) made his *entrée* in that House, his first essay was in favour of reform and against corruption. With what pleasure did the House listen to him upon that occasion! But how soon was the promise of his early years abandoned!

“‘Quantum mutatus ab illo.’

Let the speech which the right honourable gentleman delivered on that occasion be contrasted with that of this evening, and the change would be glaring. There was something also in the dying legacy of Trotter to the navy office, that was particularly deserving of remark. It amounted to this, that Trotter said to his successors, ‘Now, as I am leaving the paymaster’s office, I shall pro-

vide that not one of you shall ever make a shilling by the same means that I have done.' But this he left as a bequest after the death of his own power. He did not even offer it while living. An honourable gentleman had expressed a hope that some measure would be adopted to prevent the recurrence of such a practice as the report on the table disclosed. But no measure in the shape of an act of Parliament could be efficient, if this precedent were to be established, that an act of Parliament was to be violated with impunity. For his part, when he read over the evidence, he was rather filled with disgust than indignation. He was ashamed of having any connection, even hostilely, with a person who had so degraded himself. Indeed, it made him ashamed of being of the same class. What does the evidence exhibit? A man of such power and elevated situation as the noble lord shrinking from answering the questions put to him, on the ground that he was not to criminate himself; and again saying, when the question was repeated, that he did not recollect how far he might have benefited by Mr. Trotter's money transactions. Recollect! Does a man apply to his recollection on such occasions and respecting such circumstances? A man, when asked whether he

had ever been in company with John Noakes, for example, may very well say, 'To the best of my recollection I never have.' But were it inquired whether he had not been kicked out of company by the same person, for attempting to pick his pocket, what would be thought of him if his answer should be, 'To the best of my recollection I never was?' Besides, the noble lord never thought of attempting any explanation of his evidence till the report had been nearly two months before the House. He knew nothing of it till it was printed. What! the report was so long before the House, of which the noble lord is a member, and, though it so nearly concerned himself, he never had the curiosity to look into it until it was printed! Who can believe it? Or did the noble lord only begin to be alarmed when he found the effect which the printed report had made on the public? Then he writes a letter, which he had much better have left unwritten. It was a vain attempt to do away the damnation. He still remains involved by Mr. Trotter's evidence. Was it not wrong in Mr. Trotter thus to commit his principal? Yet no anger is betrayed against him — no indignation manifested by the noble lord at the slur thus cast upon his character. But how

could he blame Mr. Trotter? He must have known the whole transaction. Mr. Fox, after again adverting to the situation to which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) was reduced by his noble friend, could not help asking how it came to pass that, although notice had been given a fortnight ago of the motion brought forward this night by his honourable friend, yet the right honourable gentleman never then alluded once to the letter he was afterward to produce; nor, when he produced it, did he make any mention of the necessity of a further inquiry. How did this happen? If he was to believe the reports of the day, the idea was suggested to him from a quarter which he did not choose to disoblige; though that quarter was not generally supposed to be in possession of power. From whatever intimation the measure arose, no good could be expected from a committee of inquiry. When it was known and seen how low was sunk the man who holds so splendid a situation in the state, what would be thought of the government? In what light could it be beheld, either abroad or at home? The bravest generals, the most gallant admirals, the ablest statesmen, have abstained from the discharge of office while under an accusation, though

conscious of their innocence, and certain to come forth more spotless than before. Could the noble lord continue the administration of his high department while his character was thus exposed? The House, no doubt, would feel the necessity of speedily deciding on that point, and of showing that to innocence they would afford protection, in defiance of influence or power. With respect to the noble lord's offer to swear positively that he did not profit from the misappropriation of the public money, it was remarkable that this offer was confined to the period in which Mr. Andrew Douglas, who was now dead, was paymaster of the navy, but did not at all extend to the paymastership of Mr. Trotter. What was the conclusion then to be drawn from this? Why, that he was ready to make oath as to the paymastership of Douglas, because he was dead; but did not think proper to swear as to Trotter, because he was alive. The honourable gentleman made an appeal to the pride and feelings of the House, and particularly to that of Mr. Pitt, advising him not to risk the little of reputation that remained to him upon this occasion — not to stake this card for his last. He concluded with expressing a hope, that the facts exposed in the Tenth and Eleventh Reports

would provoke an inquiry into, and a reform of, the several departments of the public expenditure. He trusted that there were men around him who would promise an investigation so desirable for the cause of justice and the interests of the country."

On the division of the House it appeared that the numbers on each side were even :

Ayes 226 — Noes 226.

The Speaker gave the casting vote, which made 217 for the resolutions proposed by Mr. Whitbread, censuring the conduct of Lord Melville.

After these resolutions had been carried, Mr. Pitt moved that the House should adjourn to the 10th, on which Mr. Fox submitted to the good sense of the House, whether in so critical a moment they should adjourn over a single day. "They would recollect," said he, "that the country was now in the hands of a disgraced administration."

When the consideration of this business was resumed on the 10th, Mr. Whitbread moved that an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to dismiss Lord Melville from all offices held by him during pleasure, and also from his

councils and presence for ever. The arguments of Mr. Whitbread were opposed by Mr. Canning (then treasurer of the navy), who concluded his speech with a panegyric on Lord Melville. Several gentlemen had expressed their sentiments, when Mr. Fox rose and declared that Mr. Canning had delivered himself in a manner so extraordinary and injudicious, that it was scarcely worth while to take notice of his observations. After animadverting on the conduct of Mr. Canning with respect to Mr. Trotter, he then continued: "The next feature in the very extraordinary speech of the right honourable gentleman was the argument he used for the lenient application of our resolutions against Lord Melville, and the circumstances on which this lenity is to be founded. Perhaps, in what I am now about to say, the right honourable gentleman may think me bitter and rancorous; but in spite of this, I feel myself called on to say, that I shall never sit in this House, and patiently hear these extravagant panegyrics on Lord Melville's public conduct. I am at a loss where to find what are the circumstances which are to incline us so powerfully to mercy. What particular claims does he possess to induce the House to pass over his aggravated offence with a compara-

tively trifling punishment? Is this motive to lenity to be found in the eagerness which his lordship has ever shown to heap up emoluments, and to systematise corruption? Is it in the gift of the chamberlainship of Fife granted to his wife, with arrears to a vast amount, procured under false pretences? Is it in procuring a year ago fifteen hundred a year in addition, not, sir, to the salary of first lord of the admiralty, for I know that is very inadequately paid, but in addition to his salary as lord privy seal for Scotland? But the right honourable gentleman lays great stress on his discovering no political or party partialities in the appointment of officers, either for the naval or military service. I deny that there is the least merit in this supposed impartiality. It is what every minister, whoever he be, is obliged to preserve an appearance of, as an open dereliction of it would be attended with instant disgrace. Indeed, party distinctions were almost always, from necessity, overlooked. But, I cannot hear the right honourable gentleman stating that the noble lord was free from party violence, without reminding the House of one or two circumstances, which demonstrate the existence of party spirit in all its most intolerant and disgusting features. I

shall mention one, sir, which fell within my own knowledge, and which will fully illustrate my position. At a period of the late war, when the danger of invasion was supposed to be at the height, when offers of voluntary service were eagerly accepted, a numerous and loyal body of men in Tavistock made a tender of their services. The tender was refused by this selfsame moderate Lord Melville, on the sole ground, for no other could be alleged, that the corps, when raised, was to be commanded by the late Duke of Bedford. It may perhaps be imagined that my feelings at the recollection of the deceased are so strong as to hurry me into some degree of exaggeration; but I solemnly protest that I am stating the matter precisely as it happened. And yet, we are to hear of Lord Melville's moderation and perfect freedom from all party spirit. There is another circumstance, which also pretty strongly illustrates his lordship's forbearance and superiority to any of the workings of the angry passions. It is well known that the dean of the faculty of advocates in Edinburgh is generally the most eminent person in the profession, and that it is seldom customary to interfere with him from any political considerations. Yet this mild and moderate Lord

Melville actually did interfere, and by employing all the influence of government against the Hon. Henry Erskine, a gentleman confessedly the most eminent at the Scotch bar, he was actually dispossessed of a situation which he had many years held with the greatest honour and credit. So much, sir, for the boasted liberality of the noble lord, which we are called on to look to for a motive to influence our decision. As to the favour bestowed on two noble lords, on which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) rested so much stress, I entirely agree with my honourable friend near me (Mr. Grey), in every one of his observations. The right honourable gentleman says, that my two honourable friends must possess Spartan virtue to be able to follow that line of accusation against the noble lord which they had pursued. If extraordinary exertions in virtue were required, I do not know any men in whom they would be more readily found than in my honourable friends. But I must beg leave to say, that they are under no obligations to the noble lord for the defence he made of those relations, to whom they were naturally so strongly attached. Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis were selected for a very difficult service in the West Indies,

which they performed with gallantry. Some misunderstanding, however, arising, they returned, and a charge was preferred against them in this House. If I recollect right, there were three divisions on the subject, when the minority were successively thirteen, fourteen, and seventeen, and this was the formidable phalanx which the noble lord had so much merit in combating. I take it for granted that he believed the charge to be false; and if he did believe it to be unfounded, what merit had he in defending the gallant officers? It was no more than indispensable duty to those whom he had employed on a difficult service, which they executed with promptitude, vigour, and success. If this be merit, it is impossible to say how far the line of obligation may be extended. An honourable gentleman under the gallery (Mr. S. Thornton), has given a curious reason for voting for the resolutions on Monday night (the 8th), on which it is impossible for me not to make a few observations. He says, that he voted for the motion, conceiving the noble lord guilty of a certain degree of negligence and inattention. I confess I am utterly astonished at such a declaration, after attending to the language of our resolution, that the noble lord had been guilty of a gross

violation of an act of Parliament, and a high breach of duty. Surely, this heavy charge is not to be confounded with inattention and negligence. How the honourable member could have misunderstood them, is to me incomprehensible, as they were particularly objected to on the other side of the House. With respect to the resolutions, it appears to me that they complete the criminal part of the charge against the noble lord, and I am not at present for pressing any further proceedings in that way. If the attorney-general is to proceed against him for refunding the money derived from the profits of money misapplied, this will be by civil, and not by criminal action; for recovery of money is always ranked among the civil actions. The same observation will apply to any action for recovering grants obtained under false pretences. I have the less objection to press the motion in the meantime, on the grounds of the pledge which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) has this night so distinctly given to the House. I find, after a careful examination, that during his Majesty's long reign, now a period of nearly forty-five years, only the Duke of Norfolk and myself have been dismissed his Majesty's councils; and I assure you, sir, we want no such person as the noble lord

to be our associate. I had almost forgotten Mr. Grattan, who had the like fortune in Ireland. None of us could, however, be proud of any connection with such a man as Lord Melville has shown himself to be throughout his whole career of life. I have said, I would not now press the motion to a discussion, but I should be grieved indeed to see the resolutions passed without being followed by some lasting result. Such a work as that which we on Monday accomplished, must not be suffered to pass away unimproved. From one end of the empire to the other the people will rejoice in the hope that a better system is about to be adopted, and we must not let their just expectations be disappointed. It is necessary for us, by making Lord Melville a signal mark of the vengeance of this House, to show the country that we are indeed their representatives — that we are determined equally to watch over their property and their liberties. The public have received our work with the purest gratitude; but is no part of this great work to belong to the government? Is his Majesty to have no opportunity of manifesting his paternal interest in the subject? In what situation do we leave our sovereign? The people applaud us in the warmest terms. They say the

House of Commons have taken up our cause against the whole host of contractors and peculators. The House of Lords may do the same; and shall not our beneficent sovereign have an opportunity of expressing the warm interest he takes in every plan for alleviating the burdens, and improving the condition of the people? I admire this House as the corner-stone of the constitution—as the source of all reforms and improvements—as the balance by which the constitution is kept in purity and vigour. But I do not wish to exclude the monarchy from its proper share in every beneficent work. I think our resolutions ought to be presented to the throne. Like us his Majesty has read the report, but he has not hitherto had an opportunity of expressing his feelings on the subject. I strongly impress this subject on the minds of ministers. They are bound to carry the resolutions to the throne. They owe it as a sacred duty to the king whom they serve.” After a few more observations, Mr. Fox agreed to withdraw the motion, on an understanding that the whole matter should afterward be fully investigated.

Though no one will attempt to deny that it is the duty of every man to bring public delinquents to punishment, yet many considered Mr. Fox's

extraordinary zeal on this occasion as rather intemperate and ill-judged. Persons were not wanting to remind him that by peculations infinitely more culpable than those of which Lord Melville was accused, his own father, Lord Holland, had amassed princely wealth, and founded the fortunes of his family, and that consequently whatever he urged in reprehension of Lord Melville was an indirect but equally severe censure on the conduct of his parent. This censure would undoubtedly have had more weight, and have come with a better grace, from the mouth of a man who had not only clean hands himself, but whose predecessors had not disgraced themselves with practices similar to those which were the subject of such pointed reprobation.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Fox introduced the subject of the petition of the Catholics of Ireland, which had before been presented by him, and in a long and elaborate speech pointed out to the House the propriety of going into a committee, with a view of redressing the grievances of which they complained. Though the petition was thrown out by a great majority, yet a large portion of the empire was conciliated by the consideration that it was not destitute of powerful protection.

During the summer of 1805, Mr. Pitt's personal credit had contributed toward a coalition between Russia and Austria, for the purpose of checking the domineering influence of France, and vindicating the violated liberties of Europe. After a campaign, unexampled in the annals of warfare, the battle of Austerlitz was lost, the treaty of Presburg was signed, and on the 23d of January, 1806, Mr. Pitt, partly the victim of hereditary disease, partly broken-hearted for the misfortunes of Europe, breathed forth his spirit, while the words, "Oh! my country!" died away in his expiring sigh.

On the death of Mr. Pitt the conduct of Mr. Fox was thought deficient in generosity. When the motion was made for public funeral honours to that distinguished statesman, he certainly bore testimony to the virtues of Mr. Pitt, to his exalted patriotism, to his unsullied purity and integrity. He applauded his finance, reprobated his wars, voted against a public funeral and for the payment of his debts.

The colleagues of Mr. Pitt found it impossible to maintain themselves in office with a sufficient strength of public approbation. They advised the king to commit his affairs into the hands of Lord Grenville and his friends, and resigned their situa-

Portrait of James O. ...
Painted by James O. ...

Charles James Fox

Engraved by James Ogborne



tions. Lord Grenville remained firm to his alliance, and his Majesty signified his willingness that Mr. Fox and his friends should be comprehended in the new arrangement. Mr. Fox, by his own election, was appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs, and a provision was made for the principal of those gentlemen who had so long acted in conjunction with him.

After an opposition of twenty-two years, Mr. Fox resumed the situation he had surrendered in 1783.) No sooner had he obtained the seals, than his mind reverted to what may be considered as the grand object of his life. He had from the beginning conceived that the war was ill-timed, and he determined, if possible, to put an honourable termination to it. As he had never used any intemperate language, or displayed any personal antipathy, the enemy could of course have no objection to such a mediator; a negotiation was commenced, but he lived not to see the accomplishment of his wishes.

Though Mr. Fox manifested such an ardent love of peace, still he showed a disposition that would not submit to insult. Soon after he came into office the conduct of the King of Prussia excited general indignation. Not content with seizing

Hanover, and claiming the sovereignty of that country, he excluded the British commerce not only from his own dominions, but also from every port which he could terrify or influence. The new minister published a spirited declaration, and at the same time adopted measures for blockading the Prussian ports, and intercepting their trade.

When the king's message on this subject was taken into consideration on the 23d of April, Mr. Fox rose, and made an impressive speech, in which he appeared, for the first time, in the character of an advocate for war.

“I am sure,” said he, “the House will believe me, when I state the extreme unwillingness on the part of his Majesty to involve this country in war on account of the electorate of Hanover; but at the same time I am certain that this House, and the country, must have seen, with feelings of the most marked indignation, the aggression on the part of Prussia, and will readily acknowledge the propriety of adopting the most vigorous measures, where the honour of the sovereign and of the country is so nearly concerned. This feeling of indignation I trust will be more strongly felt, when it is recollected how subservient Prussia has been, notwithstanding her interests and en-

gagements to the contrary, to the policy and views of France in her unjust and unwarranted encroachments. We shall be less scrupulous in this case to adopt the most vigorous and most determined measures, when we consider that the conduct of Prussia is not so much the result of her own inclinations, as the consequences of the domineering power of France, the dictates of which she has hitherto followed too implicitly, till it has become dangerous, and almost impossible for her to resist the mandates and the menaces of that overgrown power. The papers his Majesty has been pleased to direct to be laid before the House on the subject are but few; but they are quite sufficient to show the injustice of the aggression that has been made on Hanover on the part of Prussia, and how much Prussia in this case has acted under the influence and control of France. Had the object been to show the wretched and mistaken policy of the court of Prussia during the whole of this contest, other papers, besides those already produced, might have been exhibited for the conviction and satisfaction of the House: but though this, in its full extent, was not the object of his Majesty's message, it will not be improper to take a view

of the conduct of that power anterior to her occupation of Hanover.

“On a review of her whole conduct, I am ready to declare, and I am persuaded that every man who hears me will feel the same conviction, that the conduct of that court has been the most unprecedented — unprecedented in the worst of governments, and in the worst of times. The origin of this proceeding is to be traced to the convention concluded at Vienna, on the 15th of December, between Count Haugwitz and the French emperor; but when it is considered what was the situation of Prussia at the time its sovereign concluded that treaty with France, it must be recollected that its means of negotiation were still greater than what it derived from its own resources or its own armies. The armies of Prussia were undoubtedly numerous and respectable, but was it on them alone that the King of Prussia relied when he was negotiating with France? Certainly it was not. He had a strong additional support, which gave weight to his negotiations. The Emperor of Russia, after he had left Austerlitz, gave the whole direction of the Russian troops that remained in Germany to the command of the King of Prussia. This country

too had promised him a powerful assistance by pecuniary supplies, if he should be driven to a war with France. These were the means he possessed of giving weight to his negotiations; and how did he apply those means? Why, to seize a part of the territories of one of those powers which had been supporting him in that rank and situation which enabled him to conclude his treaty.

“After this treaty was signed, a considerable difficulty remained in the execution of it. This difficulty proceeded in a great measure from the just scruples of the King of Prussia, who perceived that it would be very hard to prevail upon his Britannic Majesty to ratify such a treaty, and who, therefore, felt that his title would be so bad as to make the acquisition of Hanover, under these circumstances, a poor equivalent for those provinces that he was obliged to give up to France. He felt, besides, that upon no principle of justice could he pretend to take it on other terms from those which France herself had held it on, and therefore, at first he did not pretend to take Hanover absolutely, but with the power of restoring it. France, in the meantime, pressed for the session of Anspach and Bayreuth. What then did the King of Prussia do? — Certainly he could

not expect that the French government would be able to negotiate between him and his Britannic Majesty, that he should be allowed to retain Hanover, and therefore, he finally resolved to seize it without the consent of his Majesty, and under the pretence of an equivalent for Anspach and Bayreuth, and those provinces which were ceded to France.

“It cannot then be said that this treaty, and the proceedings which followed it, were altogether the effect of fear, for what was the necessity under which his Prussian Majesty was placed? Was it merely the necessity of ceding Anspach and Bayreuth? This might have been a considerable misfortune, yet it was one which might be justified by necessity. But the sort of necessity claimed by the King of Prussia is different. He says ‘Because I have lost Anspach and Bayreuth, I therefore feel myself under the necessity of seizing the dominions of some third power’ — not only of a third power, but of one that, from all times, and by every circumstance, he was bound to respect. This is the sort of necessity claimed by the Prussian court, and it is this which makes the case of Prussia much worse than that of any other nation in Europe. As for Spain (I do not wish to revive

the differences of opinion with respect to the Spanish war), but Spain, I say, would comply no farther with the wishes of our enemies, than by giving a sum of money. Holland and other powers have been, from terror, obliged to make cessions of territory to France, but no other power has been compelled by terror to commit robberies or spoliations on its neighbours. It is in this that the case of Prussia stands distinguished from that of all other nations. We cannot help looking, with some degree of pity and contempt, on a power that can allege that it is reduced to such a necessity. It would be in itself a considerable humiliation or degradation to Prussia, to be obliged to give up those provinces to which it was so much attached, and which had been called 'The Cradle of the House of Brandenburg.' The degradation of this cession was still much increased by the conduct of the people of Anspach, who entreated their sovereign not to abandon them. Instead of lessening the ignominy of the cession, it was a great increaser of dishonour to sell a brave and loyal people for what was called an equivalent: it was an union of everything that was contemptible in servility with everything that was odious in rapacity.

“On the 26th of January an official letter was written from Baron Hardenberg to Mr. Jackson, expressly stating it to be the intention of his Prussian Majesty to take possession of Hanover only until the conclusion of peace between England and France. In the answer to that letter, his Majesty expresses his firm reliance on the declaration of his Prussian Majesty, but wishes the terms to be more explicit. The language that Prussia held at that time to our court was the same she had then held to Russia, and every other court with which she was connected by the relations of friendship. Soon after this, the convention with France appeared, and then the court of Prussia wished to represent the measures taken with regard to Hanover as in a manner dictated by France. They would have it supposed, that it was rather an object of French than of Prussian ambition, that they should be possessed of Hanover. At first they endeavoured to represent to the government of this country that it was more for our interest that Hanover should be occupied by Prussian than by French troops, and their argument was this: ‘If we have it, the ports may be still open to your commerce, or at least your manufactures may have a passage through our territory.’ This hope was,

however, now entirely cut off, and M. de Schulenburg, in his manifesto, professes to take the country as a present from France, which she had won and held by the right of conquest. No example could be found in all the histories of war, and no mention had ever been made by the writers on the law of nations, of any power having a right to receive as a present a country occupied during a war by one of the belligerent powers, but not ceded by the other. The House must therefore see to what extremity we are now reduced. It would be idle to say that a war with Prussia would not be a calamity. It is impossible but that it must be a calamity to this country to have the number of its enemies increased. It is also a painful consideration to think that there is no mode of returning this calamity on the aggressors, which will not in some degree fall also on neutral and friendly nations, and even on ourselves. The House will, however, feel that there are occasions in which a manifestation of our principles and of our resentment becomes necessary, although attended with the calamities inseparable from war. If such an outrage as this were passed over, might not every other nation in Europe, and particularly those who have less power to resist than Prussia, say to us,

‘We wish as much as you that the power of France could be restrained, but you see our situation and the great power of France, to which we are exposed. What are we to do?’ If this question were put to me, I should answer, that powers in that situation must save themselves as well as they can, and even make cessions if they are insisted upon. If Prussia should allege that she was in that state of comparative weakness that she was obliged to cede Anspach and Bayreuth, however his Majesty might lament the necessity or the accession of strength his enemies derived from the acquisition, still he would not have attempted to oppose it, or make the slightest remonstrance on the occasion. But when that power shall say ‘I am not only obliged to make cessions, but I am also obliged to make war with you,’ then the question becomes very different, and his Majesty is under the necessity of considering it in a very different light.

“Although I, for one, am not inclined to look very favourably on the present situation of this country, nor to feel so sanguinely as some other gentlemen, yet I think that upon the present occasion we should make a signal example of the court of Prussia ; and whatever principles theorists may

lay down about restoring the balance of Europe, I think we shall do more to restore the sound and true principles that ought to prevail in Europe, by showing the world, in this instance, that this country will not abandon them herself, nor consent that they shall be departed from by other nations in their transactions with her. I consider that the power of the country consists in a great measure in the known justice of its principles, in its moderation and forbearance; but if the court of Berlin choose to depart from the principles of justice, and to act hostilely to this country, it must take the consequence. I believe it has as yet gained nothing by its injustice. Hanover, desolated as it was, first by French armies, and afterward in a still greater degree by Prussian armies, can add little or nothing to the revenues of Prussia, neither can it in its present situation increase her military strength. The King of Prussia has been given a mere nominal possession of that country; but so far from being strengthened by this present from France, he is only the more vanquished and subdued. Austria was forced, by the fortune of the war, to cede many of her provinces; but Austria has only ceded what was her own, and has never been the agent of injustice, or the vassal of rapac-

ity. It will soon be seen how far the court of Prussia will be allowed to administer the concerns of Hanover, for it is somewhat remarkable, but a well-known fact, that the French General Barbou has been sent to Hanover to superintend matters, and to see that things are so administered there as may best suit the interests and future views of France. All fair argument, or even the shadow of it, has been set aside ; and it is notorious, that France has treated Prussia in a manner that she had perhaps a right to do, namely, as a degraded and abject vassal. His Majesty has, in the plainest, most explicit, and strongest terms, expressed his abhorrence of such unjustifiable and detestable proceedings ; and, in assuring his Majesty of our determination to support him against such unprovoked and unprincipled aggressions, we shall avoid the possibility of an imputation that we could for a moment be capable of countenancing this odious mode of transferring the property and territory of one power to another. Gracious God ! is it to be borne, even in idea, that princes should think themselves justified in transferring the subjects of one power to another, as so many objects of mere convenience, and as we would do oxen for a field in the fair way of bargain and sale ? I am sure

there can be but one feeling on such a subject in this House, and therefore I had the greatest pleasure in sending a note to Baron Jacobi, in which I informed him that his Majesty never would consent to transfer subjects who had ever shown themselves so warmly and inviolably attached to him, and to whom he felt himself bound by so many ties of affection and gratitude."

Mr. Fox concluded his speech, which made great impression on the House, by moving that an humble address be presented to his Majesty for his most gracious message; assuring his Majesty that the House participated in his Majesty's paternal feelings in the loss of Hanover, an event which could not be regarded with indifference, as deeply affecting the interests of this country also; and assuring his Majesty that the House was ready to support his just and paternal claims.

Those who can trace with an impartial eye the conduct of Mr. Fox from the commencement of his political career, must be thoroughly convinced that consistency was not one of his qualities. Indeed, under a government so constituted as that of this kingdom, where the sovereign is under the necessity of resigning the management of affairs to that party which has the superiority in the

senate of the nation, where of course the utmost exertions of the one are incessantly directed to the expulsion of the other from power, in order to seize the vacant places of authority and emolument, it would be a difficult task to point out the man who, whether in or out of office, has acted upon the same uniform principles.

We shall not then be much surprised to find the conduct of Mr. Fox, the secretary of state, diametrically opposite to the professions of the Mr. Fox who courted popularity among the rabble of Westminster, or endeavoured to excite opposition to the minister of the day by factious declamation at the Crown and Anchor, the Shakespeare, or Freemason's Tavern.

He who in 1805 had been the strenuous advocate for the Catholics of Ireland, did not in 1806 absolutely refuse to fulfil the engagements to them in which he was involved; but it was pleaded in his favour that it was not the time, and it was insinuated that, when confirmed in office, he would not fail to do for them what he could not then venture to attempt. He who in 1805 had so loudly called for condign punishment on Lord Melville for the alleged peculation of a few thousands of pounds, in 1806 threw every impediment

in the way of an investigation of the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, accused, among other charges, of misapplying more than as many millions. He who had exerted all his faculties in condemning the income tax imposed by Mr. Pitt, as founded in oppression and injustice, who declared that if it was carried, this country would not be a place for an honest man to live in, became the advocate of the abrupt increase of that tax from six to ten per cent., and was not ashamed to declare that "its operation was to be arrested only when it would occasion a want of the necessaries of life." He who had formerly inculcated with such force the necessity of a rigid economy in the expenditure of the public money, who had stood forth as the bulwark of the people against the growing influence of the Crown, now lent his support to measures which he would then have execrated.

It cannot be denied that this dereliction of many of those principles in support of which he had once clamoured so loudly, began to diminish his popularity. An expedient to which he resorted, soon after his accession to office, was not calculated to exalt his character in the estimation of those who had the real interest of their country at heart. A pamphlet, entitled—"An Inquiry into

the State of the Nation," made its appearance, and the public was given to understand that it was the production of Lord Holland's pen, under the immediate direction of Mr. Fox. In this performance it was insinuated that the nation was reduced to such extremity that no peace with Buonaparte, however disadvantageous and ignominious, ought to be unacceptable. Though this publication was equally discreditably to the talents and the candour of the new ministry, though abroad it tended to detach all our allies from our side, and to inculcate the doctrine of universal submission to the ruler of France, yet it had the desired effect on many persons of weak minds at home, where it was tricked out in all the authority of a ministerial manifesto.

With regard to the abolition of the slave-trade, which was no party measure, Mr. Fox's conduct was ever consistent. We have seen that on the first agitation of the question, he attacked that traffic with all the powers of his eloquence, and gave his strenuous support to every endeavour to suppress it. The same disposition he manifested when in power. On the 10th of June he introduced this subject to the attention of the House. He said that fifteen or sixteen years ago, the ques-

tion of the abolition of the slave trade had been brought forward by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) and he should have willingly left it in his hands, had he understood that honourable gentleman to have had it in his contemplation to make any motion on the subject in the course of the present session. He therefore had undertaken the business, and should the motion be carried, with which he meant to conclude, all the time he had spent in Parliament, now between thirty and forty years, he should think well bestowed. Whatever differences of opinion led to impede the measure of abolition; yet, with regard to the opinion of the House, it was not unanimous, but as near unanimity as possible. Not only such was the general sentiment, but it was incontestably proved by the resolutions of the House, that the slave-trade was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy. The right honourable gentleman then quoted the great authority of Mr. Burke, in support of his argument, and then dwelt most forcibly on the cruelty and injustice of this infamous and degrading traffic, pointing out the various artifices by which the unhappy natives of Africa were entrapped. He then alluded to the conduct of Mr. Pitt and Lord Sidmouth, while in

their respective administrations. The first supported an immediate abolition; and the latter, though he only wished it gradually abolished, nevertheless entertained the most complete abhorrence of so detestable a trade. It was a long time since the first resolution had been agreed to, declaring that the trade should expire in 1800, and we were now in the middle of 1806, and yet no step had been taken to put an end to this most degrading commerce. It would, he apprehended, be impossible for a bill of abolition to be passed by both Houses in the present session, though there could be no doubt of the justice and policy of a bill of that description being introduced. He then at some length detailed the object of the resolution he intended to move, and enlarged upon the urgency and expediency of agreeing to it as an intermediate step to the total abolition of the most infamous traffic that had ever disgraced humanity. Mr. Fox concluded with moving the following resolution: "That this House, conceiving the African slave-trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practical expedition, take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such period as may be deemed most desirable."

This motion was, as usual, opposed by the members for Liverpool, and a few others interested in the traffic; but it was supported by Mr. Wilberforce and all the members of administration, and carried by 114 against 15.

This was nearly the last time that Mr. Fox delivered his sentiments on any public measure, his attendance on his parliamentary duty being interrupted by the rapid decline of his health.

The symptoms of the disease which proved fatal to him began to manifest themselves before the conclusion of the year 1805. Being on a visit to a nobleman in the country, in the month of December, Mr. Fox found himself so indisposed, that he was unable to take either the same exercise or the same diversions as formerly. His friends observed the change, with a presentiment of the consequences; he himself was not blind to his progressively advancing weakness, and was conscious that he should not live long. At this period one of his friends having applied to him for his concurrence and support in an affair of some importance, Mr. Fox returned this answer: "My life has been active beyond my strength, I had almost said my duty. If I have not acted much, you will allow that I have spoken much, and I

have felt more than I have either acted or spoken. My constitution has sunk under it. I find myself unequal to the business on which you have written ; it must be left to younger men."

At this time Mr. Fox was confined for several days to his bed. His legs swelled, and he took large doses of decoction of the woods, under the idea that his disorder was the scurvy. One peculiarity belonging to Mr. Fox was, that he had formed in his own mind a kind of philosophic theory of medicine, referring disease of every kind to two causes, impurity of the blood, and the habit of the stomach. He seldom consulted a physician, prescribing for himself, and even mixing his own medicines. Rhubarb and vegetable decoctions were his favourite medicines ; and his annual bill for drugs amounted to a considerable sum.

He now entered on a course of medicine for the scurvy, and by this treatment probably contributed to aggravate his real disease, which was the dropsy. In this state he returned to town early in January. The activity occasioned by the important aspect of political affairs, just before the dissolution of Mr. Pitt, banished from Mr. Fox all sense of his weakness. Once, however, he employed this

remarkable expression: "Pitt has died in January — perhaps I may go off before June." A gentleman who was in company with him, having made some observation in reply, "Nay," said Mr. Fox, "I begin to think my complaint not unlike Pitt's; my stomach has been long discomposed; I feel my constitution dissolving."

The interval between the death of Mr. Pitt and the appointment of the new administration was to Mr. Fox a period of great vexation and anxiety. His health suffered severely, his appetite sensibly decreased, and his legs alternately swelled and became reduced. While in action he seemed perfectly well, but scarcely was he seated when he was seized with a sickishness of the stomach, from which no medicine could relieve him. He refused medical advice, imputing these alarming symptoms to temporary anxiety, that would subside with the cause from which they originated.

This state of health continued through the month of March, when his friends were convinced that he was breaking fast. Still he insisted that his disease was only a temporary habit, and as he happened in May to recover an interval of strength, that circumstance tended to confirm him in his error. The symptoms, however, soon returned

with redoubled violence, and a physician being called in, he was pronounced, at the latter end of June, in a rapid state of decay.

It was the beginning of July before his disease was completely ascertained. The symptoms were no longer doubtful, the lethargy became alarming, and the tumors daily increased. All efforts to discharge the water by the natural process failing, a consultation was held on the 29th of July, when it was agreed to try the operation of another powerful medicine, and if it failed of an immediate diuretic effect, that he should be tapped as the only remaining resource. The medicine failed; Mr. Fox swelled in a most alarming manner, and, convinced of the necessity of tapping, he requested that it might no longer be delayed.

This operation was performed on the 7th of August; the quantity taken from him was about five gallons. The weakness which succeeded was such as to excite a general alarm that he would not survive it; he was long speechless, and that at the moment when the public prints represented him all gaiety and spirits. His state continued very doubtful till the night of the 10th, when he again began to recover strength. He now breakfasted with one or two of his more

intimate friends by his bedside, and conversed with them as long as his physicians permitted.

During one of these morning conversations Mr. Fox first expressed his conviction that his disease would terminate fatally. A nobleman who was present had been saying that he had made a party for Christmas in the country, and had taken the liberty to include Mr. Fox in it without his knowledge. "But it will be a new scene, sir," added he, "and I think you will approve of it." "I shall indeed be in a new scene by Christmas next," replied Mr. Fox. "My lord," continued he, "what do you think of the state of the soul after death?" Apparently confounded by the unexpected turn which Mr. Fox had given to the conversation, his lordship made no reply. Mr. Fox proceeded: "That it is immortal, I am convinced. The existence of the Deity is a proof that spirit exists; why not therefore the soul of man? And if such an essence as the soul exists, by its nature it may exist for ever. I should have believed in the immortality of the soul, though Christianity had never existed; but how it acts as separated from the body, is beyond my capacity of judgment. This, however, I shall know by next Christmas." Mrs. Fox took his hand and wept.

“I am happy,” said he, with great emotion, “full of confidence — I may say of certainty.”

So early as the middle of July the physicians informed Lord Holland that it was not reasonable to expect any favourable termination. His relatives, however, from anxious affection, endeavoured to derive hopes even from the most equivocal circumstances, when, on the 20th of August, he fell into a long lethargy, and on the following day the return of the water was evident. From this period Mr. Fox himself never encouraged any hope, but gradually prepared himself for the awful event, of which, it was evident, he thought most seriously.

On the 25th, the physicians, unable to check the accumulation of water, or to procure any evacuation for it, announced to Mr. Fox that it would be necessary to tap him again. “I know,” said he, “that I cannot survive this general dissolution of my constitution. Tell me how long you think I may live; I do not ask you if my recovery is even possible.” He was told that some instances had occurred. “Never,” replied Mr. Fox, “at my period of life and with my constitution. I entreat you to inform me how long you think I can remain in my present state.” The physicians con-

sulted together, but were still silent. "I will consent to be tapped," continued Mr. Fox, "but on the express condition that I shall be previously removed to St. Ann's Hill. It is nearest to my heart to breathe my last there." Such, however, was his weakness, that the physicians unanimously declared his removal impossible. At a subsequent consultation on the same day, they agreed to comply with his wish so far that he should be removed to the Duke of Devonshire's house, at Chiswick, as part of the way to St. Ann's Hill, in the hope that, when the water was again discharged, the change of air might operate favourably on his stomach.

He was accordingly removed to Chiswick on the 27th of August, but was so weak that the physicians were obliged to defer the tapping for four days, and even then it was judged necessary to stop before all the water was drawn off. Three days afterward the operation was completed, a new course of medicine was tried, and for a short time he appeared to recover health and spirits.

His friends, sanguine to the last, indulged hopes which, however, quickly vanished. On the evening of the 7th of September, his physicians perceived the symptoms of approaching dissolution,

which they notified to Lord Holland, but Mrs. Fox was not made acquainted with it till the following day. The symptoms had increased so much in violence that it was decided to inform Mr. Fox that he would probably not survive twenty-four hours, and that his recovery, or the continuance of his life for fourteen days, was not within the possibility of things. "God's will be done," replied Mr. Fox. "I have lived long enough, and shall die happy." Lord Holland now entered; Mr. Fox opened his hand, which his nephew grasped, unable to repress his tears. "My dear, my beloved nephew," exclaimed he, with great emotion. Mrs. Fox, supported by Lady Holland and Lady Elizabeth Foster, now entered, and the scene of distress which ensued was past description.

No one expected Mr. Fox to have survived the night. He remained, however, in the same state till toward the morning of the 10th, when it was again announced that he could not live over the day. All the symptoms of immediate dissolution manifested themselves, and such was his situation till the morning of the following day.

The change which took place on the 11th was surprising; in those who had not been accustomed

to the bed of death, it excited the most lively hopes, and some indignation was even felt against the physicians for their coldness, and the little value they attached to these appearances.

Early in the morning of the 12th, the former fatal symptoms returned, and it was a third time announced to Mr. Fox that he could not live many hours. His friends again took leave of him. They were about to retire, but Mr. Fox waved them back again, and manifested signs of impatience when the physicians advised them to withdraw. He was able to speak at intervals; and when Lord Henry Petty approached his bed, he said: "This is all in the course of nature. I am happy. Your labour is difficult — do not despair." Mr. Fox would have proceeded, but his lordship, unable to repress his emotions, retired, by the desire of the physicians, to another part of the room. Mrs. Fox was fixed motionless with grief, when a sudden burst of tears defeated all her precaution. Mr. Fox, who had hold of her hand, though his back was turned toward her, raised his head. "Do not, do not," said he, with a piteous look. He was now much exhausted, and fell into a kind of stupor. In the evening his friends were again admitted. Lord Holland and Mrs. Fox

seemed to engage almost all his attention. He spoke to them at intervals, but finding himself exhausted, he put the hand of Mrs. Fox into that of Lord Holland and seemed solemnly to impose a silent blessing by raising his own, and suffering it to descend gently on the united hands of his wife and nephew.

It was evident on the morning of the 13th that he was approaching nearer his end. By signs and half-words he again desired the presence of his friends. About noon they approached his bed, when he made a sign for the hands of Mrs. Fox and Lord Holland, which he again united, silently blessing them, with the same slow descent of his hand as the preceding day. This he repeated three times, and then endeavoured to turn himself, his back being toward them, and only his head raised. Being too weak for the effort, Mrs. Fox and Lord Holland went round to the other side of the bed, when he pronounced the last words he was able to articulate: "God bless you, bless you, and you all. I die happy — I pity you." He now fell into a stupor, from which he recovered about three o'clock, and looked for a moment fully upon all in the room, but hung particularly on the countenances of Lord Holland and Mrs.

Fox. He then closed his eyes, never to open them again, and expired about twenty minutes before six o'clock in the evening.

Thus died Mr. Fox, in less than eight months after his illustrious rival. It may be remarked that the expiring words of these two great men were strongly characteristic of the disposition of their minds. Mr. Pitt, whose exalted soul was wholly absorbed in anxiety for the future fortune of that empire, the reins of which he had directed with such ability and integrity, breathed forth his last sigh while the exclamation of the virtuous Roman, "Oh! my country!" died away on his quivering lips. "I die happy, but I pity you," said Mr. Fox, in whose nature was blended a greater portion of those tender sympathies which render the heart deeply sensible to the charms of social and domestic life. In the one, the love of country was paramount to every earthly consideration, in the other, the love of those objects to whom he was attached by the bonds of friendship and the ties of blood.

The remains of Mr. Fox were removed from Chiswick to the house recently occupied by him in the Stable-yard, St. James's, previous to his funeral, which took place on the 10th of October,

the anniversary of his first election for Westminster, which had been regularly celebrated for twenty-four years. It was the intention of the Prince of Wales to assist at the solemnity, but this design he relinquished on receiving an intimation that the attendance of any branch of the royal family at a private funeral was contrary to the established etiquette.

On the morning of the 10th, the remains of Mr. Fox lay in state for the gratification of his numerous friends, who assembled to pay the last tribute of respect to his memory. The room was hung with black, large lighted tapers were placed on each side of the coffin, on which were displayed the banners that were afterward carried in the procession.

A car had been purposely constructed for the conveyance of the body to its final resting-place in Westminster Abbey. It was considerably larger than that employed in the funeral of the heroic Nelson, and was twenty-seven feet in height. The shape was an oblong square, with a platform about seven feet from the ground, and raised toward the centre by five steps, upon which the body was laid. The dome, of a semicircular form, was supported by four pillars, and covered with the rich-

est black velvet drapery, trimmed with deep black silk fringe. The drapery round the platform nearly touched the ground, so as entirely to conceal the wheels; this was looped up by roses of black velvet, fastened by silk cords and rich tassels. The pillars were covered with black velvet drapery, festooned in the most tasteful style, and looped by silk cords and tassels. The dome was covered with a quantity of the finest plumes of black ostrich feathers. Near five hundred yards of velvet were used in the decorations of this superb carriage, which required no superfluous ornaments to add to its grandeur and solemnity, and therefore all additional decorations, such as escutcheons, were omitted; and the effect was doubly grand, awful, and solemn.

From an early hour in the morning the streets through which the procession was to pass were greatly crowded, and for several hours previous to its commencement, the windows, balconies, and tops of the houses about St. James's, Pall Mall, Charing Cross, Whitehall, and thence to Westminster Abbey, were fully occupied. The streets leading into this line were blocked by a temporary railing, behind which were drawn up vehicles of various descriptions filled with spectators. Several

detachments of the Horse Guards were stationed at the different avenues to prevent interruption from carriages, while others traversed the streets to preserve order and regularity. The line of procession was kept by several corps of volunteers, assisted by some detachments of the Foot Guards and Veteran battalion.

About two o'clock the procession commenced in the following order :

The Westminster Volunteer Cavalry.

The Junior Officers in front with trumpets; the Commanding Officer in the rear.

Six Marshalmen, two and two,

With black scarfs, hatbands, and gloves.

Mr. Marryon, High Constable of Westminster, mounted on a black horse,

With his staff of office, black scarf, hatband, etc.

Six Conductors, on foot,

Carrying white staves, with hatbands, etc.

Fifty-seven poor men,

Being the number of years composing the age of the deceased, in mourning cloaks, with a badge of his crest, hatbands, etc.

Arthur Morris, Esq., High Bailiff of Westminster, mounted on a white horse,

With black scarf, handband, etc., supported by two Marshalmen, with staves of office, hatbands, etc.

Six Marshalmen, two and two, as before.

Two Conductors on Foot,

With black staves, etc., as before.

One Hundred and Seventy-six Gentlemen, Electors of
Westminster, etc.

In mourning cloaks, hatbands, etc., walking four and four.
Deputation from the Country.

Sixty-four Gentlemen,

In mourning cloaks, hatbands, etc., four and four.

Black Standard Banner,

Carried by a gentleman on foot, with scarf, hatband, etc.,
supported by two gentlemen with scarfs, etc.

Members of the Whig Club,

One Hundred and Fifty, in black mourning cloaks, hatbands,
etc., walking three and three ;

Ninety-six in black silk scarfs, hatbands, and gloves, four
and four.

Five Gentlemen of the Household,

With scarfs, hatbands, etc., in two mourning coaches,
drawn by four horses each.

Five Grooms, and other inferior Servants of the deceased,
In deep mourning, with black crape hatbands, walking two
and two.

Physicians and Medical Gentlemen,

With black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc., in two mourning
coaches, with six horses each.

Eight Physicians and Medical Gentlemen,

On foot, with black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc.

Among whom were —

Doctors Vaughan and Mosely, and Surgeon Cline.

Divines in their Canonicals, etc.,

Seven in their gowns, etc., with scarfs, and hatbands, in two
mourning coaches, drawn by six horses each.

Among whom were —

Doctor Parr, and Doctor Raine, Master of the Charter
House.

Twenty Divines on foot,
In scarfs, hatbands, etc., two and two.

Singing Boys of the Chapel Royal,
Eighteen, in their full dress of scarlet and gold, with cocked
hats, black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc.

Two Mutes on Horseback,
Carrying staves, covered with black silk, black cloaks, silk
hatbands, etc.

State Plume of Black Ostrich Feathers, with Velvet Falls,
Carried by two men, with black silk scarfs, hatbands, and
gloves, supported by two pages, with black wands, with
gilt heads, scarfs, hatbands, etc.

Two Mutes on Horseback,
Carrying staves, with scarfs, etc., as before.

Two Men on Horseback,
As conductors, in mourning cloaks, with black silk hat-
bands, etc.

The Great Banner

(Representing the Arms of the deceased, quartered with
those of the United Kingdom, to denote that he was one
of the chief secretaries of state of his Majesty), car-
ried by an officer of the Heralds' Office, supported by
two gentlemen in mourning, with black silk scarfs, hat-
bands, etc.

Two Horsemen,
In cloaks, etc., as before.

Two Bannerols,
With the Arms and Crest of the deceased, on a white
ground, trimmed with black and white fringe, and car-
ried by two gentlemen on horseback, with black silk
scarfs, hatbands, etc.

Two Horsemen,
With cloaks, etc., as before.

Two Bannerols,

The same as before, with very little variation, carried by gentlemen as before.

Two Horsemen,

With cloaks, etc., as before.

The Crest of the deceased,

Carried on a black velvet cushion, by a gentleman of the Heralds' Office, on horseback, uncovered, led by two grooms, in deep mourning, with black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc. The horse covered with black velvet trappings, trimmed with deep black silk fringe, and ornamented by escutcheons of the arms of the deceased.

THE BODY,

In a coffin covered with black velvet, richly mounted in gilt furniture; carried in a hearse, drawn by six black horses, led by grooms of noblemen, in deep mourning, with black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc., attended by six pages on each side, also in deep mourning, with truncheons, black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc.

Six Noblemen, Pall-bearers :

The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Thanet, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Albemarle, in full dress mourning, with black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc., in two mourning coaches, drawn by six state black horses each.

The Chief Mourner, Lord Holland,

With a train cloak, supported by two noblemen (the Earl Fitzwilliam and Viscount Howick), with black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc., in a mourning coach, with six state horses.

Train-bearer to the Chief Mourner, Mr. Trotter,

(Mr. Fox's private secretary, nephew of the late Bishop of Down, a most intimate friend of the deceased),

With black silk scarf, hatband, etc., in a mourning coach with four horses.

The twenty Noblemen and Gentlemen Directors,
Part in mourning coaches, and part walking two and two.
Among whom were — the Attorney and Solicitor General, the Master of the Rolls in Ireland (the Right Hon. John Philpot Curran), Lord William Russell, Earl Cowper, Lord R. Spencer, Lord John Townshend, Messrs. Byng, Whitbread, Adam, Sheridan, etc.

A small Black Banner,

With the arms of the deceased, carried by a gentleman on foot, with black silk scarf, hatband, etc.

Peers, Mourners,

With black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc., two and two.
Among whom were — Marquises Tavistock and Headfort; Earls of Besborough, Thanet, Carysfort, Suffolk, Cholmondeley, and Jersey; Viscounts Melbourne, Sidmouth, etc.

Sons of Peers, Mourners.

Earl Percy, Lords Stanley, St. John, Ossulstone, G. Cavendish, Petre, four Ponsonbys, sons of Lord Ponsonby, etc., with scarfs, etc., as above.

Members of the House of Commons,

With black silk scarfs, hatbands, etc., two and two.

Banner of Emblems

(Representing Britannia lamenting the loss of the deceased) with the Lion and Shield at her feet, shaded by a willow, carried by a gentleman on horseback, with black scarf, hatband, etc., supported by two gentlemen on foot with scarfs, etc.

The Carriage of the Deceased,

Drawn by four horses, with three servants, in deep mourning, scarfs, hatbands, etc., behind.

State and other Carriages :

Lord Holland's, and four, servants in deep mourning, three footmen behind — Lord Henry Petty's, servants with black silk hatbands, etc. — Lord Ellenborough's, as before — Lord Grenville's, as before — Earl Percy's, as before — Earl Fitzwilliam's, as before — Earl Besborough's, and six, with three footmen, black silk hatbands, etc., in state liveries — the Duke of Devonshire's, and six servants in mourning, etc. — Duke of Norfolk's, as before — Lord Villiers's, as before — Lord Chancellor's, and four, as before — Sir John Aubrey's, as before — Sir John Throckmorton's, as before — Mr. Adam's, — Lord Moira's — Earl Cowper's — Earl Jersey's — Earl Thanet's — Lord William Russell's — Earl Fitzwilliam's — Earl Cholmondeley's — Lord G. Cavendish's — Lord Petre's — Earl of Albemarle's — Earl of Carlisle's — Earl Spencer's — Viscount Sidmouth's — Lord John Townshend's — Viscount Howick's — Mr. Whitbread's — Mr. Sheridan's — Mr. Alderman Combe's — Mr. Jervoise's — Mr. Home's — Mr. Langley's — Mr. Glover's — Mr. Lucie's — Mr. E. Bouverie's — the Marquis of Tavistock's — Marquis of Headfort's — Lord Stanley's — General Fitzpatrick's ; amounting to upwards of forty carriages altogether.

From the multitude of people who crowded about the palace, a great number of noblemen's and gentlemen's carriages were not able to fall into the procession, and for the same reason, the carriages which did join, were obliged to take their places promiscuously, without regard to rank.

As the procession passed Carleton House, a full

band of music, to the number of thirty, ranged there for the purpose, played the Dead March in "Saul," and other solemn music, which produced the most impressive effect.

On their arrival at the east end of Westminster Abbey, the several noblemen and gentlemen, who were before in carriages, alighted, and the body being removed from the hearse, the whole procession passed in regular order, on foot, through the narrow passage between the Abbey and St. Margaret's Church, taking a sweep through the Sanctuary, and entering at the great western gate, where the prebend and clergy of Westminster, preceded by the gentlemen of the choir, attended to receive them.

Within the Abbey the St. Margaret's and St. John's Volunteers were stationed on each side of the principal aisle. It was near four o'clock when the procession began to enter, when the organ and the choir commenced Doctor Croft's funeral service, with the anthem: "I am the resurrection and the life," etc. The solemnity of the scene made a deep impression on those who had enjoyed the particular friendship of the deceased statesman. The funeral service was read by the Rev. Doctor Ireland, one of the prebends of the cathedral, and

at the grave the choir sung Purcell's burial service — "Man that is born of a woman," etc. About half-past four the coffin was deposited in the grave formed for the purpose, about eight feet in depth, and exactly opposite the monument of the illustrious Chatham. In person, Mr. Fox was about the middling size, and of late years he had become very corpulent and unwieldy. His features, which were strongly marked, exhibited an appearance of shrewdness and ability, and his eye, in the midst of a debate or of an interesting conversation, was uncommonly animated. His face and figure will be long recollected ; his bust has been repeatedly carved in marble by the chisel of Nollekens, who is said to have executed upward of thirty. The pencil was likewise employed in transmitting his resemblance to posterity, no portrait having been painted so often.

No man was ever more ready to bestow praise on others than Mr. Fox, and, in return, he has himself been gratified with the homage of many distinguished persons of the present age. The great lexicographer, although pensioned by the king, and unfriendly to his principles, avowed his attachment to his person and his admiration of his genius ; his schoolfellow, the Earl of Carlisle,

hailed the dawning talents of his youth ; the classic pen of Doctor Parr offered a sincere tribute to the brilliancy of maturer years ; the Duchess of Devonshire, surrounded by the Loves and the Graces, hailed him as the brightest ornament of his age ; while the late Duke of Bedford installed his bust in the unfinished Temple at Woburn, which he had dedicated to Liberty, and, on his death-bed, requested of his successor that it might be completed for its reception. Underneath this bust are inscribed the following verses from the pen of the Duchess of Devonshire :

“ Here, 'midst the friends he lov'd, the man behold ;
In truth unshaken, and in virtue bold :
Whose patriot zeal and uncorrupted mind
Dar'd to assert the freedom of mankind ;
And, whilst extending desolation far,
Ambition spread the baleful flames of war ;
Fearless of blame, and eloquent to save,
'Twas he — 'twas Fox, the warning counsel gave ;
'Midst jarring conflicts stem'd the tide of blood,
And to the menac'd world a sea-mark stood !
Oh ! had his voice in mercy's cause prevail'd,
What grateful millions had the statesman hail'd :
Whose wisdom bade the broils of nations cease,
And taught the world humanity and peace !
But tho' he fail'd, succeeding ages here
The vain, yet pious effort shall revere,
Boast in their annals his illustrious name,
Uphold his greatness and confirm his fame.”

It is on the talents displayed by Mr. Fox as an orator that his future fame will be principally founded. To assist the reader in forming a just estimate of his merits in the character of a senator and a statesman, we shall take the liberty of transcribing the observations of a respectable journalist, which evince equal soundness of judgment and impartiality. “As an orator, Mr. Fox deservedly possessed a most prominent rank amongst the ornaments of the British senate. With powers of mind of the very first order, and habits of thought and reflection of the most profound description, it was impossible for him, while he mixed in public affairs, not to establish an ascendancy in every discussion respecting them. Accordingly we have seen him, on every such occasion, with the exception only of his ill-judged secession from Parliament, taking the foremost ground, in opposing the measures and policy of that truly great minister and transcendent statesman, the late Mr. Pitt. Whilst the minor members of his party were employed in skirmishing, or making feeble attacks on the outworks, Mr. Fox uniformly assailed the citadel. He disdained to enter the lists against any adversary but the great leader of his opponents, whilst he remained to be encountered. The

object of his attacks, however, was too firmly entrenched on the advantageous grounds of policy and patriotism, to allow any serious impression to be made upon him. But if Mr. Fox failed in his hostile operations, he was never disgraced by his defeat. Though we could not approve the cause, we could not withhold our admiration of the ability with which it was uniformly supported. The extent of his knowledge and the fecundity of his mind enabled Mr. Fox, whenever it suited his views, to swell trifles to consequence, and to enhance even the magnitude of important questions. He was gifted with a force of sagacity that enabled him instantly to comprehend the most multiplied details, to analyse the most complicated arguments, and to reduce the most refined and elaborate positions to the standard of first principles. Always animated himself, he never failed to animate others. Unambitious of the melody of sounds, or the decorative embellishments of polished language, he studied only the lucid exposition of his matter, and the precision and force of his reasoning were principally directed to guide the judgment, and inform the understanding. He neglected, we think culpably neglected, that most essential requisite of a finished orator — fluent,

copious, and correct diction. Attentive only to his matter, he was often betrayed into solecisms of language, and violations of grammatical accuracy, that were unpardonable in a leading public speaker. In this respect he was infinitely below his great and illustrious rival. While we could discern in him all the characters of a vigorous and active mind, we had always to regret the absence of those exterior graces that uniformly accompanied and enriched the fine powers of his adversary, enhancing their influence without diminishing their strength. Mr. Fox, as a speaker, might be compared to the rough but masterly specimen of the sculptor's art; Mr. Pitt to the exquisitely finished statue. The former wanted a polish to render him perfect; the latter possessed, in a transcendent degree, every requisite of an accomplished orator. The force of Mr. Fox's reasoning flashed like lightning upon the minds of his hearers; the thunders of Mr. Pitt's eloquence gave irresistible effect to his powerful and convincing arguments. Though Mr. Fox's reasoning was always cogent, and occasionally conclusive in the detail, it was frequently defective in point of arrangement for establishing his general conclusion. Like the lightning, to which

we have compared it, many numberless distinct flashes succeeded each other in rapid order, without producing any impression correspondent either to their number or their individual force. Bursting, in frequent but often unconnected succession, from his fertile mind, they electrified when they did not convince, and always left a sense of admiration at their acuteness and splendour, even when their light was eclipsed in the glare of subsequent flashes. Mr. Pitt's eloquence, on the contrary, proceeded with all the majesty of sound, and all the force of fire; uniting the rapidity of the flash with the awful solemnity of the peal, it enveloped his auditors in the light of conviction, and made the impression indelible by the irresistible energy with which it was urged. Perhaps the world never produced, at one period, two individuals so eminently superior to their contemporaries, so peculiarly calculated to be mutual rivals. It was in their collision with each other that their peculiar perfections were brought to light. Had they commenced and continued their political career on the same side, neither would, perhaps, have attained the eminence which both acquired. The planets shine with more lustre in opposition than in conjunction. If either were

the sun, we should not hesitate to say (and we are sure no impartial mind will deny) it was Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox was unquestionably a great luminary, the centre of a comprehensive system, giving light and heat to a number of secondary bodies. The great sun, however, of British statesmen, set with the late premier. The time and lustre of that great statesman's appearance above our political horizon will ever be remembered with pride by his grateful countrymen. And what must highly aggravate the loss which Britain has to deplore in the death of Mr. Fox, is the reflection that two such eminent men have, at such a crisis, been snatched away from its service within so short a period."

To appreciate fully the merits of Mr. Fox as a statesman must be the work of time, and will be the province of the future historian. To estimate them by the sentiments he entertained while a leader of opposition, would be to deprive him of all credit from his conduct after he came into office. In his ministerial capacity he gave repeated demonstrations of that enlarged spirit of policy, that comprehensive and commanding scale of combination which uniformly belong to a great statesman; but we have had no proof that his

actions strictly corresponded with the sentiments he expressed. Notwithstanding the patriotic declarations he occasionally made, there was great reason to apprehend that he was inclined to offer more sacrifices at the shrine of peace than could be considered consistent with the honour, the interest, or the safety of the country.


However politicians may differ with respect to the value and extent of his qualifications for the office of a principal minister of state, all must concur in admiration of the rare and cultivated powers of his mind, the quickness and force of his imagination, the strength and acuteness of his reasoning, and the brilliancy, vigour, and intensity of his eloquence. At the same time they will lament that such extraordinary genius and talents were not uniformly directed to the attainment of some great and honourable end; that the man who possessed those powers, instead of seeking to employ them for the benefit of the community, devoted too many of his days and of his nights to the practice of every species of debauchery, degrading himself to the level of sharpers, pick-pockets, and prostitutes. This surely was not the school in which to acquire the knowledge necessary for that station which was the object

of his ambition. Had he pursued a different course, — had he avoided the paths of crooked policy, — had he followed the line of conduct which an honest, upright, and independent spirit would dictate, instead of the equivocal reputation he obtained, he might have been distinguished as one of the brightest ornaments of Britain, he might have enjoyed the first offices in the state, he might have been hailed with the acclamations of every description of his countrymen, and have descended to the grave with the regret of every virtuous mind.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES
JAMES FOX.

Containing his will, as proved at London, on the 20th of October, 1806, before the worshipful Samuel Pearce, doctor of laws, and surrogate, by the oath of the Hon. Elizabeth Bridget Fox, widow, the relict, and sole executrix, to whom administration was granted; first sworn to administer.

“HEREAS the late Mr. Herdman, of Hatton Garden, did by his will give and bequeath unto me my legacy of five hundred guineas, which sum I shall be entitled at some future time to receive, together with the interest that will become due for the same: now, I do hereby give and bequeath one moiety or equal part of all such monies unto my nephew, Henry Fox, son of General Fox; and the other moiety or equal half part thereof unto Robert Stephen, a youth now living with Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, in America.

“ And whereas I am entitled to one annuity, or

clear yearly sum of one hundred pounds, lately granted to me by his Grace John, Duke of Bedford, for and during the term of the natural life of Harriet Willoughby, in the grant thereof named: now, I do hereby give and bequeath the same annuity unto my wife, Elizabeth Bridget, for and during the term of her natural life, if she, the said Harriet Willoughby, shall so long live; and from and after the decease of my said wife, unto the said Harriet Willoughby, for her own use and benefit.

“I give, devise, and bequeath, all the rest and residue of my personal estate, of what nature or kind soever, not by me before disposed of, and also all and singular my real estates, whatsoever and wheresoever, unto my said wife, Elizabeth Bridget, her heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, for ever; only I wish her to make presents in my name of any books, pictures, or marble, she thinks fit, as remembrances of me to the following friends: Lord Holland, General Fox, General Fitzpatrick, Lord Robert Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Hare, the Bishop of Down, Lord John Townshend, Miss Fox, and Mr. Bouverie. There are many others whom I love and value to the greatest degree, but these are my oldest connections.

“I nominate, constitute, and appoint my said wife, Elizabeth Bridget, sole executrix of this my will ; and, revoking all former wills by me made, do declare this only to be my last will and testament. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this twenty-first day of July, eighteen hundred and two years.

(Signed) “C. J. Fox.”

“Signed, sealed, published, and declared, by the said Charles James Fox, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who, in his presence, and in the presence of each other, have subscribed our names as witnesses thereof.

“EDWARD KENT.

“CHARLES PEMBROKE.

“ROBERT GILES.”


A MONODY

OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF THE
RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX

DEDICATION

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
EDWARD, EARL OF OXFORD, AND
EARL MORTIMER,
LORD HARLEY, etc.

My Lord: —

 N presuming to address the following poem to your lordship, I refrain, as fearfully from every form of apology, as I would from every appearance of insult; for, to suppose that your lordship can mistake the respectfulness of my intentions, would be to violate those characteristics of candour, which, while they manifest the extent and excellence of your lordship's philosophical principles, encourage the most humble to merit and solicit your favour.

The subject, for which I have ventured to claim the patronage of your lordship, while I endeavour to awaken the feelings of my country, is one of the most important as well as one most capable

of exciting the powers of a poet, that can possibly be imagined. The death of a patriot should inspire the most exalted sentiments, the noblest figures, the most perfect pathos; and therefore, while with inadequate powers, — while sensible of defective and laboured diction that creeps far beneath its theme, I have dared to pursue so sublime a topic, may I not hope that some few of those beauties inseparable from it, may, although obscured, have insinuated themselves into my lines, and may by their intrinsic value redeem the rest of the poem from contempt.

Such a plea, to the enlightened descendant of the illustrious patron of Pope, would indeed be hazardous and vague, had this awful subject already resounded in more harmonious numbers: but since a silence unworthy of the British Muse pervades society, your lordship will acknowledge, that it becomes him who feels strongly for the loss his country has sustained in the death of that great patriot, Mr. Fox, to express his feelings as audibly and as eloquently as his powers permit him.

The voice of esteem hath been so defiled in dedications, that this is perhaps the most degraded manner in which I can express my high

respect for the virtues and talents of your lordship. But truth, my lord, cannot be injured by place: that wisdom, and those mental powers, which dignify your lordship in retirement, as well as in public life, must secure admiration, esteem, and happiness, to your lordship and to your amiable family; and I hesitate not to declare, with an emotion of sincerity above the common dedicatory form of words, that I participate with the public in their high estimation of your lordship's worth, and respectfully, with your lordship's numerous private friends, in their expressions of regard and wishes for your felicity,

I am,

Your lordship's

very obedient,

most devoted

and most humble servant,

Nov., 1806.

THE AUTHOR.

A MONODY

OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH OF THE
RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX
SECRETARY OF STATE, ETC.



MOURN, Albion, mourn, my country, —
and with tears
Channel thy cliffs! — so dreadful is thy
loss,
The copious urn of Thames — the clouds of
heaven —

The ocean that obeys thee, could not yield
Sufficient moisture for thy mighty grief!
O, gird thy loins with sackcloth, and with dust
Defile thy tresses, — let the wailful cry
Of lamentation die along thy streets,
And strive to make thy children feel their woe!
Alas, like infants round their father's corpse,
Unconscious — playful with their coralled bells,
Thy sons, O Albion, on their patriot gaze,

Nor weep his shrouded limbs — his silent tongue —
His vanished mind replete with cares for them —
But in their vain pernicious wealth secure,
Play, idly, with corruption's tinkling praise.

Albion, O call upon thy sons to mourn !
Humble their souls in sorrow, — let the verse,
Won from some melancholy Muse, be heard
With awful cadence round thy echoing coasts !
The name of Fox might win the highest Muse¹
To throw the cypress o'er her sounding lyre,
And strike a long and piercing note of woe !

O would some Muse, indulgent to my theme,
Breathe on my lips, — enrich my soul with grief —
And with the copious utterance of woe
Pour out the solemn lay, then would I dare
To chant thy praise, thou patriotic shade —
To woo thee still to hover o'er the land
And (if the soul departed from its clay
May mingle in the cares which once it framed,
Its anxious cares that sought a people's good)
Recall thy best affections and detain²
Thee still a guardian spirit of the state !

Harley, the daring verse addressed to thee,
And for its awful theme with candour heard,

The daring verse in thee shall find support !
Deign thou, who from contention's feuds retired
Beholdst the world with philosophic eye,
And seest that all the blessings Heaven bestows,
Flow full upon the multitude in vain :—
How blind to merit — deaf to virtue's claims —
The maddened herd crowd round the fane of
power,
And hug the venomous corruption close ;—
O deign support this tribute to that name
On which the hopes of all the good were placed !

Spirits of ancient patriots, ye whose names
Hallow the page of history ! — Ye whose hands
Upheld the throne and fixed the bounds of
power, —
Within whose breasts the eternal flame of truth
O'er social freedom shed its sacred rays,
And on the path of justice brilliant shone, —
Ye awful spirits, do ye now receive
Amid your solemn conclaves, where ye sit
Debating on the happiness of man,
The strenuous soul of Fox ? — Amid your seats
Welcome ye him with shouts of joy, who strove
To save your laws from ravage, — to preserve
That mighty fabric of your anxious cares,

That cement of your wisdom and your blood,
The British constitution, pure, entire !

O rather mourned ye not ! went there not forth
Amid your bright assemblies sounds of grief,
Which e'en the high celestial seraphs joined,
Nor dared forbid you break the joys of Heaven,
So solemn and so virtuous was your woe ?
Trembled ye not ? — and toward the eternal throne
With eyes almost despondent turned ye not,
To pray for mercy on your native land ?

Yes, when ye heard fair Freedom's last great
 hope
Groan for his country on the bed of death ;
When ye beheld the mighty spirit leave
That frame that made it manifest to man ; —
When as it rose from earth ye rushed to meet
Its energetic presence, — then was heard
The mingling sounds of melancholy joy —
The voice of praise — the loud acclaim of fame —
The long reiterated stream of grief,
A tribute from your bliss to us, your sons, —
A senseless race, unconscious of our loss !³

Alas, how seldom doth the ample mind,
With comprehensive intellect endued,

Grasp at the helm of nations ! — Wisdom dreads
The mean debasing combat of deceit,
The narrow route of speculative pride, —
The low servility of those who cling,
And wind their supple souls around the gates
Of idle, timid, and luxurious power !
Alas, too often Wisdom scorns the herd : —
The insect crowd, her whisper might dispel,
She scorns with too much horror, — and retires
Unsullied to impenetrable shades.
There, solemnly contemplative, she views
The different ranks of men, — their wants, their
claims :
The dignity and duties of the rich, —
The worth, the strength, the rights of poverty ; —
And weighs the value of entailed respect —
The authority of monarchs — and the force
With which organic policy repels
The passions of mankind : full of these themes,
She, to the few who seek her lonely haunts,
Imparts her dictates, — well content that they,
Smit with the ardent love of beauteous truth,
Admire her awful theories. But, alas,
How seldom she or they repress the blush
That flushes o'er their foreheads, when they
think

On all the low debasing arts of power !
How seldom deign to mingle with mankind !
'Tis only when Heaven raises up a soul,⁴
Fervid, capacious, — full of strong ideas
That dart with fierce rapidity along,
And, with the torrent of their eloquence,
Shake, undismayed, the fabric of deceit,
And make corruption tremble, that we gaze,
Elated with the patriotic triumph !
That listening to the tongue which pleads our
 right,
And makes perverted power withdraw his hold,
We rise impressed with individual worth : —
Revere our duties as our social bonds,
Not crouch beneath them as the chains of slaves :
Love truth in all its forms of essence, — feel, —
(And ah ! with what exalted piety !)
How great the blessing is of being men !

Such, such, O Albion, was the powerful mind,
— The dreadful, deep, impressive eloquence, —
Rapid, as when the electric flame of heaven
Wide through the tempest throws its lucid flood,
And pours its vengeance on the guilty head ; —
Such was the awful utterance of those lips
Which, silent, moulder in thy sacred earth !

Such was that wondrous magnitude of soul
Which seemed dilated round thy patriot's form,
A radiance of truth ! — alas, that form —
Exhausted — cold — inanimate, decays —
And mingles with contaminated dust !
O would the power of rich expression pour
His swell of diction o'er my languid lyre,
And with such copious flow of music bear
Thy name, thou awful subject of my verse,
As when impetuous with the vast ideas
That rushed to save thy country, from thy heart,
Thyself wert heard ; — then might the lofty song
Incite all such as love their native isle —
Such as revere the fabric of its laws,
To form a sacred chorus, — and with sounds
Of tearful acclamation, shout aloud,
“ Man of the People, Albion weeps for thee, — ”
For thee, our sister isle, Ierne, streams
With wailful grief — and distant India mourns ! ”

O ye that crowd the footsteps of the throne —
And cringe for power to drain each source of
wealth
That industry, and art, and nature grants
To your exalted country : — turn and think
(If yet your thoughts can rise above the mass

Of wretched self that clogs your vapid souls)
 How many thousands suffer that are men —
 Have sensibilities, affections, hopes —
 Have social ties — nay more — have social
 rights —
 Yet want — and groan : — contract each natural
 wish, —
 Pine with sheer famine 'midst your luxuries, —
 Struggle, seduced by all your tempting baits,
 And in the miseries of vice, expire.
 O think on these and hold the oppressive hand !
 Dismiss each cold, bewildered, crippled aim,
 Each mean, short-sighted policy, that preys
 With sanguine fangs upon the present hour,
 And leaves the gasping carcass of the state,
 A mouldering — putrid nest of future woes.

Not such the mighty patriot's ampler view !⁶
 The soul of Fox, with comprehensive glance,
 Surveyed the whole existence of our race,
 And blended every thought of self with man !
 Each individual sense dissolved like gold,
 In rich suffusion, mingling with mankind !
 'Twas thus his wide conceptions shook the mind
 And made pale caution tremble : — rent the breast
 Where peculation with its brood of cares

Tormenting lay : — abashed the unblushing front
Of upstart ignorance, 'midst its vague designs.

Oh, with what pious awe, his filial heart
Adored his country, — loved the expansive laws
Which Freedom's hand hath on her realm be-
stowed,

Witness Columbia! When with firm revolt⁷
Thou daredst to shake oppression from thy coasts,
How for the rights of Britons he would plead!
The rights of Britons to the generous form
Of public legislation! — Shall thy sons,
O Albion, people colonies and raise
New marts for every produce of thy toil
If they, thereby, must yield their British rights,
And be, in foreign climes, thy foreign slaves?
Forbid it, genial power of Liberty!
Forbid it, patriot spirit, thou who felt'st
That wheresoe'er Britannia's children spread,
There spread her laws, — her constitution there
Spreads its wide shield, the guardian of their rights.

Parent of every bright and generous art,⁸
Celestial Peace, heard'st thou not oft with joy,
The philanthropic energy that breathed,
Of thee, applauded, from the lips of Fox?

Did not gigantic Commerce at thy side
Throw the long radiance of his golden hair
Delighted o'er thy bosom, and with smiles
Bid thee attend the patriot's fervid words,
And call up all thy hopes that thou should'st still
With Commerce and with Freedom bless this isle?
Alas, thou sawest the reptile that assumes
The mighty name of Commerce — (yes, that name,
Which social interest — universal good —
Bliss of commingling nations, bears sublime)
Thou sawest that spawn of Avarice, bloated, stretch
Its slimy trail and batten upon blood,
On human blood! — O horrible to tell,
In fetid folds it wound its nauseous form
Around the pillars of the British state:
Nurst by the warmth of power and fed by war,
It grew and sought with venom'd teeth to sap
All social independence: — every hope
That animates or blends the human race!

Thou spirit of the great, — the elder Pitt,⁹
Thou who from evil didst with powerful hand,
That imitated Heaven, elicit good! —
Who stretching forth the safety of thy arm
Didst shelter Commerce from the rage of war, —
Infold thy sight in clouds — in deepest clouds

Involve thy hearing, lest the voice of them
Who plead thy name to sanction their foul deeds
And render war the source of public spoils
Which, blasphemous, they call commercial good,
Disturb thy hallowed rest! — Alas, no more
Thou, bending from the borders of the sky,
Shalt hear the lips of Fox pursue the theme
Of public happiness, that theme to which
Thou hast thyself with eloquence divine
Oft won the listening senate! — that great mind,
That caught thy patriotic impulse, wings
To thee its sacred flight: — attracted, blends
With thine its vast ideas of social right —
Eternal converse of congenial thought!

Natives of India, Brahma's harmless race,¹⁰ —
Mourn — for a more enlightened Brahma, mourn!
Fox! who with philosophic ardour framed
That comprehensive code, which, in the embrace
Of mild humanity, might blend the rights
Of distant nations, — might declare how man,
Varied by clime, religion, custom, laws,
Should in one family connect his race,
And with exchange of blessings live in love,
He (O thou ravaged India!), he, thy friend,
Moulders in dust and leaves thee to the fangs

Of vile, insatiate Avarice! — he who, when
Thy splendid spoils enriched a venal court,
And poisoned honour near its awful source,
Stood firm amid the virtuous few who shared
His great exalted energies : — 'twas his
To scorn the proffered bribe of trembling guilt,
Nor when the agitated slaves of wealth
Spread their contagious fears among the crowd,
And artfully against themselves alarmed
The wavering people, shrunk he from the call
Of Justice, Freedom, and Humanity!
'Twas then the pestilential whisper breathed
With petrifying influence. — Murmuring stood
The hesitating senate and beheld
Wisdom's bright offspring in its arms expire.
Thus, India, thus, amid thy fervid plains,
The youthful cedar waves its beauteous form,
And offers shelter from the downward rage
Of thy oppressive sunbeams, till becalmed
The deadened air inhales the sickening heat,
And with mephitic touch corrupts the leaves,
Withering the yielding boughs and blackened trunk.

Reason and Knowledge with enlightened sway
Despise the vain destructive arts of fear : —
With energy of soul they gaze around

And seek the glory of triumphant Truth,
The victories of Benevolence and Peace !
War is the subterfuge of narrow minds
Who cannot comprehend the generous means
Of mild philanthropy ! — hence specious calls
Of desperate honour and the murderer's fame :
Hence Nature groans, and pale Humanity
Droops with unceasing sorrow for her sons,
Whom Ignorance or Pride or Fear compel,
Their victims, to the ruthless field of death.
Could all who with presumption seize the helm
And hold the fates of millions in their grasp,
Survey, like thee, O Fox, a bleeding world,¹¹
And feel like thee the philosophic strength
Of Wisdom and of Virtue, then no more
The yell of desolation should be heard ; —
The jealousy of nations — pride of kings —
Ambition's deadly thirst — and the dark power
Of Tyranny, who, trembling o'er his prey,
Fears those he dares destroy, — should be no more,
But Peace rejoicing should embrace the earth,
And Charity wave wide her dewy balm
Soft as a summer shower o'er all mankind !

Reason's sublimer conquest was the aim ¹²
Of thy persuasive energy, O Fox,

When o'er distempered France great Freedom
waved

Her sanguine banner. — Dreadful was the shout
Of mind awakening at her awful call!

A fierce enthusiastic madness reigned

That shook the neighbouring regions! — Terror
seized

The slavish nurslings of despotic power!

While lust of plunder and extended sway

Urged to the field the sanguinary host

Of regal robbers: flushed with treacherous hope

The thickening armies closed around the land,

Where, yet unsettled, the tumultuous crowd

With jealous ardour hailed the bright approach

Of strenuous Freedom! — ah, what scenes ensued!

Pale History weeps! — from her recording pen

Drops blood — drops horror o'er the fearful page!

Ah, wherefore listened Britain not to thee,

Mild, reasoning patriot? wherefore not to thee

Whose eloquence flowed strenuous with the cause

Of liberty? — who, ardent with the theme

Of bright perfection (which experience proves

The basis of the British code), didst strive

To set the constitution thou adoredst

A high example to enlightened man.

Discord would then have ceased her horrid cry,

And anarchy subsided into peace.
Thou, Britain, shouldst have gained sublimer fame,
Soothing the troubles of thy former foe —
Winning a monarch from suspicion's rage,
And seating him upon a throne like thine,
Strong with his people's aid — his people's love ;
Than if all Europe owned thy conquering sword
And humbled India poured her treasure forth
To thy proud merchants for her fettered life.
Wilt thou pursue, O Muse, thy venturous theme
And paint the patriot's sorrow ? O refrain ;
She, only she who sits with golden lyre
Beside the throne of Heaven, and with soft stream
Of melancholy numbers wins the ear
Of Mercy to attend the griefs of man,
She only might with symphony of woe
Utter the feelings of the patriot's breast.

Ah, when his country's breath increased the
storm ¹³

That drove the jealous multitude to deeds
Of direst name — to anarchy and blood ;
For thee, O Britain, mourned his anguished soul !
For he perceived how rapid thro' thy veins
Crept the dark venom of despotic power !
He saw, that, while thy rival had imbibed

A sense of freedom from the aid she gave
Columbia's struggling sons, thou hadst drank deep
The fetid dregs of arbitrary sway!

O Britain, 'twas for thee his soul o'erflowed,¹⁴
When thou and friendship rived his bleeding heart
As Burke with empty gloss of splendid words
Pleaded the cause of tyrants and resigned
His fame — his friend — his country! — Every
tear

Which on that day bedewed thy patriot's eyes
Fell on the historic page, reproaching thee,
Britannia, who, forgetful of thy rights,
Didst stoop with Burke to ministerial sway.
Yet shall those sacred patriot drops be felt
While virtue bears a name upon the earth —
While friendship deigns to breathe on social mind
With ardent impulse. — Yea, when Britain's fame
Lives amid that of nations who have been —
With Athens, Sparta, Rome; — e'en then, those
tears,

That sanctified the senate, shall excite
Congenial tears from patriotic love —
From friendship, wisdom and philanthropy!

Alas, too late, O Britain, didst thou seek¹⁵
The counsels of his wisdom. Oft in vain

Had he not pleaded for thy yielding rights ?
Yet, deaf to all his urgent eloquence,
How often hast thou bowed thy servile ear
To base corruption ! — ah, how oft deceived —
Won by vain hopes — dismayed by idle fears —
Hast thou not been the dupe of selfish pride ; —
While he, thy patriot, having striven in vain
To call thee back to freedom and to truth,
Left thy dishonoured hall ! What hand erased ¹⁶
His name, the lustre of thy council-roll ?
Virtue turned pale and trembled at the deed —
But Liberty with fierce disdainful smile
Stamped the eternal letters on her heart !
Yet ceased he not to love thee — still his voice
With fond entreaties urged thee to preserve
The sacred constitution of thy realm —
And when at length thou call'dst on him for aid,
In thy returning confidence he lost
All memory of injuries, and gave
His heart — his thoughts — alas, his life to thee !
Admitted to thy counsels, he beheld
What deep, unhealing wounds thou had'st sus-
tained :

How Avarice and ambitious Pride still tore
Thy bleeding bosom, like the dreadful bird
That on the liver of Prometheus preys :

Thus saw he thee with ever growing pain
Feed the fell harpies that devoured thy heart! —
He saw and shuddered : — thro' his trembling frame
Cold horror crept ! — yet still with ardent zeal
He gave thee all his soul — and called on Peace
To soothe thee and sustain thy drooping limbs ! —
Alas, the victim of an anguished mind,
His body sunk subdued : — a dire disease ¹⁷
Seized on his vital powers : — his anxious thoughts,
Revolving on thy fate, despised his own —
He groaned for thee — he prayed for thee — and
died !

O ye, his loved associates — ye who shared ¹⁸
Each generous impulse of his mighty mind, —
Pursue his patriot-hopes : — confessed to you,
His radiant thoughts, illuming every theme,
Shone forth with all their animating heat !
Called into life, your energies obeyed
The vivifying influence of his soul
And rose sublime, companions of his path !
Preserve his spirit ! — and while one remains
Who felt and claimed his friendship, may the
Muse
Strike her delighted lyre and chant aloud :
“ The flame of freedom is not yet extinct ! —

It lives on Sheridan's persuasive lips, —
It still survives in Howick's generous breast,
Tempered with wisdom, — or in Holland's mind
Irradiate with science, wide diffused,
It brightens all the interests of man ; —
Nor less amid thy philosophic calm,
O Harley, spreads its softer radiance forth,
And piercing Error's darkness, pours its rays."

NOTES

1. *The name of Fox might win the highest Muse.*

That mental energy which contemplates at once the whole political interests of society, appears to be so congenial with the *vis vivida animi* from which all real poetry must originate, that it will be impossible to find an instance of a truly great statesman who was not in some degree a votary of the belles-lettres. It is not surprising, therefore, that a mind so copious in ideas, so fluent in expression, so redundant in figurative reasoning as that of Mr. Fox, should be particularly favoured by those powers of harmonious diction which are styled the Muses. Educated with such indulgence as would have entirely perverted an imbecile and narrow intellect, his imagination, ever on the wing, had a boundless range, and the stores of a memory exquisitely tenacious were increased infinitely. But man, how vast soever his attainments, how great soever his faculty of conceiving intellectual imagery, is still circumscribed by time and the various incidents of life. He who possesses powers adequate to every pursuit feels himself confined to one train of exertions; and surely, if the direction of those exertions is patriotism, if philanthropy and the great active political interests of mankind call them forth, little occasion is there for regret that the more tranquil studies of contemplative philosophy and the *spiritum Graia tenuem Camæna* had not entirely attracted them. Our admiration of Mr. Fox's political pieces should, therefore, not seduce us

into the wish that he had yielded his mighty powers to that delightful impulse ; such a wish would be a species of impiety toward that constitution for the preservation of which, with the rights of so great a portion of the human race as are dependent on it, his whole soul was devoted.

In his poetical address to Poverty there is so much animation and firmness of principle that I cannot withstand the pleasure of transcribing the following passage :

“ When vice to wealth would turn my partial eye,
Or interest shut my ears to sorrow’s cry,
Or courtier-custom would my reason bend
My foe to flatter or desert my friend,
Oppose, kind Poverty, thy tempered shield,
And bear me off unvanquished from the field.”

The amatory verses of Mr. Fox possess warmth without either the insipidity of those refined lovers whose delicate fondness is uttered in sighing strains and who die at the end of every period, or the licentiousness of those who know no other part of the passion but its lust, and degrade human nature by the disgusting images in which they express ardent desire.

2. *Recall thy fond affections and detain
Thee still a guardian angel of the state.*

No man was ever considered by his cotemporaries as a bulwark of their rights so generally as Mr. Fox. Even those who through the influence of interest swerved from the direct line of public duty were not sorry to see a man stand forth and save their country from the dreadful consequences of their dereliction. While they endeavoured to infringe the rights of their fellow subjects, they beheld with

consciences less violently tormented the champion of general liberty call his patriotic band around him, and sustain that fabric from falling, which their criminal conduct had so fearfully injured.

3. *A senseless race, unconscious of our loss.* A silence with respect to the loss we have sustained, disgraceful to the country, has already been more than once commented upon in the papers. It is only a series of brilliant successes that affect the general mind, and it must be acknowledged that the successes of Mr. Fox were not equal to his exertions. Nor is it difficult to account for that want of success. Those who sacrifice their honour and patriotism to the seductive whispers of corruption can conceive no other power of persuasion than that of interest. Music, in the fable of Amphion, is said to give animation to stone and to move rocks; but no fable was ever extravagant enough to attribute to gold the least sensibility to the softest sounds. The savage may be reclaimed, the inactive roused, the wrathful disarmed, and the resolute shaken by the powers of eloquence; but the corrupted have no ear. Interest deprives its victim of all the sympathies of the soul, or submits its hireling purposes to the government of others.

4. *'Tis only when Heaven raises up a soul,
Fervid, capacious, — full of strong ideas
That dart with fierce rapidity along.*

Eloquence will arrest the attention, even when it does not determine the purpose, and when sustained like that of Mr. Fox, by reason and the rights of our political system, must have astonished the most perverse, while it delighted those whose intellect was undepraved by the corruptions of ava-

rice. The eloquence of Mr. Fox resembled the vigorous and impassioned utterance of Demosthenes rather than the more subtle and regulated declamation of Cicero. It was manifest to all who heard him, that the genuine feelings of his heart animated every period, that his very soul spoke, that it was the fervour of principle which called so wonderful a creation of ideas into existence. This was particularly remarkable when his favourite topic—the rights of the Commons of Great Britain as delegated to their representatives in Parliament—was the subject of his discourse. Confident of the consequence of that part of the constitution, he resisted the encroachments of prerogative and the seductive example of aristocratic submission with such patriotic determination as must have excited an honourable sense of freedom in every uncontaminated Briton.

5. *Man of the People — Albion weeps for thee!* This honourable name, during the greatest part of his life, denoted Mr. Fox throughout the whole of the British Empire, and even among both our enemies and allies. There is so venerable an idea attached to the appellation of Man of the People in my mind, that I can scarcely imagine a human being more exalted than such a one on whom it is bestowed deservedly. The vague breath of a mob may indeed confer it for a short time on a demagogue; but when the independent part of society, together with a numerous portion of the highest deliberative assembly in the world, almost unanimously apply it to an illustrious individual during the most estimable part of his life, it becomes the most awful title by which a man can be distinguished from the rest of mankind.

“Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem, libera dixit.”

And for the same purity of exertions in defence of the glorious liberties of his country as they are constituted in the franchises of the electors did Mr. Fox deserve and obtain the title of "Man of the People."

6. *Not such the mighty patriot's ampler view!* It would be impossible to enumerate here the instances of those comprehensive views with which Mr. Fox surveyed public affairs. From the termination of his first short ministerial career when, while under age, he was made the pupil of an encroaching minister, to the termination of his life, his whole conduct was a series of enlightened efforts for the public good. The short administration formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham is a testimony in favour of those upright principles that bound him to his patriotic duties. He resigned at the death of the marquis, because those public measures, replete with philanthropy and justice, were not adhered to which had been stipulated for on his acceptance of his place as secretary of state. These stipulations were: peace with America, a substantial reform in the civil list expenditure, the diminution of the influence of the Crown. But during the few weeks that such an administration remained in power, much was done by their exertions; and there is little doubt that, had it continued another session, the constitution would have been restored to its primitive purity, and that the burthens of the people would have been relieved. In the new administration which succeeded on the death of the marquis and the resignation of Mr. Fox and Lord John Cavendish, we find the Earl of Shelburne in the treasury, and the late Mr. Pitt chancellor of the exchequer. In the able and eloquent defence of his resignation, Mr. Fox set forth a

system of political principles to which he has ever adhered, and which, indeed, were not calculated to obtain the concurrence of any set of men who struggle either for power or riches. Accordingly, the new chancellor of the exchequer replied to him with acrimony, and commenced that variance in political opinion which has given such strong traits to public debates and state affairs for these last four and twenty years. It is remarkable, also, that this division commenced with the charge, so often repeated since, and which may be termed the watchword of Mr. Pitt's ministerial phalanx: "that Mr. Fox was more at variance with men than measures." But how will posterity believe such a charge, when they perceive that firm and strenuous patriot quitting friends when they no longer pursued the general good, — coalescing with enemies whenever they expressed sentiments congenial with the safety and honour of their country? No — wherever he found men willing to support those measures which were conformable to his own firm and perfect determinations, he did not inquire who they were, or what had been their past offences; he forgave all personalities, and extended the hand of unsophisticated friendship to every one who dared to become the friend of his country.

Mr. Mason's celebrated ode to the late Mr. Pitt was written about the time of the Rockingham administration. The beauty of the poetry testifies that the term *vates* has not so extensive a signification as formerly — Mr. Mason was certainly a poet, but as certainly no prophet. The whole of the last stanza, and many of the other features, are so descriptive of what Mr. Pitt ought to have been, and what Mr. Fox was, that I shall here insert some of the latter part of this very excellent production.

IV.

“ From earth and these,[†] the Muse averts her view,
To meet in yonder sea of æther blue

 A beam to which the blaze of noon is pale;
In purpling circles now the glory spreads,
A host of angels now unveil their heads,

 While heaven's own music triumphs on the gale.

 Ah, see two white-robed seraphs lead
Thy father's venerable shade;

 He bends from yonder cloud of gold,
While they, the ministers of light,
Bear from his breast a mantle bright

And with the heaven-wove robe thy youthful limbs enfold.

V.

“ ‘ Receive this mystic gift, my son,’ he cries,

‘ And, for so wills the Sovereign of the skies,

 With this receive, at Albion's anxious hour,

A double portion of my patriot zeal,

Active to spread the fire it dared to feel

 Thro' raptured senates, and with awful power

 From the full fountain of the tongue

 To roll the rapid tide along,

 Till the whole nation caught the flame :

 So on thy sire shall heaven bestow

 A blessing Tully fail'd to know ;

And redolent in thee diffuse thy father's fame.

VI.

“ ‘ Now thou, ingenuous boy ! that fame despise

That lives and spreads abroad in heav'n's pure eyes,

 The last best energy of noble mind ;

[†] Those who opposed the funeral expenses and annuity to Lord Chatham's family in the House of Lords.

Revere thy father's shade! — like him disdain
 The tame, the timid, temporising train,
 Awake to self, to social interest blind!
 Young as thou art, occasion calls, —
 Thy country's scale or mounts or falls
 As thou and thy compatriots strive —
 Scarce is the fatal moment past
 That trembling Albion deem'd her last,
 O knit the union firm, and bid an empire live.

“ Proceed and vindicate fair Freedom's claim,
 Give life — give strength — give substance to her name;
 The native rights of man with fraud contest:
 Yes, snatch them from Corruption's baleful power,
 Who dares, in day's broad eye, those rights devour,
 While prelates bow, and bless the harpy feast.
 If foil'd at first,¹ — resume thy course,
 Rise strengthened with Antæan force,
 So shall thy toil in conquest end.
 Let others court the tinsel things
 That hang upon the smile of kings —
 Be thine the muse's wreath; — be thou the People's
 Friend!”

7. *Witness Columbia! When with firm revolt
 Thou daredst to shake oppression from thy coasts,
 How for the rights of Britons he would plead!*

It is not necessary to enter into a disquisition on the merits of the American Revolution; the nearer we approach

¹ This alludes to Mr. Pitt's motion for a reform in the representation of the country in Parliament; a measure in which he was ably supported by Mr. Fox, then secretary of state, but which failed on account of that baleful power ever

that point of view at which a past event may be contemplated with coolness, the more do we become convinced of the justice of their cause, and of the imbecility and mean tyranny of those who urged the mother country into the cruelties of oppression. The speech of the illustrious Lord Chatham, who, after a long absence, appeared in the House of Lords to express his horror at the conduct of those who endeavoured to subjugate the children of Britons, and to denounce, with a prophetic spirit, the delusive machinations of ministers who were preparing disgrace, humiliation, and despotic precedents for the councils of their monarch, is sufficient to satisfy the most prejudiced who retains the least esteem for the excellent constitution of his country.

The following extract, from the Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, cannot in this place be unacceptable to my readers.

“ PHILADELPHIA, July 6, 1775.

“ If it were possible for men who exercise their reason to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property and unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of

ready to consume the rights of the people, a feast to which prelacy says grace more ardently than she administers the sacrament. Mr. Pitt rose, not, however, with Antean force, against the baleful power. He left the future contest to Mr. Fox, and, with the struggle, was content to resign the title of the People's Friend.

humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be particularly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest when regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms."

In the same address, alluding to the exertions of Mr. Fox and his friends, the natives of America thus continue: "Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on."

8. *Parent of every bright and generous art,
Celestial Peace!*

True commerce is founded on the principle of universal peace and good will among mankind. It consists in the mutual exchange of benefits. Its resources are the produce of the world, and, where those resources arise most abundantly, there is the springhead of that fountain, that may flow in happiness or misery over the rest of the human race. If Britain, by an intercourse of probity, conciliates the con-

fidence of other nations ; if she surpasses them in those arts that render the gifts of nature more subservient to the convenience and happiness of man ; if, by courage, perseverance, and knowledge, she conducts a superior intercourse through all parts of the globe ; and, by the embellishments and virtues of civilisation, wins savage people from their ferocity ; if in this manner she claims and obtains the greatest share of the commerce of the universe, — then, indeed, is her splendour honourable, — then, indeed, may her merchants boast of their riches. But peace, and peace only, can protect such advantages. Manufactures and arts, — true science, — probity and liberal intercourse cannot exist while war renders every sail suspicious, closes the marts, ravages and depopulates cities, extinguishes the ardour of honourable rivalry in the arts, and destroys civilisation. A species of trade arises indeed amid the devastations of war. Avarice greedily seizes upon the opportunity to increase the value of every necessary, to monopolise the sale of every useful commodity, to watch the wants of the state, and to become the cruel and destructive resource of the national necessities. Hence what a numerous body of powerful wretches become candidates for war ! They reign — they supersede the constitution. Liberty becomes a mockery, for they hold the very strength of political freedom in chains, — they contaminate the laws, — they tread upon the poor with impunity, and make those nations that once loved and revered us, shudder at the name of Britain ! I shall conclude this note with two quotations ; one from the epistle of Sallust to Julius Cæsar, the other from the present laureate's ode for the new year 1791, which I think one of the finest compositions of the kind ever written.

“Avaritia, bellua fera, immanis, intolleranda est: quo intendit, oppida, agros, fana, atque domos vastat: divina cum humanis permiscet: neque exercitus neque mœnia obstant quò minùs vi suâ penetret: famâ, pudicitîâ, liberis, patriâ atque parentibus cunctos mortales spoliât.” — *Salust, de Rep. Ordin.*

I.

“When from the bosom of the mine
 The magnet first to light was thrown,
 Fair Commerce hail'd the gift divine,
 And, smiling, claimed it for her own.
 ‘My bark,’ she said, ‘this gem shall guide
 Thro’ paths of ocean yet untried,
 While as my daring sons explore
 Each wide, inhospitable shore,
 ‘Mid desert sands and ruthless skies
 New seats of industry shall rise,
 And culture wide extend her reign,
 Free as the ambient gale, and boundless as the
 main.’

II.

“But Tyranny soon learnt to seize
 The art, improving Science taught,
 The white sail courts the distant breeze
 With horror and destruction fraught;
 From the tall mast fell War unfurl'd
 His banners to a new found world;
 Oppression arm'd with giant pride,
 And bigot Fury by her side;
 Dire Desolation bath'd in blood,
 Pale Avarice and her harpy brood,

To each affrighted shore in thunder spoke,
And bowed the wretched race to slavery's iron yoke."

— *H. J. Pye, Esq., P. L.*

That the rest of the ode may long remain as applicable as the former, is my ardent wish; but when I contemplate the miseries of India, and the cruel commerce of the slave-trade, I fear that poetry rather than truth dictated the next stanza:

"Not such the gentler views that urge
Britannia's sons to dare the surge," etc.

9. *Thou spirit of the great, — the elder Pitt!* The inscription on the monument which is erected to the memory of Lord Chatham in Guildhall, describes him to have been the first minister by whose wisdom commerce was conducted in safety during a period of war. It is true; commerce even flourished during his administration. Not that deceitful traffic that preys upon the miseries of belligerent nations; but real, generous, enlightened commerce: that universal intercourse of blessings, for the sake of which God seems to have diversified the soils and temperaments of the earth, — thereby rendering the communication of man with man so highly desirable. It was by ever active vigilance, protecting the vessels of merchants by powerful and watchful convoys; by an invulnerable respect for the rights of individuals of every nation; and by a close and unbroken preservation of British honour in commercial transactions. That he resembled Mr. Fox in many respects, will appear from the following quotation from Lord Chesterfield's character of him:

"He came young into Parliament, and upon that great theatre he soon equalled the oldest and ablest actors. His

eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs."

"In that assembly where public good is so much talked of, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so ably, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather their only unsuspected champion."

10. *Natives of India, Brahma's harmless race,—
Mourn — for a more enlightened Brahma, mourn!*

Although Mr. Fox's India bills were not a direct code of laws for the natives of that wretched country, yet as they were founded upon the principle of protecting them from mercantile oppression; of securing to them their own laws and possessions, and of giving them a claim to the benefit of British judicature, they may be considered as forming a system of Indian legislation. By them the inheritance of native landholders was secured, and all alteration or arbitrary increase of rents was provided against. They appointed the punishment of offences committed in the territories of the tributary princes, forbade the servants of the company to collect or farm their revenues, and secured the right of succession according to the laws of the country.

This great plan was grounded upon that necessity of restraining the extortion, cruelty, and tyranny of the servants of the company, which appeared in the eleven reports of the secret committee appointed to examine into

the situation of India affairs, to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice, and to determine in what manner the British possessions in the East Indies might be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country, as well as by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants might be best promoted.

The eagerness with which these inquiries were commenced seemed honourable to the government and the feelings of the nation; the flagrant acts of violent injustice, the arbitrary extortion of nazirs, or free gifts, the fraudulent grants of leases, and the many other shameful instances of rapine and avarice which were discovered, called aloud for the interference of Parliament. It was said that the entire management of such extensive territorial possessions should no longer be entrusted to a company of merchants, and many persons besides Mr. Fox approved of placing them entirely under the direction of the British Parliament.

Such was the warmth of one session of Parliament, that the court and government appeared enraged at the cruel depredations of greedy speculators, who dishonoured the name of British merchants; yet was it remarked that at the opening of the ensuing session the king's speech contained not one word relative to Indian affairs.

And moreover, it was confidently affirmed that, on the 11th December, the king signified to the Earl Temple, who had been ordered to attend him in the closet for that purpose, his disapprobation of Mr. Fox's India bill, and authorised him to declare the same to such persons as he might think fit; that a written note was put into his hands, in which his Majesty declared, "That he should deem those who should vote for it not only not his friends, but his enemies; and that if he (Lord Temple) could put this in

stronger words, he had full authority to do so." And lastly, that in consequence of this authority, communications had been made to the same purport to several peers in the upper House ; and particularly to those whose offices obliged them to attend the king's person.

Scarcely four years had elapsed after the minister's India bill had passed, when a declaratory bill was found necessary to elucidate its purport — a declaratory bill at which many of his former supporters revolted, and which some of the directors of the company asserted to be contrary to the interpretation they had ever given to the former measure. It was then that Mr. Fox had the proud pleasure of hearing his opponent enforcing the very system that originated with himself, with all the flow of ministerial eloquence. " I must have been gifted," said Mr. Fox, " with extraordinary feelings indeed, if I had not been peculiarly gratified at hearing a complete and able defence of almost every principle of my own bill, from the mouth of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), at hearing almost the whole of that measure supported with irresistible eloquence, and in a flow of language peculiar to himself. It will now no longer be clamoured through the country that I am the violator of chartered rights, or the usurper of the powers of the East India Company. Had the right honourable member acted in the same open and fair way in 1783, all that abuse which I have sustained, all that clamour that has been excited, all that popular frenzy which disgraced the kingdom from one end of it to the other, never would have been provoked. He would then have said: ' You take away the company's charter ; there I am with you : the flagrant abuses the company have made of it could not have been put an end to unless you did so. You suspend all their rights ; there again I am with you : the suspension

•

is necessary for their salvation. You assume the complete management and control of all the company's affairs, civil and military, and the disposition and application of all their revenues; in all this you do right: such an assumption is requisite to give effect to your system. But you put those powers into the hands of a board of commissioners appointed by Parliament, there you do wrong, and there I am not with you. I contend that a board of control, appointed by the Crown, is the proper board to entrust these powers with.' Upon that single point ought to have rested the whole dispute, for that is the only essential difference between the two bills."

II. *Survey, like thee, O Fox, a bleeding world,
And feel like thee the philosophic strength
Of wisdom and of virtue.*

"La guerre est quelquefois nécessaire, il est vrai; mais c'est la honte du genre humain qu'elle soit inevitable."—*Fénélon.*

Reason and the truths of universal justice ought to be able to resist effectually the commencement of war. They are not so because narrow minds know not how to concede to reason, and because the principles of justice are too frequently borne down by selfish pride and obstinacy of opinion. Perhaps a series of examples in support of these assertions could nowhere be more easily found than in the history of these last thirty years. The American war, the armament against Russia, and the consequences of commencing a war with France on the subject of her revolutionary principles, are so many testimonies that war generally originates in folly, pride, and selfish opinion. To quote the

speeches of Mr. Fox on the above occasions would be to collect a body of pure and elevated sentiment, against which nothing but hardened and corrupt despotism could militate.

12. *Reason's sublimer conquest was the aim*

Of thy persuasive energy, O Fox,

*When o'er distempered France great Freedom waved
Her sanguine banner.*

It is not my intention, nor indeed would the nature of a note permit me to enter into any detail concerning the French Revolution. That its first leading measures arose from a laudable determination to throw off the yoke of despotism and to establish a free and rational government seems to be admitted by all parties. But despotism was of so long and firm a growth in France, that it could not be moved without tearing up the interests of millions, who, like swarms of adders under the extensive roots of an aged beech, were shaken from their establishment into which they had long nestled under the protection of arbitrary and corrupt government. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that all social bonds were dissolved in an event of such magnitude; that the principles of true liberty, which is itself no more than social justice, should in such a concussion of all society, have fallen into anarchy; that a people thus rent into factions of interest and principle, and surrounded by foreign robbers who waited to seize and dismember a disordered country, should be driven into an insane enthusiasm. Was it becoming in a nation which had long enjoyed the blessings of real freedom, and which should have regarded the efforts of France with that generous philanthropy which real freedom inspires, was it becoming in England to join with a host of despotic bandits — to assist

in exciting commotion, to foster national prejudices, to irritate the heated minds of men jealous of their newly recovered rights, and to plan (if indeed such imbecile and short-sighted policy can be said to plan at all) the subjugation of a struggling empire?

The conciliating measures which were during the whole of that war, and particularly at its commencement, held forth in the eloquent speeches of Fox, Sheridan, and Gray, will indeed save the British nation from some part of the infamy to which history will condemn it for the transactions of that period.

13. *Ah, when his country's breath increased the storm
That drove the jealous multitude to deeds
Of direst name —*

It must be manifest to any one who considers the French Revolution without prejudice, that there existed an extensive party both in that nation itself and among the neighbouring kingdoms, who, while they looked upon the birth of extravagant doctrines with pretended terror, yet at the same time meditated cruel advantages which they hoped such extravagance would necessarily create. It was with inexpressible horror that Mr. Fox saw the government of this country uniting in the dark designs of such a malevolent race. He saw a species of despotic delirium urge the first truly free nation in the world to oppose every appearance of freedom among other people — he saw his country more ready to crush the rising impulses of liberty than to give them that proper direction of which she had herself such just knowledge, and to which honourable task she was so frequently implored.

14. *O Britain, 'twas for thee his soul o'erflowed,
When thou and friendship rived his bleeding heart,
As Burke with empty gloss of splendid words
Pleaded the cause of tyrants.*

I need not here describe Mr. Burke's eloquent defence of the feudal system, and all the despotic institutions of government which have arisen out of it. It was after a violent speech of that gentleman's, in which on account of Mr. Fox's praise of the first constitution of liberated France, Mr. Burke disclaimed all future friendship with him, and thereby publicly severed a patriotic intimacy of more than five and twenty years' duration, that Mr. Fox arose to reply with such agitation of mind, that tears impeded his utterance, and he stood for some time divided between friendship and patriotism; between affection for that liberty which they had so often contemplated together in the British constitution, and affection for him who for so long a period had been the depositary and source of his most elevated sentiments.

So awful was the scene, that the whole senate listened with fearful attention to a personal debate, interesting to every individual both as a Briton and as a man, but almost entirely foreign to the question then before the House.

This affectingly solemn occurrence took place on the 6th of May, 1791, upon the subject of the recommitment of a bill for the framing a constitution for the province of Canada, known by the title of the Quebec Bill.

15. *Alas, too late, O Britain, didst thou seek
The counsels of his wisdom. Oft in vain
Had he not pleaded for thy yielding rights?*

Not until the liberties of the country had been sacrificed; not until its public credit, "that pure soul of the state,

immaterial in itself, yet giving substance to all its functions,"¹ had been almost annihilated; not until the real commerce of the country had been compelled to give way to the specious depredations of jobbers, contractors, and monopolists, were Mr. Fox and his friends entrusted with a share in the government of that country, for the preservation of which he had watched with long and anxious vigilance. If that vigilance was unavailing, — if reptiles had burrowed in the holes of a decaying constitution in spite of all his earnest calls upon virtue and patriotism to prevent them, was it for a Dundas to reproach him with those popular appeals to the nation, which even Mr. Pitt had styled "the best and most useful duty which representatives in Parliament could discharge to their constituents?" Shame, disgrace, and the eternal reproach of history be upon them, who opposed his ardent endeavours to rouse the public feelings of a people who had been free.

If we have not yet seen the spirit of the Rockingham administration revived in the present ministry, let us impute it to the enormous mass of miseries, under which the rights and claims of the people were buried by the accumulations of encroaching power. If they have in the beginning rather trod in the hateful steps of their predecessors, let us consider that the calamity of the country had arrived at that delicate crisis, in which any sudden remedies would have been fatal, — to him who has long been sustained by noxious aliment, a violent change of regimen, even fraught with the most nutritive food, would be fatal. The mischievous and malignant policy of former ministers had involved that "soul of the state," our public credit, with a new body of avaricious speculators; incorporated with their mean and

¹ Earl of Oxford's pamphlet on Public Credit, quoted by the Marquis of Lansdowne with the highest encomiums.

destructive pursuits, the whole system of government was become perverted — the political metempsychosis was complete: the soul of the constitution animated a monster, which preyed upon the vitals of the country. Still may we confide in the exertions of those who have imbibed the sentiments of Mr. Fox. Yes, in their enlightened wisdom do we still hope for all those blessings which a Rockingham administration began to restore at an earlier period of our annals.

16. *Left thy dishonoured hall! What hand erased
His name, the lustre of thy council-roll?*

Mr. Fox's secession from Parliament was occasioned by the success of the ministry in passing those two hateful and cruel bills, known by the name of the Pitt and Grenville acts. Perhaps the people of England were never treated with such contempt as in the debates upon those new edicts. Bishop Horsley said "that the mass of the people in any country had nothing more to do with the laws than to obey them." And the Earl of Westmoreland seemed to consider the people as mere irrational beasts of labour: "Send the people," said he, "to the loom and to the anvil, and there let them earn bread, instead of wasting their time in seditious meetings."

Disgusted at such sentiments, Mr. Fox shuddered at the bias which corrupt influence had given to the consultations of the senate. He saw that the liberties of the country were surrendered by the representatives of the people: and whence was the restoration of those liberties to be expected but from the public itself? His secession was therefore an awful appeal from a corrupt Parliament to the people. This was particularly felt on the celebration of the anniversary of his birthday, January 23, 1798: the minds of those who

were sensible of the situation of their country were excited to the expression of such constitutional and patriotic sentiments as called forth all the rancorous malevolence of a proud and arbitrary ministry. The Duke of Norfolk was immediately dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and his regiment in the militia; and on the 25th January, 1798, "A board of privy council was held at St. James's. Mr. Falkener, as clerk of the council, laid the book, containing the list of the privy councillors, before his Majesty, in obedience to his commands; when the king drew his pen across the name of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, and returned the book to Mr. Falkener." — *Annual Register, 1798. Chronicle.*

17. *His body sunk subdued:— a dire disease
Seized on his vital powers:— his anxious thoughts,
Revolving on thy fate, despised his own —
He groaned for thee — he prayed for thee — and died!*

Such was the termination of that patriotic existence which had to contend with pertinacious power for those very liberties which entrusted that power with its insidious prerogatives. Prerogatives which have increased, are increasing, and must be diminished if these islands are ever again to enjoy the purity of their benignant constitution. Strenuously attached to those principles which produced the revolution of England in 1688, and which might have mitigated the horrors of the revolution of France, he became the idol of the people, without courting popularity, and won the attachment of a nation, without stooping for it. In his popular harangues he flattered no vice, — he fomented no seditious opinion, — he taught men their duties to themselves and to their sovereign: he bade them consider the laws, not as a yoke under which they should bend with ser-

vility, but as the staff that should support their weakness, and enable them to stand firm against the encroachments of power, and the corruption of destructive influence; he incited them to love those laws, — to revere that legislature, which a set of miscreants were endeavouring to make them fear, were rendering wholly unworthy of their confidence.

During the American war his speeches testified that close intimacy with the sublime policy of freedom, which, if it could not restrain the determined hand of oppression, made the oppressors blush at their conduct. The consequences which he predicted have been too accurately verified: he saw the offsprings of despotic principles even in their birth — he called on that throne which owed its elevation to the magnanimous extinction of such principles, to crush them in their birth; they still survive, and unless those who thought with him continue to act according to his patriotic views, fatal indeed must be the result. But to doubt that a Grey, a Sheridan, a Whitbread, an Erskine, or a Lauderdale can desert the sacred cause of their country would be to suppose a depravity in human nature to which even a Swift or a Rochefoucault would hardly assent. Possessing the principles of their departed friend, may they long enjoy that power, which, in such hands, must give a new and beneficent turn to the situation of affairs, and engraft again the true and distinguishing principles of the constitution upon the branches of the strengthened and recovered state.

Mr. Henry Fox, afterward Lord Holland and father of the late illustrious patriot Charles James Fox, was the son of Sir Stephen Fox. The family possessed a landed estate of about £300 a year, at a place called Farley in Wiltshire. This estate is at present the property of the Earl of Ilchester. The monuments of the family are there preserved

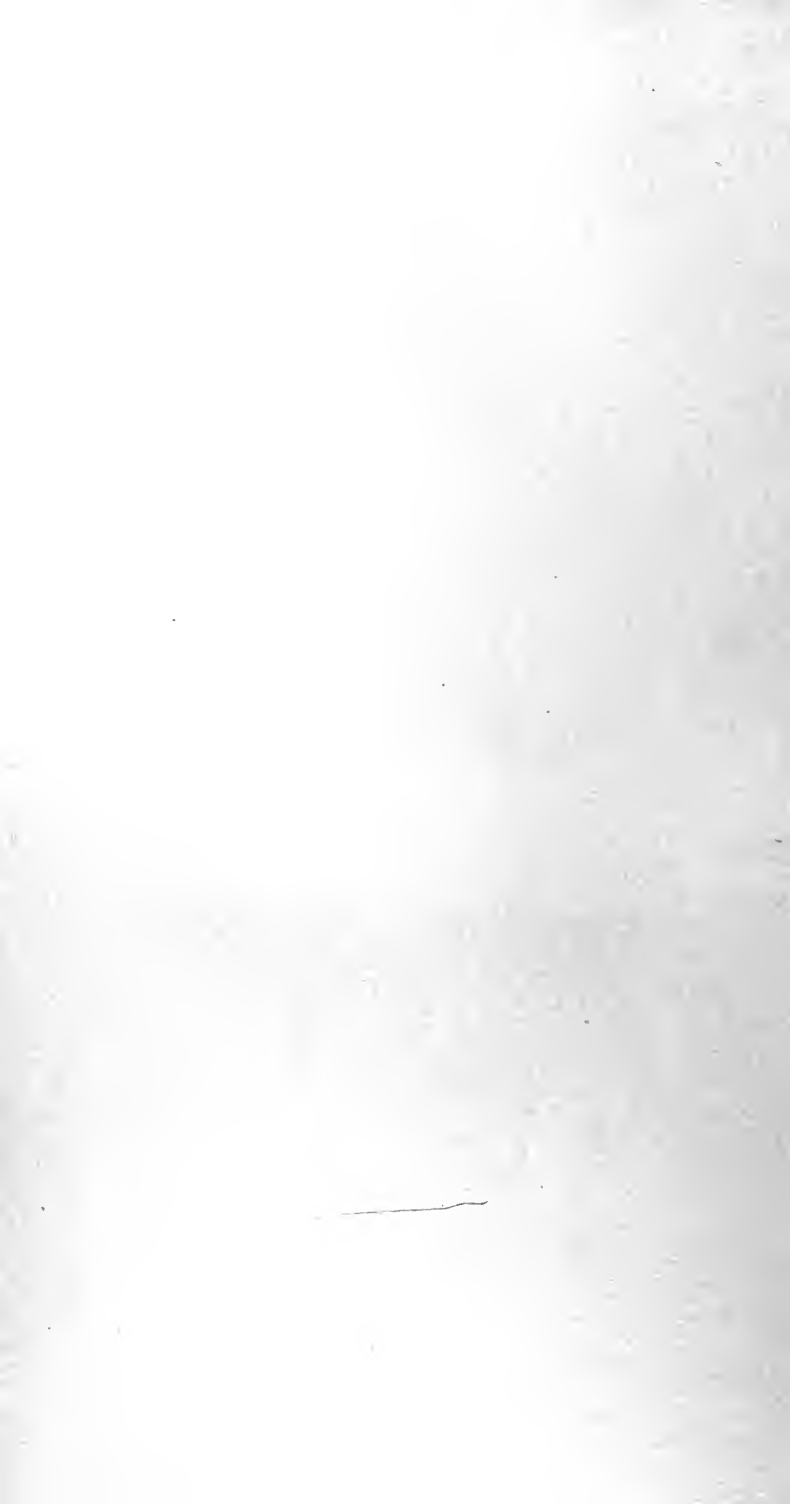
and testify the ancient respectability of the name. Sir Stephen attended Charles II. when Prince of Wales and at the Restoration was made paymaster of the army, privy councillor, etc. He died at a very advanced age, leaving two sons, who were afterward Earl of Ilchester and Lord Holland.

18. *O ye, his loved associates, — ye who shared
Each generous impulse of his mighty mind, —
Pursue his patriot-hopes!*

When I contemplate the characters of those who are now admitted into the councils of the state, I cannot but entertain the highest hopes that the constitution will be restored to its pristine vigour: and that a powerful enemy will be taught to revere the firmness and integrity of a government which he has indeed had too much reason to treat with contempt. He will have to dread the wisdom of measures and to esteem the adherence of principle which has already marked that short period of the power of the present administration, in spite of that phalanx of difficulties, deceit, and folly with which it has had to contend. I firmly believe that the spirit of true patriotism, so manifest in the political conduct of the great and illustrious Fox, will still direct the conduct of his former friends; men who remained attached to him amid the corruptions of a base and ambitious ministry, who could behold with contempt the dereliction of so splendid an example as a Burke with patriotic disdain, cannot but remember with attachment the sentiments of him who, through their love for their country, reigned in their bosoms.

To Mr. Sheridan, on account of the present Westminster election, the following lines are respectfully inscribed.





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