

and partial repose came on. In the morning his countenance was changed—in colour only; in expression it remained unaltered. About four o'clock in the afternoon he fell into a tranquil slumber, in which, without a struggle or sigh, he breathed his last.

His remains were, on the 13th of July 1813, deposited in the family vault at Fulham. The following epitaph, written by the Rev. John Owen, rector of Eaglesham in Essex, was placed on the north side of the tomb:—"Here, by the remains of the Brother and Sister whom he tenderly loved, lie those of Granville Sharp, Esq. At the age of seventy-eight, this venerable philanthropist terminated his career of almost unparalleled activity and usefulness, July 6, 1813; leaving behind him a name that will be cherished with affection and gratitude as long as any homage shall be paid to those principles of justice, humanity, and religion, which, for nearly half a century he promoted by his exertions and adorned by his example."—(*Fullarton's Lives of Eminent Englishmen.*)

SECT. VII.—CAPTAIN COOK AND SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

We have recorded the lives and enterprises of Sebastian Cabot and Captain Dampier, and have glanced at other eminent navigators. None of them excelled Captain Cook in professional adventure; few approached him in dignity of character, professional or personal; none equalled him in pure philanthropy of purpose and exalted services, rendered alike to savage and to civilized mankind.

Those acts of his which we admire the most were performed in connection with other scientific men named in this memoir, one of them placed at the head of the section in conjunction with himself. Sir Joseph Banks and Captain Cook, tracking the ocean and the earth from highest to lowest latitudes; unfolding new countries, carrying from shore to shore, to the far off islands and the continents untrodden by white man's foot, unbroken by delving man's spade, the seeds and roots of other islands and continents; sowing and planting them, and exchanging gift for gift of bountiful nature—transposing from zone to zone along the girdle of the globe, the plants and useful animals of one hemisphere into the blanks of the other—Sir Joseph Banks and Captain Cook taking up this work which Adam and Eve should have completed, but failed to perform, were rendering to nature, to man, to God, a service which, for aught we know, had not been rendered by human hands, to the same extent, from Adam's day to their own.

And though they voyaged but once round the world together, each continued, while he lived, to add new performances to the great office. Sir Joseph Banks living in the unhappy times of the French Revolution of 1789, in the reign of terror, and the reign of war and European ruin which ensued, never ceased, though a courtier of the King of England, to exchange the courtesies of science—the leaves of botany, the olive leaves of peace—with the republicans of France. And though rebuked by a bishop of Christianity, as we shall see, for seeking to have the good-will and fellowship of the French in time of war, though more of good-will and fellowship might have avoided war, he still retained the place of scientific brotherhood, still held in his hand, giving and receiving, the elements of concord.

James Cook was born at Marton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, 27th October 1728. His father was an agricultural servant, who, with his wife, bore a most unexceptionable character for honesty and industry. The village school mistress taught the boy to read; but at eight years of age his father, through his good conduct, was appointed to be bailiff of a farm near Great Ayton, belonging to Thomas Skottowe, Esq., who at his own expense put James to a day-school in that town, where he was taught writing and the first rules in arithmetic. The predilection of the lad inclined him for the sea; but as this stood contrary to the wishes of his parents, he was, soon after his twelfth year, apprenticed to William Sanderson, a general dealer in haberdashery, grocery, hardware, &c. at Staith, upon the coast, about ten miles north of Whitby. The youth's mind, however, continued more occupied upon maritime affairs than anything else, and though he faithfully discharged his duty to his master, he longed to be at sea. An opportunity occurred to favour his desire; Mr Sanderson cancelled his indentures, and left him to pursue his inclinations. Thus freed, he bound himself to Messrs John and Henry Walker, who owned the "*Freelove*," in which Cook embarked. She was principally engaged in the coal trade, but made a voyage or two to the north; and when his time was out, the youngster still continued to serve as a fore-mast-man till he was made mate of one of Mr John Walker's ships. During this period he evinced no particular marks of genius. His associates, however, were not exactly the class of persons to observe the real bent of his mind; they thought him taciturn, and sometimes sullen; but this doubtless arose from his studious habits and endeavours to acquire knowledge. As for practical seamanship, there could be no better school than a collier.

When in his twenty seventh year war broke out between

England and France, and Cook, who was then in the Thames, tried to escape the pressgang, which was sweeping the river of every seaman that could be picked up. This restraint, however, did not meet his views; he looked upon the service of his country as honourable, and at once entered for the "*Eagle*" of 60 guns, commanded by Captain Hamer, who, a few months afterwards, was superseded by Captain (subsequently Sir Hugh) Palliser. The young man's steady conduct and seaman-like qualities soon attracted this officer's attention. His knowledge of the coasts was excellent; and Mr Skottowe having applied to Mr Osbaldeston, M.P. for Scarborough, to exert his influence to raise Cook to the quarter-deck, by the joint interest of this gentleman, with Captain Palliser, a warrant as master was obtained on 10th May 1759, James being then in his thirty-first year. He joined the "*Grampus*," but she had a master already; he was then appointed to the "*Garland*," but she was abroad; and eventually he sailed in the "*Mercury*," to join the fleet under Sir Charles Saunders, then engaged in conjunction with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec. Here the peculiar talents of Mr Cook were called into active operation. The buoys in the navigation of the St Lawrence had all been removed by the French at the first appearance of the English fleet, and it was essentially necessary that a survey should be made of the channels, and correct soundings obtained, to enable the ships to keep clear of the numerous shoals. By the recommendation of his old commander, Captain Palliser, this onerous duty was confided to Mr Cook, who readily undertook it in a barge belonging to a 74. This could only be executed in many parts during the darkness of the night, on account of the enemy; and he experienced a narrow escape one night when detected, his boat having been boarded by Indians in the pay of the French, and carried off in triumph, he and his companions getting away just in time to save their lives and scalps. Through Mr Cook's judicious arrangements, the fleet reached the island of Orleans in safety; and he afterwards surveyed and made a chart of the St Lawrence, which, together with sailing directions for that river, were published in London.

On his return from Quebec, Mr Cook was appointed master of the "*Northumberland*," under Lord Colville, who was stationed as commodore at Halifax. Here he enjoyed much leisure during the winter; but instead of frittering it away in the frivolous or worse amusements of a seaport, he diligently employed it in studies suitable to his profession. No sailor can possibly advance beyond the ranks of an ordinary seaman unless he be acquainted with the theory as well as the practice of navigation; and to gain such knowledge he must attain a certain proficiency in mathematics. Aware of this, Cook began

by gaining an accurate knowledge of Euclid's Elements of Plain Geometry; and proceeded thence to the higher branches of mathematical study, including nautical astronomy. By these means he learned to take astronomical observations, to calculate a ship's progress, and to ascertain the degree of latitude and longitude at any given spot on the trackless ocean. In short, he became an accomplished mariner, ready for any office of trust. Besides improving himself in these useful branches of education, he possessed sufficient tact to cultivate urbanity of manner, and to gain the confidence and esteem of his acquaintance. This was a point of some consequence; for intellectual acquirements, without a polite and high moral bearing, are of small avail in the general intercourse of the world, and, personally, may do more harm than good. It is gratifying to know that Cook aimed at gentlemanly behaviour not less than skill in his profession; and to this commendable effort—which the most humble may practise—is perhaps owing not a little of his future success in life.

In 1762 the *Northumberland* was ordered to Newfoundland, to assist in the recapture of that island; and here the talents and assiduity of our hero were again conspicuous. Greatly improved by his winter's studies, he was now still more able to make nautical surveys, and these he carried on to a considerable extent on the coast of Newfoundland; laying down bearings, marking headlands and soundings, and otherwise placing on record many facts which proved highly advantageous to future voyagers, especially those engaged in fishing speculations.

Towards the close of this year (1762) Mr Cook returned to England, and was married at Barking, in Essex, to Miss Elizabeth Batts, who has been spoken of as a truly amiable and excellent woman. In the following year, through the intervention of Captain (afterwards Admiral) Graves, the governor of Newfoundland, who was well acquainted with Cook's worth, he was appointed to survey the whole coast of that island, which he accomplished with great ability, as well as Miquelon and St Pierre, which had been ceded to the French. Cook then returned to England, but did not remain long. His constant friend, Sir Hugh Palliser, assumed the command at Newfoundland, and took Mr Cook with him, bearing the appointment of marine surveyor, and a schooner was directed to attend upon him in his aquatic excursion. His charts and observations, particularly on astronomy, brought him into correspondence with the members of the Royal Society; and some scientific observations on the eclipse of the sun were inserted in the 57th volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

Here may be said to close the first chapter in Cook's life. We have traced him from the humble home of his father, an obscure peasant, through the early part of his career, till his thirty-fourth year, at which time he had gained a footing among the most learned men in England. The youthful aspirant will observe that this enviable point had not been reached without patient study. Cook could have gained no acquaintanceship with members of the Royal Society, nor could he have placed himself in the way of promotion, had he been contented to remain an illiterate seaman.

FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

Prepared by diligent self culture, Cook was ready for any enterprise which circumstances might produce. The project of a voyage of discovery, involving certain important astronomical observations, fortunately came under discussion while he was in a state of hesitation as to his future movements. The principal object of the expedition was to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the face of the sun, which could only be done somewhere in the Pacific or Southern Ocean. The transit was to happen in June 1769. The Royal Society, as interested in the phenomenon, for the sake of science applied to George III. to fit out an expedition suitable to take the observations. The request was complied with ; and no other man being so well calculated to take the command, it was given to Cook. The appointment was quite to the mind of our hero, and he was soon ready for sea. He received the commission of a lieutenant from his majesty, and the "*Endeavour*," of 370 tons, was placed at his disposal. About this time Captain Wallis returned from his voyage of discovery, and reported Otaheite (now called Tahiti) to be the most eligible spot for the undertaking. That island was therefore fixed upon for the observation. Mr Charles Green undertook the astronomical department, and Mr Banks (afterwards Sir Joseph) and Dr Solander, purely through a love of science, and at great expense to themselves, obtained permission to accompany the expedition.

The "*Endeavour*" was victualled for eighteen months, armed with 12 carriage guns and 12 swivels, and manned with a complement of 84 seamen. Every requisite preparation was made for such a voyage that human foresight could suggest ; trinkets and other things were put on board to trade with the natives ; and on the 26th August 1768 they sailed from Plymouth Sound for the hitherto but little explored South Seas. On the 13th September they anchored in Funchal Roads, Madeira, and here commenced the researches and inquiries of the men of science.

From hence they departed on the night of the 18th ; and falling short of water and provisions on the Brazil coast, they put into the beautiful harbour of Rio Janeiro on the 13th November. The viceroy of this fine city could make nothing of the scientific intentions of the English, and was exceedingly troublesome and annoying. When told that they were bound to the South Seas to observe the transit of Venus, he could form no other conception of the matter than that it was the passing of the north star through the south pole. Numerous difficulties were thrown in the way of the departure of the voyagers after they had victualed and watered ; and when they sailed, shots were fired at them from the fort of Santa Cruz, a heavy battery at the entrance of the harbour ; and on inquiry, Mr Cook ascertained that the pass for the "*Endeavour*" had not been sent from the city. A spirited remonstrance was made, and the viceroy apologized.

On the 7th December the voyagers finally quitted this place, and on the 14th January 1769 entered the Straits of Le Maire, where the sea was running tremendously high, and on the following day anchored in the Bay of Good Success. Although the season was extremely inclement, yet the love of botany induced Mr Banks, Dr Solander, Mr Monkhouse the surgeon, and Mr Green the astronomer, to ascend the mountains in search of plants. They took with them their attendants and servants, with two seamen ; and after suffering severe hardships from the cold and the torpor it produced, they got back to the ship on the second day, leaving two black men, who had accompanied them, dead from the extreme severity of the weather. They could not be got on, but lay down to rest, and slept the sleep of death. Dr Solander with great difficulty was saved ; for although the first to warn others against the danger of reposing, yet he was eventually himself so overcome, that great exertion was required to force him along. They found the inhabitants on the coasts of these straits a wretched set of beings, with scarcely any covering ; dwelling in hovels made of sticks and grass, that offered no obstruction to the entrance of the wind, the snow, and the rain. They wandered about, picking up a scanty subsistence wherever they could, though they had not a single implement to dress their fish when caught, or any other food ; still they appeared to be contented ; and the only things they coveted from the English were beads and useless trinkets.

On the 26th January the "*Endeavour*" took her departure from Cape Horn, and before March 1st had run 660 leagues. Several islands were discovered in their progress, most of which were supposed to be inhabited ; and their beautiful verdure

and delightful appearance were highly gratifying to the sea-worn mariners. On the 11th April they came in sight of Otaheite, and in two days after anchored in Port Royal, (Matavia), to where the scientific gentlemen landed, and fixed upon a spot to serve them for an observatory. The natives displayed much friendship; but, to prevent collision, Mr Cook drew up a code of regulations by which communication and traffic were to be carried on. A tent was erected on the site proposed—the natives keeping outside a marked boundary—and a midshipman with thirteen marines were placed over it as guards. As soon as this was accomplished, the party proceeded to examine the interior of the island; but soon after their departure, one of the natives snatched away the musket of the sentry. The marines were ordered to fire, and the thief was shot dead. This greatly alarmed the natives; but in a day or two they again became familiarized and friendly. Mr Cook proceeded to erect a fort round the observatory, and mounted six swivel guns, which caused apprehensions amongst the chiefs; but the natives assisted in the works; and the commander displayed his sense of justice by publicly flogging the butcher for having attempted or threatened the life of a wife of one of the chiefs, who was particularly favourable to the English. On the first stroke of the lash, the natives earnestly solicited that the man should be forgiven; but Mr Cook deemed the example essential, and inflicted the whole punishment, greatly to the pain and regret of the compassionate Indians, many of whom shed tears.

As soon as the fort was completed, and the astronomical instruments were landed, they sought for the quadrant by which the transit was to be observed, but it was nowhere to be found. Diligent search was made, and a reward offered, but without success; and it was feared that the object of their long and arduous voyage would remain unaccomplished. At length, through the judicious intervention of Mr Banks, the quadrant was recovered from the natives, who had stolen it, and with great joy set up in its place. The approach of the time of observation produced anxiety and excitement; and hoping that the atmosphere would be clear and favourable, as well as to make assurance sure, Mr Cook established two other observatories—one on the island of Eimeo, under Mr Banks, and the other to the eastward of the main observatory, under Mr Hicks, (the master.) The morning of the 3d June was ushered in with a cloudless sky, and at the fort the transit was observed in the most satisfactory manner. The success of their enterprise was highly gratifying to the voyagers; but their pleasure was somewhat damped by the

violence which at times was engendered between the natives and the seamen, the former of whom proved to be dexterous thieves. But Mr Cook would not allow the plunderers to be fired upon, as he considered the issue of life and death to be of too important a nature to be intrusted to a sentinel, without any form of trial or show of equity; nor did he deem a petty theft as meriting so severe a punishment. On one occasion, however, he seized upon all their fishing canoes, fully laden; and though from motives of humanity he gave up the fish, yet he detained the vessels, under a hope that several articles which had been pilfered would be restored. But in this he was mistaken; for nothing of value was given up, and ultimately he released the canoes. Mr Cook and Mr Banks circumnavigated the island, and visited many villages, where they renewed acquaintance with the several chiefs. Exploring parties were also sent into the interior; and Mr Banks planted the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected for the purpose, (some of which are now in rich perfection;) and it was ascertained that parts of the island manifested appearances of subterranean fire.

On the 7th July the carpenters began to dismantle the fort preparatory to departure, and on the 13th the ship weighed anchor. Tupia, one of the principal natives, the chief priest of the country, with a boy of thirteen, having obtained permission from Mr Cook to embark for England, they took an affecting and affectionate leave of their friends. Few places possess more seductive influences than Otaheite. The climate is delightful, the productions of the earth bountiful and almost spontaneous, and the people, though addicted to pilfering, simple, kind-hearted, and hospitable.

After quitting Otaheite, the "*Endeavour*" visited the islands Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola, where Mr Cook purchased various articles of food. They also anchored at Owharre, and exchanged friendly gifts with the natives; and presents of English medals, &c., with inscriptions, were made to the King Oree. Ulietea had been conquered by the King of Bolabola, but he received the English with considerable courtesy. These visits occupied rather more than three weeks; and Uleitea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tabai, and Mawrua, as they lay contiguous to each other, were named by Mr Cook the Society Islands.

In their intercourse with the natives of these places, (all of which more or less resembled the manners and habits of the Otaheitans,) they were greatly assisted by Tupia, who was very proud of the power possessed by his new friends. On the

9th August the "*Endeavour*" quitted Ulitea, and on the 13th made the island Oheteoa, where they attempted to land; but the natives displayed so much hostility, that Mr Cook deemed it best to desist, and proceeded on his way to the southward in search of a supposed continent. On the 25th they celebrated the anniversary of their departure from England, and on the 30th they observed a comet; it was just above the horizon, to the eastward, at one A.M., and about half-past four, when it passed the meridian, its tail subtended an angle of forty-five degrees. Tupia declared that its appearance would be the signal for the warriors of Bolabola to attack the Uleiteans and drive them to the mountains. The vessel was now proceeding in a south-westerly direction from the Pacific towards New Zealand, Cook designing to return by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus circumnavigate the globe. On the 6th October land was discovered, which proved to be a part of New Zealand, where, having anchored, an attempt was made to open a communication with the natives, but without effect. Their hostile menaces and actions were all of a decidedly warlike nature, and it was only when they felt the superiority of fire-arms, of which they seemed to have been in ignorance, that they desisted from attacks. Tupia addressed them to be peaceable, and they understood his language; but he could not prevail upon them to put confidence in the English. A conflict took place, in which some of the New Zealanders were rather unnecessarily killed, and three boys were taken prisoners, who were treated with much kindness. As the place afforded nothing that the voyagers wanted, Mr Cook named it Poverty Bay. The boys were dismissed, and the treatment they had experienced induced some of the Indians to come off to the ship; but it appeared almost impossible to conciliate any one of them for long. Armed parties in large canoes assembled, and paddled off to the "*Endeavour*," under pretext of trading, but in reality to plunder; and in various instances it was deemed essentially necessary to fire upon them. They also seized Tayoeto, Tupia's boy, but were compelled to relinquish their prey through the effects of a musket ball; and the lad, taking advantage, leaped from the canoe, in which he had been held down, and swam back to the ship. Whilst standing along the coast, they fell in with the largest canoe they had yet seen: her length was 68½ feet, her breadth 5 feet, and her depth 3 feet 6 inches. About this time the "*Endeavour*" narrowly escaped being wrecked on the rocks that lay some distance from the land; but by the skill and judgment of Mr Cook the danger was avoided. On the 9th November, Lieutenant Cook, accompanied by Mr Green.

landed with the necessary instruments to observe the transit of Mercury over the sun's disc, and this they performed to their entire satisfaction.

On the 5th December, whilst turning out of the Bay of Islands, it fell calm; and the "*Endeavour*" drifted so close to the shore, that notwithstanding the incessant roar of the breakers, they could converse with the natives on the beach. The pinnacle was got out to tow the vessel's head round; but none expected to escape destruction, when a light land-breeze sprang up, and gradually they got clear from their perilous situation—the ground was too foul to anchor. About an hour afterwards, just as the man heaving the lead sang out "Seventeen fathoms," she struck on a sunken rock with force; but the swell washed her over, and she was again in deep water. On the 30th December they made the land, which they judged to be Cape Maria, Van Diemen's; and on the 14th January 1770, anchored in a snug cove in Queen Charlotte's Sound, to refit the ship and clean her bottom. Here they caught a great quantity of fish by means of the seine—at one time not less than three hundred weight at two hauls. They also found an excellent stream of fresh-water. In one of their researches they discovered an Indian family; and it is related that they had indisputable proofs of the custom of eating human flesh. The place they were in is described as very delightful; and Mr Cook took several opportunities of obtaining views from the high hills, and examining the nearest coast. The inhabitants were friendly disposed, and everywhere received the English with hospitality. Mr Cook selected a favourable spot, on which he erected a pole, and, having hoisted the union jack, named the place Queen Charlotte's Sound, in honour of her majesty. Coins and spike-nails were given to the Indian spectators; and after drinking the Queen's health in wine, the empty bottle was bestowed upon the man who had carried it full, with which he was much delighted.

On the 5th February he quitted this part of New Zealand, and proceeded to explore three or four islands in that locality, giving names to capes, headlands, rocks, &c. But this was not accomplished without considerable peril, on account of the strength of the currents. To one place he gave the name of Admiralty Bay, where he took in wood and filled his water-casks, and sailed again on the 31st March, intending to return home by way of the East Indies. On the 19th April they came in sight of New Holland, (or New South Wales, as it is now called,) and anchored in Botany Bay on the 28th, where they landed; but contrary to the will of two or three

Indians, who attacked the English with their lances, but, on the firing of muskets, fled. The voyagers left beads and trinkets in the huts of the natives, and during the time they remained at that place they were untouched. The inhabitants seemed utterly regardless of the ship, though they could never have seen such a spectacle before. Here they caught a fish called a string-ray, which, after the entrails were taken out, weighed 336 lbs.

Mr Cook prosecuted his discoveries in New South Wales with zeal and energy over a track of 1300 miles; but on the 10th June, near Trinity Bay, the "*Endeavour*" struck on a reef of coral rocks, and was compelled to start her water, throw her guns overboard, and use every mode to lighten the vessel; but with four pumps at work they could not keep her free; and every soul, though struggling hard for life, yet prepared for that death which now appeared to be inevitable. Upon these rocks the ship remained for nearly forty-eight hours, her sheathing ripped off, and the very timbers nearly rubbed through: by great exertion, however, she was got afloat at high tide, and it was found that she made no more water than when aground; and the men, by working incessantly at the pumps, kept her afloat. At the suggestion of Mr Monkhouse, a sail was fothered, (that is, pieces of oakum and other light materials were slightly stitched to it,) and being hauled under the ship's bottom, the loose pieces were sucked into the leaks, and in a great measure stopped the holes, so that they were enabled to keep the water in the hold under with only one pump. On the morning of the 17th, after running aground twice, they got into a convenient harbour for repairing their damages; and here, when the vessel was hove down, they found a large piece of rock in the ship's bottom, firmly jammed in the hole it had made, so as to exclude the sea, and which, if it had fallen out, must have proved fatal to all.

About this time the scurvy broke out amongst them, and attacked indiscriminately both officers and men; but the quantity of fish that was caught, allowing each man two pounds and a-half per day, together with turtle and herbs, somewhat checked its progress. Three of the turtle caught weighed together 791 pounds. The natives took but little notice of the voyagers at first, but afterwards became familiar; and on one occasion, when refused something which they wanted, one of them seized a firebrand, and going to windward of the place where the armourer was at work, set fire to the high grass, so that every part of the smith's forge that would burn was destroyed. A musket ball was fired at them, and they ran away. The fire was repeated in the woods shortly after-

wards, but without injury, as the stores and powder that had been landed were already on board. The hills all round burned fiercely for several nights.

It must here be mentioned that the injuries sustained by the vessel proved destructive to many valuable specimens that had been collected by Mr Banks, which had been put for security in the bread-room, but, the salt-water saturating a great portion, they were utterly spoiled. The place where they refitted was named by Mr Cook Endeavour River. Its entrance for many miles was surrounded with shoals, and the channels between them were very intricate. On the 4th August they quitted their anchorage, and it was not till the 24th that they got clear of the reefs and sandbanks. After another narrow escape from being wrecked, they made New Guinea on the 3d September, where they anchored, and went on shore; but the hostility of the natives, who resembled those of New South Wales, prevented intercourse. The latter used a sort of combustible material that ignited, without any report. The land looked rich and luxurious in vegetation, and the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain trees, flourished in the highest perfection. Mr Cook made sail to the westward, contrary to the wish of his people, who wanted to cut down the trees to get their fruit, but which, through humanity to the natives, he could not permit. In pursuing their voyage, they fell in with islands which were not upon the charts, and passed Timor and others, intending to run for Java. On the 17th they saw a beautiful island, and found Dutch residents, with cattle and sheep. The crew of the "*Endeavour*" had suffered many privations and hardships, and the scurvy was making havoc among them, so that they complained of their commander not having put in at Timor; but now they obtained nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen fowls, &c. with several hundred gallons of palm syrup. This was the island Savu, and the natives are spoken of as highly pure in their morals and integrity, and their land a perfect paradise.

On the 21st Mr Cook again sailed, and on the 1st October came within sight of Java, and on the 9th brought up in Batavia Roads, where they found the "*Harcourt*," East Indiaman, and once more enjoyed the pleasure of communicating with their countrymen, and obtaining news from home. As it was deemed necessary to re-examine the "*Endeavour's*" bottom, preparations were made for that purpose. Tupia and his boy Tayoeta were almost mad with delight on viewing the display of European manners on shore; but sickness assailed all who resided in the city, and the two Indians became its vic-

tims. In about six weeks there were buried Mr Spearing, assistant to Mr Banks, Mr Parkinson, artist, Mr Green, astronomer, the boatswain, the carpenter and his mate, Mr Monkhouse, and another midshipman, the sailmaker and his assistant, the ship's cook, the corporal of marines, and eleven seamen.

On the 27th December the "*Endeavour*," being completed, stood out to sea, and on the 5th January 1771 anchored at Prince's Island, but sailed again on the 15th for the Cape of Good Hope, where they arrived on the 15th March. On the 14th April Mr Cook resumed his voyage home, touched at St Helena, (1st May to 4th,) made the Lizard on the 10th June and anchored the next day in the Downs, where Mr Cook left her.

The arrival of Mr Cook, and the publication of sketches of his voyage, produced earnest desires to ascertain the full extent of his discoveries. Unknown parts had been explored; vast additions were made to geographical and scientific knowledge; the productions of various countries, together with the manners, habits, and customs of the natives, excited universal curiosity and deep interest; so that, when Dr Hawkesworth's account of the voyage, from the papers of Mr Cook and Mr Banks, was published, it was eagerly bought up at a large price. The astronomical observations threw much information on the theory of the heavenly bodies; navigation had eminently proved its vast capabilities: it had been in a great measure determined that no southern continent existed, or at least that neither New Zealand nor New South Wales were parts of such a continent; and most interesting accounts were given of the places visited and the perils encountered.

Mr Cook was promoted to the rank of commander; the Royal Society honoured him with especial favour and notice; and his society was courted by men of talent and research, eager for information. His worthy patrons, Sir Charles Saunders and Sir Hugh Palliser, were gratified to find their recommendations had been so well supported; the Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty Board, paid him considerable attention; and his majesty George III. treated him with more than ordinary consideration. Captain Cook enjoyed sufficient to make him proud; but he was too humble in mind, too modest in disposition, and too diffident in manners, to cherish one atom of unbecoming self-estimation.

SECOND VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

The idea of the existence of a southern continent, or, as the learned call it, *Terra Australis Incognita*, had existed for

more than two centuries ; and though Cook had sailed over many parts where it was said to be situated, without seeing land, yet his first voyage did not altogether destroy the expectation that it might yet be found. Besides, his discoveries in the South Seas had whetted the public appetite for still further knowledge on the subject. The king, well pleased with what had been done, wished more to be accomplished ; and accordingly two stout ships, built at Hull, were purchased—the “*Resolution*,” of 462 tons, commanded by Captain Cook, with a complement of 112 persons, and the “*Adventure*,” of 336 tons, commanded by Tobias Furneaux, with a crew, including officers, of 81 souls. These appointments took place on 28th November 1771, and the most active exertions were immediately called into operation to fit them for the undertaking. Experience had taught Captain Cook what was most essential and requisite for such a voyage ; not only for the comforts and preservation of his people from scurvy, not only for commerce with the natives, but cattle and seeds of various kinds, and numerous things which philanthropy suggested, were shipped for the purpose of spreading the advantages of propagation and fertility amongst the South Sea islands, the benefits of which have since been experienced by other voyagers in an eminent degree. The Admiralty engaged Mr W. Hodges as landscape painter ; Mr J. R. Foster and son were appointed to collect specimens of natural history ; and Mr Wales in the “*Resolution*,” and Mr Bayley in the “*Adventure*,” were sent by the Board of Longitude to superintend astronomical observations, for which they were furnished with admirable instruments and four excellent time-pieces.

The instructions given to Captain Cook were—“To circumnavigate the whole globe in high southern latitudes, making traverses from time to time into every part of the Pacific Ocean that had not undergone previous investigation, and to use his best endeavours to resolve the much agitated question of the existence of a southern continent.”

On the 13th July 1772 the two vessels quitted Plymouth, and after touching at Madeira for wine, and at the Cape de Verdes for water, crossed the line with a brisk south-west wind, and anchored in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on the 30th October. Here Captain Cook ascertained that the French were prosecuting discoveries in the South Seas, and that, about eight months before, two French ships had sailed about forty miles along land in the latitude of 48 degrees, but had been driven off by a gale of wind. He also learned that two others had recently left the Mauritius for a similar purpose. On the 22d November Captain Cook took leave of

Table Bay, and pursued his voyage for Cape Circumcision, but encountered very severe gales, which destroyed much of the live stock, and the people experienced great inconvenience from the intensity of the cold. The judicious management of the commander, however, prevented any fatal result. Warm clothing was given to the men; the decks below were kept well dried and ventilated, as well as warmed; and an addition was made to the issue of grog. On the 10th December they fell in with immense icebergs, some two miles in circuit at the edge of the water, and about sixty feet in height, over which the sea was breaking with tremendous violence. On the 14th the ships were stopped by a field of low ice, to which no end could be seen, either east, west, or south. On the 18th they got clear of this obstruction, but continued amongst the fields and bergs, with heavy gales of wind, till the 1st January 1773, when it was clear enough to see the moon, which they had only done once before since quitting the Cape. The fogs had been so impenetrable as to obscure the heavens. Various indications had induced a belief that land was not far distant, and Captain Cook had as near as possible pursued a course for the supposed Cape Circumcision. By the 17th January they had reached the latitude of 67 degrees 15 minutes south, where they found the ice closely packed from east to west-south-west, and further progress debarred, unless by running the hazard of getting blocked up, as the summer in this part of the world was rapidly passing away. The captain therefore desisted from penetrating further to the south, and returned northerly, to look for the asserted recently-discovered land of the French. On the 1st February they were in latitude 48 degrees 30 minutes south, and longitude 58 degrees 7 minutes east, where it was stated to have been seen; but nothing of the kind presented itself to view. He traversed this part of the ocean with similar results; and, during a dense fog, parted company with the "*Adventure*." On the 23d they were in latitude 61 degrees 52 minutes south, and longitude 95 degrees 2 minutes east; the weather thick and stormy, and the ship surrounded by drifting ice. Captain Cook therefore stood to the north in a hard gale, with a heavy sea, which broke up the mountains of ice, and rendered them, by their numbers, still more dangerous, especially in the long dark nights. On the 13th and 14th March the astronomers got observations which shewed the latitude to be 58 degrees 22 minutes south, and the longitude 136 degrees 22 minutes east, whilst the watches shewed the latter to be 134 degrees 42 minutes east. Captain Cook had become convinced he had left no continent south of him, and consequently shaped a course for New Zealand, to

refresh his men, refit his ship, and look for the "*Adventure*." He made the land, and anchored in Dusky Bay on the 26th March, after having been 117 days at sea, and traversed 3660 leagues without seeing any land; whilst during the whole time, through the arrangements and supplies of Captain Cook, scarcely a single case of scurvy occurred. From Dusky Bay they removed to another anchorage, where fish were plentifully caught, and the woods abounded with wild fowl; timber and fire-wood were close at hand, and a fine stream of fresh water within a hundred yards of the ship's stern. This place was named Pickersgill Harbour, in honour of the lieutenant who discovered it. The workmen erected tents for the forge, the carpenters, the sailmakers, coopers, and others, and a spot was selected for an observatory. Some tolerably good beer was manufactured from the branches and leaves of a tree resembling the American black spruce, mixed with the inspissated juice of wort and molasses.

On the 28th some of the natives visited them, and though at first shy, a friendly intercourse was subsequently established. Captain Cook surveyed Dusky Bay, where, in retired spots, he planted seeds, and left several geese. They also caught a number of seals, from which they procured a supply of oil. On the 11th May they quitted this place for Queen Charlotte's Sound, and on the 17th it fell perfectly calm, and they had an opportunity of seeing no less than six waterspouts, one of which passed within fifty yards of the "*Resolution*." The next day they made the Sound, where the "*Adventure*" had already arrived, and great was the joy at meeting. On the 4th June they celebrated the birthday of George III., and a chief and his family, consisting of ninety persons, were shewn the gardens which had been made, which they promised to continue in cultivation. A male and female goat were put on shore on the east side of the sound, and a boar and two sows near Cannibal Cove, which it was hoped would not be molested.

On the 17th June the ships sailed, and on the 29th July the crew of the "*Adventure*" manifested rather alarming symptoms of a sickly state. The cook died, and about twenty of her best men were incapable of duty through scurvy and flux; whilst at this period only three men were sick in the "*Resolution*," and but one of these with the scurvy. The difference was attributed to the people of the former ship not having fed much upon celery, scurvy-grass, and other greens, whilst at Queen Charlotte's Sound. On the 1st August they were in the supposed position of Pitcairn's Island, laid down by Captain Carteret in 1767; but as its longitude was incorrectly stated, they did not see it, but must have passed it about 15

leagues to the westward. On the 6th of August the ships got the advantage of the trade-winds at south-east, being at that time in latitude 19 degrees 36 minutes south, and longitude 131 degrees 32 minutes west. The captain directed his course west-north-west, passed a number of islands and rocks, which he named the Dangerous Archipelago, and on the 15th August came in sight of the Osnaburgh Islands, or Maitea, which had been discovered by Captain Wallis, and sail was immediately made for Otaheite, which they saw the same evening.

On the 17th the ships anchored in Oaiti-piha Bay, and the natives immediately crowded on board with fruits and roots, which were exchanged for nails and beads; and presents of shirts, axes, &c. were made to several who called themselves chiefs. Their thieving propensities, however, could not be restrained; and some articles of value having been stolen, Captain Cook turned the whole of them out of the ship, and then fired musketry over their heads, to shew them the hazard which they ran. It is worthy of remark, that though Tupia was well known to the islanders, yet very few inquired what had become of him, and those who did, on being informed that he was dead, expressed neither sorrow, suspicion, nor surprise; but every one anxiously asked for Mr Banks and others who had accompanied Captain Cook in his former voyage. With respect to the Otaheitans, considerable changes had occurred. Toutaha, the regent of the great peninsula of that island, had been slain in battle about five months before the "*Resolution's*" arrival, and Otoo was now the reigning chief. Several others friendly to the English had fallen; but Otoo manifested much friendship for them. A few days subsequent to their anchoring in the bay, a marine died; the rest of the men, who had laboured under sickness and scorbutic weakness, very soon recovered, through the supplies of fresh meat and vegetables.

On the 24th the ships got under weigh, and the next evening anchored in Matavai Bay, where the decks became excessively crowded by natives, who had visited them the voyage previous. On the following day Captain Cook went to Oparre to see Otoo, whom he describes as a fine well-made man, six feet high, and about thirty years of age. He was not, however, very courageous, for he declined accompanying the captain on board the "*Resolution*," as he was "afraid of the guns." The observatory was fitted up, the sick were landed, as well as a guard of marines, and the natives brought hogs and fruits to barter. Some disturbance that took place through two or three marines behaving rudely to the women, caused at the time considerable alarm; but the men were seized and punished, and tranquillity restored.

Everything being ready for sea, on the 1st September the ships quitted Matavai Bay, and visited the other islands. At Owharre, the chief brought the presents he had received from Captain Cook on the previous voyage, to shew that he had treasured them. He also behaved very generously, in sending the best fruits and vegetables that could be procured for the captain's table. The intercourse with the natives was proceeding very quietly, when, on the 6th, without any provocation, a man assailed Captain Cook with a club at the landing-place, and Mr Sparrman, who had gone into the woods to botanize, was stripped and beaten. The Indians expressed great contrition for this outrage; and the king, on being informed of it, not only wept aloud, but placed himself under the entire control of the English, and went with them in search of the stolen articles. His subjects endeavoured to prevent this, but his sister encouraged him; and not meeting with success, Oree insisted on being taken on board the "*Resolution*" to remain as a hostage. He dined with Captain Cook, and was afterwards landed by that officer, to the great joy of the people, who brought in hogs and fruits, and soon filled two boats. The only thing recovered belonging to Mr Sparrman was his hanger. The next day the ships unmoored, and put to sea for Huahaine, where they remained a short time, and received on board a native named Omai, who afterwards figured much in England.

The inhabitants of the Society Islands generally manifested great timidity: on some occasions they offered human sacrifices to a supreme being. The voyagers quitted this part of the world on the 17th, and sailed to the westward, and gave the name of Harvey's Island to land they discovered on the 23d. It was in 10 degrees 18 minutes south, and 158 degrees 4 minutes westward. By October 1st they reached Middleburg, and were welcomed with loud acclamations by the natives. Barter commenced; but the people ashore seemed more desirous to give than to receive, and threw into the boats whole bales of cloth, without asking or waiting for anything in return. After leaving some garden seeds, and other useful things, the ships proceeded to Amsterdam, where they met a similar reception; but Captain Cook putting a stop to the purchase of curiosities and cloth, the natives brought off pigs, fowls, and fruits in abundance, which they exchanged for spike nails. The island was extensively cultivated; there appeared to be not an inch of waste ground; and the fertility of the soil was excellent. Captain Cook paid a visit to the head chief, who was seated, and seemed to be in a sort of idiotic stupor, nor did he take the slightest notice of the captain or any one else. The inhabitants of these islands are described

as being of good shape, regular features, brisk, and lively; particularly the women, who were constantly merry and cheerful. Most of the people had lost one or both of their little fingers, but no reason could be gathered as to the cause of amputation.

The voyage was renewed on the 7th October, and on the 21st they came in sight of New Zealand, eight or ten leagues from Table Cape, when Captain Cook presented the chief with two boars, two sows, four hens, two cocks, and a great variety of seeds—wheat, peas, beans, cabbage, turnips, onions, &c.—and a spike nail about ten inches in length, with which latter he seemed to be more delighted than with all the rest put together. After beating about the coast in a variety of tempestuous weather, the "*Resolution*" anchored in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the 3d November; but the "*Adventure*" was separated from them in a heavy gale, and was never seen or heard of during the remainder of the voyage. In this place they made the best use of the means they possessed to repair the damage they had sustained, but, on examining the stock of bread, ascertained that 4992 pounds were totally unfit for use, and other 3000 pounds in such a state of decay that none but persons situated as our voyagers were could have eaten it. On inquiry after the animals left on the island by Captain Cook, most of them were preserved in good condition, with the exception of two goats that a native had destroyed. The articles planted in the gardens were in a flourishing condition. To his former gifts the captain now added many others, and placed them in such situations that they were not likely to be disturbed. Whilst lying here, complaint was made that some of the "*Resolution's*" men had plundered a native hut. The thief was discovered, tied up to a post, and flogged in the presence of the chiefs and their people, who expressed themselves satisfied with the punishment inflicted. It was a great principle with Cook to set an example of strict honesty.

In this second voyage the captain gained indisputable proofs that the New Zealanders were eaters of human flesh; but he firmly believed that it was the flesh of captives, or those who had been killed in battle.

Captain Cook quitted New Zealand on the 26th November, his ship's company in good health and spirits, and nowise daunted at the prospects of hardships they were about to endure in again searching for a southern continent or islands in high latitudes. They were not long before they once more encountered fields and islands of ice, and when in latitude 67 degrees 5 minutes, they were nearly blocked up. On the 22d

December they attained the highest latitude they could venture—this was 67 degrees 31 minutes south, and in longitude 142 degrees 54 minutes west; but no land was discovered. The crew of the "*Resolution*" were attacked by slight fever, caused by colds, but, on coming northward, it was cured in a few days; and on the 5th January 1774, when in 50 degrees south, there were not more than two or three persons on the sick list.

After traversing the ocean as far south as it was prudent to go, all the scientific men expressed their belief that ice surrounded the pole without any intervening land; the "*Resolution*" consequently returned to the northward to look for the island of Juan Fernandez. About this time Captain Cook was seized with a dangerous and distressing disease, and it was several days before the worst symptoms were removed. On his amending, there being no fresh provisions on board, and his stomach loathing the salt food, a favourite dog of Mr Forster was killed and boiled, which afforded both broth and meat, and upon this fare he gained strength. The "*Resolution*," on the 11th March, came in sight of Easter Island, situated in 27 degrees 5 minutes south, and 109 degrees 46 minutes west, where they remained a few days, and found the inhabitants very similar in appearance and character to the people of the more western isles. The place, however, afforded scarcely any food or fuel, the anchorage was unsafe, and the only matters worthy of notice were some rudely-carved gigantic statues in the interior. Captain Cook left Easter Island to pursue a course for the Marquesas, and got sight of them on the 6th April. During the passage the captain had a recurrence of his disorder, but it was neither so long nor so violent as before. The ship was anchored in Resolution Bay, at the island of St Christina, where thievery was practised equally as much as at the Society and other isles; and one of the natives was unfortunately killed whilst in the act of carrying away the iron stanchion of the gangway. They had now been nineteen weeks at sea, entirely on salt provisions; but still, owing to the anti-scorbutic articles and medicines, and the warmth and cleanliness preserved, scarcely a man was sick. Here they obtained fresh meat, fruits, yams, and plantains, but in small quantities; and the captain having corrected, by astronomical observations, the exact position of these islands, once more made sail for Otaheite. During the passage they passed several small islands, and discovered four others, which Cook named after his old commander, Sir Hugh Palliser. On the 22d April the anchor was again let go in Matavai Bay, where the usual process was gone through of

erecting the observatory to try the rates of the watches ; but no tent was required for the sick, as there was not a man ill on board.

During the stay of Captain Cook at this island, where refreshments of all kinds were readily obtained, and particularly in exchange for some red feathers that had been brought from Amsterdam, the old friendships were renewed with Otoo and other chiefs ; there was a constant interchange of visits ; and on one occasion the Otaheitans got up a grand naval review.

The large canoes in this part of the world are extremely graceful and handsome in display, particularly the double war canoes, with flags and streamers, paddling along with great swiftness, and performing their evolutions with considerable skill. No less than 160 of the largest double war canoes were assembled, fully equipped, and the chiefs and their men, habited in full war costume, appeared upon the fighting stages, with their clubs and other instruments of warfare ready for action. Besides these large vessels, there were 170 smaller double canoes, each of these last having a mast and sail, and a sort of hut or cabin on the deck. Captain Cook calculated that the number of men embarked in them could not be fewer than 7760, most of them armed with clubs, pikes, barbed spears, bows and arrows, and slings for throwing large stones ; in fact, strongly resembling the representations of engagements with galleys in the Mediterranean described some centuries before. The spectacle at Otaheite was extremely imposing, and greatly surprised the English.

Whilst lying at Matavai Bay, one of the islanders was caught in the act of stealing a water-cask. Captain Cook had him secured and sent on board the "*Resolution*," where he was put in irons, and in this degraded situation was seen by Otoo and other chiefs, who intreated that the man might be pardoned. But the captain would not comply with their requests ; he told them that "any act of dishonesty amongst his own people was severely punished, and he was resolved to make an example of the thief he had caught." Accordingly, the culprit was taken ashore to the tents, the guard turned out, and the offender being tied to a post, received two dozen lashes, inflicted by a boatswain's mate. Towha, one of the chiefs, then addressed the people, and recommended them to abstain from stealing in future. To make a further impression on them, the marines were ordered to go through their exercise, and load and fire with ball.

A few days afterwards one of the gunner's mates attempted to desert, and it was soon ascertained that he had formed an

attachment on shore, and if he had got away, the natives would have concealed him up the country. Indeed the temptations for remaining in this country were very great. Every requisite to sustain existence was abundant, the scenery splendid, the earth spontaneously fertile, the waters abounding with fish—in short, a few hours' exertion was sufficient to obtain a week's supply; and in a climate replete with health, a European might have rendered others subservient to his will, and lived without labour of any kind.

They next anchored in Owharre harbour, at Huaheine, and the former amicable intercourse was repeated. The stock of nails and articles of traffic being much reduced, the smiths were set to work to manufacture more. Whilst lying here, the voyagers had an opportunity of witnessing a theatrical representation, principally founded on an actual occurrence. A young girl had quitted Otaheite and her friends to accompany a seamen to Ulietea, and she was now present to see the drama. It described her as running away from her home, the grief of her parents, and a long string of adventures, which terminated in her returning to her native place, where her reception was none of the most gentle that can be conceived. The poor girl could hardly be persuaded to wait for the conclusion, and she cried most bitterly.

They parted from the inhabitants with much regret, and having called at Ulietea, they sailed past Howe Island, and discovered another nearly surrounded with reefs, to which the name of Palmerston was given. On the 20th July fresh land was seen, on which they went ashore, but found the natives fierce and hostile. The firing of muskets did not deter them; and one came close enough to throw a spear at the captain, which passed just over his shoulder. The captain presented his piece, but it missed fire, and the daring fellow was saved. They named this Savage Island. It lies in latitude 19 degrees 1 minute south, longitude 169 degrees 37 minutes west. From thence, after passing a number of small islets, they anchored on the 26th on the north side of Anamocka, Rotterdam, and commenced trade for provisions. But here, as at the other islands, frequent disputes and conflicts took place with the inhabitants on account of their thievish propensities. Here they ascertained that a chain of islands, some of which they could see, existed in the neighbourhood, forming a group within the compass of three degrees of latitude, and two of longitude, and which Captain Cook named the Friendly Isles; which designation they certainly merited, for the social qualities and conduct of the natives.

Pursuing their course westward, they came, on the 1st July,

to a small island, which, on account of the great number of turtle, was named after that amphibious creature ; and on the 16th they saw high land ; and after coasting it for two other days, they anchored in a harbour in the island of Mallecollo, to which the captain gave the name of Port Sandwich. At first the natives were hostile, but they were soon conciliated through the bland manners of Cook, and were found strictly honest in all their dealings. In fact, they are described as totally different to any they had yet visited. They were very dark, extremely ugly and ill-proportioned, and their features strongly resembled those of a monkey.

Soon after getting to sea, various other islands were seen and named ; and an affray took place with some of the natives, in which two of them were wounded. A promontory near where the skirmish occurred they called 'Traitor's Head. After cruising about amongst the great number of islands in this locality, making observations and taking surveys, they steered towards New Zealand, to wood and water, previous to a renewal of their search to the southward ; and on the 4th September discovered land, and entered a pleasant harbour on the following day, where they were well received. On the 13th they weighed again, and surveyed the coast, by which they ascertained that the island was very extensive ; and, from certain peculiarities, Cook named it New Caledonia. Botany here received great accessions. Many plants were collected hitherto unknown ; and both geography and natural history afforded much research to the scientific men. A small island, on which were growing some pine trees, received the name of Pine Island ; and another was called Botany, from the great variety of specimens obtained.

The "*Resolution*," in proceeding for New Zealand, touched at an uninhabited island, abounding with vegetation, which was named Norfolk Island, and, on the 18th October, anchored in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound, where she refitted, and the captain completed his survey. Captain Cook had buried a bottle near the Cove when he was here before, and in digging now it was not to be found. It was therefore supposed that the "*Adventure*" had anchored here, and her people had removed it. On the 10th November they took their departure ; and having sailed till the 27th in different degrees of latitude, from 43 degrees to 54 degrees 8 minutes south, Captain Cook gave up hopes of falling in with any more land in this ocean. He therefore resolved to steer for the west entrance of the Straits of Magellan, in order to coast along the south side of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn to the Straits of Le Maire. On 17th December he reached his first destination, and here

the scenery was very different from what they had before beheld. Lofty rocky mountains, entirely destitute of vegetation, craggy summits, and horrible precipices; the whole aspect of the country barren and savage. Yet near every harbour they were enabled to procure fresh-water and fuel; and there were plenty of wild fowl and geese. The inhabitants were wretchedly poor and ignorant.

On the 25th January 1778, having coasted it as far as 60 degrees south, the land presenting the same uncouth appearance, covered with ice and snow, and the ship exposed to numerous storms, and the people to intense cold, the course was altered to look for Bouvet's Land; but though they reached the spot where it was laid down on the charts, and sailed over and over it, yet no such place could be discovered; and after two day's search more to the southward, Cook came to the conclusion that Bouvet had been deceived by the ice, and once more bent his thoughts towards home—especially as the ship stood in need of repairs, and her sails and rigging were nearly worn out—and consequently steered for the Cape of Good Hope, where he heard of the "*Adventure*," and anchored in Table Bay on the 22d March. From thence he sailed again on the 27th April, touched at St Helena on the 15th May, and remained till the 21st, and then got under weigh for Ascension, where he arrived on the 28th; and from thence shaped a course for the remarkable island Fernando de Noronha, which he reached on the 9th June; and pursuing his way for the western islands, anchored in Fayal Roads on the 14th July, where Mr Wales the astronomer determined the position of the Azores by a series of observations. The "*Resolution*" ultimately entered Portsmouth on the 30th, and Captain Cook landed after an absence of three years and eighteen days, having sailed 20,000 leagues in various climates, from the extreme of heat to the extreme of cold. But so judicious had been the arrangements for preserving health, and so carefully had Captain Cook attended to the ventilation between decks, and the mode of promoting warmth, as well as the food, &c. of the people, that he lost only one man by sickness. It may naturally be supposed that the wear and tear of the ship was great, her rigging scarcely trustworthy, and her sails unfit to meet a fresh breeze; yet so careful were the officers of the masts and yards, that not a single spar of any consequence was carried away during the whole voyage.

The fame of Captain Cook as a navigator, coupled with his marked humanity as a man, now exalted him in public estimation far beyond what he had before experienced; and the utmost anxiety prevailed to obtain intelligence relative to his

discoveries, &c. The King, to testify his approbation, made him a post captain nine days subsequent to his arrival; and three days afterwards a captaincy in Greenwich Hospital was conferred upon him, to afford an honourable and competent retirement from active service. On the 29th February 1776 he was elected a member of the Royal Society, and in a short time he was honoured with the gold medal; Sir John Pringle, in presenting it, uttering a well-merited eulogium on the worthy receiver. The account of his second voyage was written by Captain Cook himself, and manifests a plain manly style, giving facts rather than embellishments.

COOK'S LAST VOYAGE.

The discovery of a supposed north-west passage from the North Atlantic to the North Pacific oceans had for many years been ardently sought for both by the English and the Dutch. Frobisher in 1576 made the first attempt, and his example was in succeeding times followed by many others. But though much geographical information had been gained in the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay, Davis' Straits, Baffin's Bay, and the coast of Greenland, yet no channel whatever was found. By act of parliament £20,000 was offered to the successful individual. But though Captain Middleton in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746, explored those seas and regions, the object remained unattained. The Honourable Captain Phipps (afterwards Earl Mulgrave) was sent out in the "*Racehorse*," accompanied by Captain Lutwidge in the "*Carcass*," (Lord Nelson was a boy in this latter ship,) to make observations, and to penetrate as far as it was practicable to do so. They sailed on the 2d June 1773, and made Spitzbergen on the 28th; but, after great exertions, they found the ice to the northward utterly impenetrable. Once they became closely jammed, and it was only with great difficulty they escaped destruction. On the 22d August, finding it impossible to get further to the northward, eastward, or westward, they made sail, according to the instructions, for England, and arrived off Shetland on the 7th September.

Notwithstanding these numerous failures, the idea of an existing passage was still cherished; and Earl Sandwich, continuing at the head of the Admiralty, resolved that a further trial should be made, and Captain Cook offered his services to undertake it. They were gladly accepted, and on the 10th February 1776 he was appointed to command the expedition in his old but hardy ship, the "*Resolution*," and Captain Clerke, in the "*Discovery*," was ordered to attend him. In this instance, the mode of experiment was to be reversed, and

instead of attempting the former routes by Davis' Straits or Baffin's Bay, &c., Cook, at his own request, was instructed to proceed into the South Pacific, and thence to try the passage by way of Behring's Straits; and as it was necessary that the islands in the Southern Ocean should be revisited, cattle and sheep, with other animals, and all kinds of seeds, were shipped for the advantage of the natives.

Every preparation having been made, the "*Resolution*" quitted Plymouth on the 12th July (the "*Discovery*" was to follow) taking Omai, the native brought from the Society Isles, with him. Having touched at Teneriffe, they crossed the equator on the 1st September, and reached the Cape on the 18th October, where the "*Discovery*" joined them on the 10th November. Whilst lying in Table Bay, the cattle were landed; and some dogs getting into the pens, worried and killed several of the sheep, and dispersed the rest. Two fine rams and two ewes were lost; but the two latter were recovered; the others could not be got back. Captain Cook here made an addition to his stock, and, besides other animals, purchased two young stallions and two mares.

The ships sailed again on the 30th November, and encountered heavy gales, in which several sheep and goats died. On the 12th December they saw two large islands, which Cook named Prince Edward's Islands; and three days afterwards several others were seen; but having made Kerguelen's Land, they anchored in a convenient harbour on Christmas day. On the north side of this harbour one of the men found a quart bottle fastened to a projecting rock by stout wire, and, on opening it, the bottle was found to contain a piece of parchment, on which was an inscription purporting that the land had been visited by a French vessel in 1772-3. To this Cook added a notice of his own visit; the parchment was then returned to the bottle, and the cork being secured with lead, was placed upon a pile of stones near to the place from which it had been removed. The whole country was extremely barren and desolate; and on the 30th they came to the eastern extremity of Kerguelen's Land. To his great chagrin, whilst exploring the coast, Captain Cook lost, through the intense cold, two young bulls, one heifer, two rams, and several of the goats.

On the 24th January 1777 they came in sight of Van Diemen's Land, and on the 26th anchored in Adventure Bay, where intercourse was opened with the natives, and Omai took every opportunity of lauding the great superiority of his friends the English. Here they obtained plenty of grass for the remaining cattle, and a supply of fresh provisions for

themselves. On the 30th they quitted their port, convinced that Van Diemen's Land was the southern point of New Holland. Subsequent investigations, however, have proved this idea to be erroneous, Van Diemen's Land being an island separated from the main-land of Australia by Bass' Straits.

On the 12th February Captain Cook anchored at his old station in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand; but the natives were very shy in approaching the ships, and none could be persuaded to come on board. The reason was, that on the former voyage, after parting with the "*Resolution*," the "*Adventure*" had visited this place, and ten of her crew had been killed in an unpremeditated skirmish with the natives. It was the fear of retaliatory punishment that kept them aloof. Captain Cook, however, soon made them easy upon the subject, and their familiarity was renewed; but great caution was used, to be fully prepared for a similar attack, by keeping the men well armed on all occasions. Of the animals left at this island in the former voyages, many were thriving; and the gardens, though left in a state of nature, were found to contain cabbages, onions, leeks, radishes, mustard, and a few potatoes. The captain was enabled to add to both. At the solicitation of Omai he received two New Zealand lads on board the "*Resolution*," and by the 27th was clear of the coast.

After landing at a number of islands, and not finding adequate supplies, the ships sailed for Anamocka, and the "*Resolution*" was brought up in exactly the same anchorage that she had occupied three years before. The natives behaved in a most friendly manner, and but for their habits of stealing, quiet would have been uninterrupted. Nothing, however, could check this propensity, till Captain Cook shaved the heads of all whom he caught practising it. This rendered them an object of ridicule to their countrymen, and enabled the English to recognise and keep them at a distance. Most of the Friendly Isles were visited by the ships, and everywhere they met with a kind reception. On the 10th June they reached Tongataboo, where the king offered Captain Cook his house to reside in. Here he made a distribution of his animals amongst the chiefs, and the importance of preserving them was explained by Omai. A horse and mare, a bull and cow, several sheep and turkeys, were thus given away: but two kids and two turkey-cocks having been stolen, the captain seized three canoes, put a guard over the chiefs, and insisted that not only the kids and turkeys should be restored, but also everything that had been taken away since their arrival. This produced a good effect, and much of the plunder was returned.

Captain Cook remained at the Friendly Islands nearly three months, and lived almost entirely during that period upon fresh provisions, occasionally eating the produce of the seeds he had sown there in his former visits. On the 17th July they took their final leave of these hospitable people, and on the 12th August reached Otaheite, and took up a berth in Oaiti-piha Bay, which it was discovered had been visited by two Spanish ships since the "*Resolution*" had last been there.

Animals of various kinds had been left in the country by the Spaniards, and the islanders spoke of them with esteem and respect. On the 24th the ships went round to Matavai Bay, and Captain Cook presented to the King Otoo the remainder of his live stock. There were already at Otoo's residence a remarkably fine bull and some goats that had been left by the Spaniards, and to these the captain added another bull, three cows, a horse and a mare, and a number of sheep; also a peacock and hen, a turkey-cock and hen, one gander and three geese, a drake and four ducks. The geese and ducks began to breed before the English left the island.

They here witnessed a human sacrifice, to propitiate the favour of their gods in a battle they were about to undertake. The victim was generally some strolling vagabond, who was not aware of his fate till the moment arrived, and he received his death-blow from a club. For the purpose of shewing the inhabitants the use of the horses, Captains Cook and Clerke rode into the country, to the great astonishment of the islanders; and though this exercise was continued every day by some of the "*Resolution's*" people, yet the wonder of the natives never abated.

On the return of Omai to the land of his birth, the reception he met with was not very cordial; but the affection of his relatives was strong and ardent. Captain Cook obtained the grant of a piece of land for him on the west side of Owharre Harbour, Huaheine. The carpenters of the ships built him a small house, to which a garden was attached, planted with shaddocks, vines, pine apples, melons, &c., and a variety of vegetables, the whole of which were thriving before Captain Cook quitted the island. When the house was finished, the presents Omai had received in England were carried ashore, with every article necessary for domestic purposes, as well as two muskets, a bayonet, a brace of pistols, &c.

The two lads brought from New Zealand were put on shore at this place, to form part of Omai's family; but it was with great reluctance that they had quitted the voyagers, who had behaved so kindly to them.

Whilst lying at Huaheine, a thief, who had caused them great trouble, not only had his head and beard shaved, but, in order to deter others, both his ears were cut off. On the 3d November the ships went to Ulietea, and here, decoyed by the natives, two or three desertions took place; and as others seemed inclined to follow the example, Captain Clerke pursued the fugitives with two armed boats and a party of marines; but without effect. Captain Cook experienced a similar failure: he therefore seized upon the persons of the chief's son, daughter, and son-in-law, whom he placed under confinement till the people should be restored, which took place on the 28th, and the hostages were released. One of the deserters was a midshipman of the "*Discovery*," and the son of a brave officer in the service. Schemes were projected by some of the natives to assassinate Captain Cook and Captain Clerke; but though in imminent danger, the murderous plans failed.

At Bolabola, Captain Cook succeeded in obtaining an anchor which had been left there by M. Bouganville, as he was very desirous of converting the iron into articles of traffic. They left this place on the 8th December, crossed the line, and on the 24th stopped at a small island, which he named Christmas Island, and where he planted cocoa-nuts, yams, and melon seeds, and left a bottle enclosing a suitable inscription.

On the 2d January 1778 the ships resumed their voyage northward, to pursue the grand object in Behring's Straits. They passed several islands, the inhabitants of which, though at an immense distance from Otaheite, spoke the same language. Those who came on board displayed the utmost astonishment at everything they beheld; and it was evident they had never seen a ship before. The disposition to steal was equally strong in these as in the other South Sea islanders, and a man was killed who tried to plunder the watering party; but this was not known to Captain Cook till after they had sailed. They also discovered that the practice of eating human flesh was prevalent. To a group of these islands (and they were generally found in clusters) Captain Cook gave the name of the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the noble earl at the head of the Admiralty.

The voyage to the northward was continued on the 2d February, and the long-looked-for coast of New Albion was made on the 7th March, the ships being then in latitude 44 degrees 33 minutes north; and after sailing along it till the 29th, they came to an anchor in a small cove lying in latitude 49 degrees 29 minutes north. A brisk trade commenced with the na-

tives, who appeared to be well acquainted with the value of iron, for which they exchanged the skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, &c., both in their original state and made up into garments. But the most extraordinary articles were human skulls and hands not quite stripped of the flesh, and which had the appearance of having been recently on the fire. Thieving was practised at this place in a more scientific manner than they had before remarked; and the natives insisted upon being paid for the wood and other things supplied to the ships, with which Captain Cook scrupulously complied. This inlet was named King George's Sound; but it was afterwards ascertained that the natives called it Nootka Sound. After making every requisite nautical observation, the ships being again ready for sea on the 26th, in the evening they departed, a severe gale of wind blowing them away from the shore. From this period they examined the coast, under a hope of finding some communication with the Polar Sea; and one river they traced as high as latitude 61 degrees 30 minutes north, and which was afterwards named Cook's River.

They left this place on the 6th June, but notwithstanding all their watchfulness and vigilance, no passage could be found. The ships ranged across the mouth of the straits in about latitude 60 degrees, where the natives of the islands, by their manners, gave evident tokens of their being acquainted with Europeans—most probably Russian traders. They put in at Oonalaska and other places, which were taken possession of in the name of the King of England. On the 3d August Mr Anderson, surgeon of the "*Resolution*," died from a lingering consumption, under which he had been suffering more than twelve months. He was a young man of considerable ability, and possessed an amiable disposition.

Proceeding to the northward, Captain Cook ascertained the relative positions of the two continents, Asia and America, whose extremities he observed. On the 18th they were close to a dense wall of ice, beyond which they could not penetrate, the latitude at this time being 70 degrees 44 minutes north. The ice here was from ten to twelve feet high, and seemed to rise higher in the distance. A prodigious number of sea-horses were crouching on the ice, some of which were procured for food. Captain Cook continued to traverse these icy seas till the 29th; he then explored the coasts in Behring's Straits, both in Asia and America; and on the 2d of October again anchored at Oonalaska to refit; and here they had communication with some Russians, who undertook to convey charts and maps, &c. to the English Admiralty, which they faith-

fully fulfilled. On the 26th the ships quitted the harbour of Samganoodah, and sailed for the Sandwich Islands, Captain Cook purposing to remain there a few months, and then to return to Kamschatka. In latitude 20 degrees 55 minutes, the island of Mowee was discovered on the 26th of November; and on the 30th they fell in with another, called by the natives Owhyhee, and being of large extent, the ships were occupied nearly seven weeks in sailing round it and examining the coast; and they found the islanders more frank and free from suspicion than any they had yet had intercourse with; so that on the 16th Jan. 1779 there were not fewer than a thousand canoes about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the place. A robbery having been committed, Captain Cook ordered a volley of musketry and four great guns to be fired over the canoe that contained the thief; but this seemed only to astonish the natives, without creating any great alarm. On the 17th the ships anchored in a bay called by the islanders Karakakooa. The natives constantly thronged to the ships, whose decks consequently, being at all times crowded, allowed of pilfering without fear of detection; and these practices, it is conjectured, were encouraged by the chiefs. A great number of the hogs purchased were killed and salted down so completely that some of it was good at Christmas 1780. On the 26th Captain Cook had an interview with Terreoboo, king of the islands, in which great formality was observed, and an exchange of presents took place, as well as an exchange of names. The natives were extremely respectful to Cook; in fact, they paid him a sort of adoration, prostrating themselves before him; and a society of priests furnished the ships with a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, without requiring any return. On the 3d February, the day previous to the ship's sailing, the king presented them with an immense quantity of cloth, many boat-loads of vegetables, and a whole herd of hogs. The ships sailed on the following day, but on the 6th encountered a very heavy gale, in which, on the night of the 7th, the "*Resolution*" sprung the head of her foremast in such a dangerous manner that they were forced to put back to Karakakooa Bay in order to get it repaired. Here they anchored on the morning of the 11th, and everything for a time promised to go well in their intercourse with the natives. The friendliness manifested by the chiefs, however, was far from solid. They were savages at a low point of cultivation, and theft and murder were not considered by them in the light of crimes. Cook, aware of the nature of these barbarians, was anxious to avoid any collision, and it was with no small regret that he found that an affray had taken place between

some seamen and the natives. The cause of the disturbance was the seizure of the cutter of the "*Discovery*" as it lay at anchor. The boats of both ships were sent in search of her, and Captain Cook went on shore to prosecute the inquiry, and, if necessary, to seize the person of the king, who had sanctioned the theft.

The narrative of what ensued is affectingly tragical. Cook left the "*Resolution*" about seven o'clock, attended by the lieutenant of marines, a sergeant, a corporal, and seven private men. The pinnace's crew were likewise armed, and under the command of Mr Roberts; the launch was also ordered to assist his own boat. He landed with the marines at the upper end of the town of Kavoroah, where the natives received him with their accustomed tokens of respect, and not the smallest sign of hostility was evinced by any of them; and as the crowds increased, the chiefs employed themselves as before in keeping order. Captain Cook requested the king to go on board the "*Resolution*" with him, to which he offered few objections; but in a little time it was observed that the natives were arming themselves with long spears, clubs, and daggers, and putting on the thick mats which they used by way of armour. This hostile appearance was increased by the arrival of a canoe from the opposite side of the bay, announcing that one of the chiefs had been killed by a shot from the "*Discovery's*" boat. The women who had been conversing familiarly with the English, immediately retired, and loud murmurs arose amongst the crowd. Captain Cook perceiving the tumultuous proceedings of the natives, ordered Lieutenant Middleton to march his marines down to the boats, to which the islanders offered no obstruction. The captain followed with the king, attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. One of the sons had already entered the pinnace, expecting his father to follow, when the king's wife and others hung round his neck, and forced him to be seated near a double canoe, assuring him that he would be put to death if he went on board the ship.

Whilst matters were in this position, one of the chiefs was seen with a dagger partly concealed under his cloak lurking about Captain Cook, and the lieutenant of marines proposed to fire at him; but this the captain would not permit; but the chief closing upon them, the officer of marines struck him with his firelock. Another native grasping the sergeant's musket, was forced to let go by a blow from the lieutenant. Captain Cook, seeing the tumult was increasing, observed, "that if he were to force him, the king off, it could only be done by sacrificing the lives of many of his people;" and was about to give orders to re-embark, when a man flung a stone

at him, which he returned by discharging small shot from one of the barrels of his piece. The man was but little hurt, and brandishing his spear, with threatenings to hurl it at the captain, the latter, unwilling to fire with ball, knocked the fellow down, and then warmly expostulated with the crowd for their hostile conduct. At this moment a man was observed behind a double canoe in the act of darting a spear at Captain Cook, who promptly fired, but killed another who was standing by his side. The sergeant of marines, however, instantly presented, and brought down the native whom the captain had missed. The impetuosity of the islanders was somewhat repressed ; but being pushed on by those in the rear, who were ignorant of what was passing in front, a volley of stones was poured in amongst the marines, who, without waiting for orders, returned it with a general discharge of musketry, which was directly succeeded by a brisk fire from the boats. Captain Cook expressed much surprise and vexation : he waved his hand for the boats to cease firing, and to come on shore to embark the marines. The pinnace unhesitatingly obeyed ; but the lieutenant in the launch, instead of pulling in to the assistance of his commander, rowed further off at the very moment that the services of himself and people were most required. Nor was this all the mischief that ensued ; for, as it devolved upon the pinnace to receive the marines, she became so crowded, as to render the men incapable of using their firearms. The marines on shore, however, fired ; but the moment their pieces were discharged, the islanders rushed *en masse* upon them, forced the party into the water, where four of them were killed, and the lieutenant wounded. At this critical period Captain Cook was left entirely alone upon a rock near the shore. He, however, hurried towards the pinnace, holding his left arm round the back of his head, to shield it from the stones, and carrying his musket under his right. An islander, armed with a club, was seen in a crouching posture cautiously following him, as if watching for an opportunity to spring forward upon his victim. This man was a relation of the king's, and remarkably agile and quick. At length he jumped forward upon the captain, and struck him a heavy blow on the back of his head, and then turned and fled. The captain appeared to be somewhat stunned. He staggered a few paces, and, dropping his musket, fell on his hands and one knee ; but whilst striving to recover his upright position, another islander rushed forward, and with an iron dagger stabbed him in the neck. He again made an effort to proceed, but fell into a small pool of water not more than knee-deep, and numbers instantly ran to the spot, and

endeavoured to keep him down ; but by his struggles he was enabled to get his head above the surface, and casting a look towards the pinnacle, (then not more than five or six yards distant,) seemed to be imploring assistance. It is asserted that, in consequence of the crowded state of the pinnacle, (through the withdrawal of the launch,) the crew of that boat were unable to render any aid : but it is also probable that the emergency of this unexpected catastrophe deprived the English of that cool judgment which was requisite on such an occasion. The islanders, perceiving that no help was afforded, forced him under water again, but in a deeper place ; yet his great muscular power once more enabled him to raise himself and cling to the rock. At this moment a forcible blow was given with a club, and he fell down lifeless. The savages then hauled his corpse upon the rock, and ferociously stabbed the body all over, snatching the dagger from each other's hands to wreak their sanguinary vengeance on the slain. The body was left some time exposed upon the rock ; and, as the islanders gave way, through terror at their own act and the fire from the boats, it might have been recovered entire. But no attempt of the kind was made, and it was afterwards, together with the marines, cut up, and the parts distributed amongst the chiefs. The mutilated fragments were subsequently restored, and committed to the deep with all the honours due to the rank of the deceased. Thus (February 14, 1779) perished, in an inglorious brawl with a set of savages, one of England's greatest navigators, whose services to science have never been surpassed by any man belonging to his profession. It may almost be said that he fell a victim to humanity ; for if, instead of retreating before his barbarous pursuers with a view to spare their lives, he had turned revengefully upon them, his fate might have been very different.

The death of their commander was felt to be a heavy blow by the officers and seamen of the expedition. With deep sorrow the ships' companies left Owhyhee, where the catastrophe had occurred, the command of the "*Resolution*" devolving on Captain Clerke, and Mr Gore acting as commander of the "*Discovery*." After making some further exploratory searches among the Sandwich Islands, the vessels visited Kamschatka and Behring's Straits. Here it was found impossible to penetrate through the ice either on the coast of America or that of Asia, so that they returned to the southward ; and on the 22d August 1779 Captain Clerke died of consumption, and was succeeded by Captain Gore, who in his turn gave Lieutenant King an acting order in the "*Discovery*." After a second

visit to Kamschatka, the two ships returned by way of China, remained some time at Canton, touched at the Cape, and arrived at the Nore, 4th October 1780, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days, during which the "*Resolution*" lost only five men by sickness, and the "*Discovery*" did not lose a single man.

By this, as well as the preceding voyages of Cook, a considerable addition was made to a knowledge of the earth's surface. Besides clearing up doubts respecting the Southern Ocean, and making known many islands in the Pacific, the navigator did an inestimable service to his country in visiting the coasts of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, and Norfolk Island—all now colonial possessions of Britain, and which promise at no distant day to become the seat of a large and flourishing nation of Anglo-Australians—the England of the southern hemisphere.

The intelligence of Captain Cook's death was received with melancholy regret in England. The king granted a pension of L.200 per annum to his widow, and L.25 per annum to each of the children; the Royal Society had a gold medal struck in commemoration of him; and various other honours at home and abroad were paid to his memory. "Thus, by his own persevering efforts," as has been well observed by the author of the *Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties*, "did this great man raise himself from the lowest obscurity to a reputation wide as the world itself, and certain to last as long as the age in which he flourished shall be remembered by history. But better still than even all this fame—than either the honours which he received while living, or those which, when he was no more, his country and mankind bestowed upon his memory—he had exalted himself, in the scale of moral and intellectual being; had won for himself, by his unwearied striving, a new and nobler nature, and taken a high place among the instructors and benefactors of mankind."

SECT. VIII.—CAPTAIN COOK AND SIR JOSEPH BANKS.—CONTINUED.

Sir Joseph Banks, the son of William Banks, Esq. of Revesby Abbey, Lincolnshire, was born in London on the 13th of February 1743. He was educated at Harrow and Eton, and at Christ's Church, Oxford. He inherited an ample fortune from his father, who died in 1761. But he did not repose upon it, to live the life of a wealthy worthless gentleman. While yet a boy, natural history in all its branches

had been a study to him: when grown to the years of manhood, he pursued the study with all the vigour of strong intellect—with all the facilities which wealth of money afforded him. In 1766 he made a voyage to Newfoundland in company with Lieutenant Phipps, (afterwards Lord Mulgrave.) In 1768, when Captain Cook was appointed to undertake the voyage which made the circuit of the world, Mr Banks obtained permission to accompany him. The other scientific men were selected for the voyage and provided for it by Mr Banks. His preparations for himself and them, for science, for his country, for mankind, for posterity, were on a large and liberal scale. The friendly intercourse which he cultivated with the inhabitants who bore the name and outward appearance of savages, reduced savagism to civility. He gave them domestic animals, utensils, implements, plants, seeds, and, for the credit of his country and mankind, he conciliated them with a benevolence to which neither his country nor mankind has a parallel. In return for the benefits which from Europe and the European colonies he conferred on the primitive races of unartificial men, he carried to Europe and its colonies the plants which were the natural products of the islands in the Southern seas, inhabited by the unartificial men. He gave the West Indies the sugar cane and the bread-fruit tree; and confined not his gifts to the narrow policy of the times, which snarled at a service done to another than his own nation.

After returning from the first voyage of Captain Cook, he went, in 1772, to Iceland. Mr Van Troil, a Swedish clergyman, who formed one of the scientific party, published the researches and results of the expedition; the simplicity of Mr Banks' nature not inciting him to seek the fame, as the amplitude of his fortune did not necessitate him to seek the resources, of authorship.

After returning from Iceland, Mr Banks undertook no distant expeditions; but he promoted his benevolent and delightful science not the less effectually by his correspondence with naturalists in all parts of the world. He sent out other inquirers and collectors at his own expense; and by his influence with George III. and the governments of his day, caused some part of the public money to be given for the most benevolent of purposes—the transposing, transplanting, and diffusion of the products of nature. How small a part of the public money was devoted to this world-wide service, while such heaps, masses of treasure, were devoted to war, to its crimes, to the wreck of commerce and the ruin of humanity, reason and pity can only now unite to deplore. Nor is the national treasure

devoted much more wisely now in 1848 than it was in the days of Mr Banks, when he could only obtain the grant of a fraction of it for purposes the most benevolent and reproductive of benefits. Cotton, the staple of the greatest industrial enterprise of Britain, has fallen so far short of the consumption and demand for it throughout Europe, that enterprise is arrested—the trade languishes. India, the colony of Britain, over-run with British armies; her Hindoo people eaten up with military expenses; her fertile soils trampled by the hoofs and wheels of war, might grow all the cotton which all the factories of Britain—built or to be built—could spin and weave; but there is no Sir Joseph Banks to do for cotton what he did for sugar; and the public money sends not to India cotton seeds, implements, skilled cultivators, teachers of the Hindoos; but more demands for Hindoo taxes to pay for past and provide for prospective Indian wars.

In 1781 Mr Banks was advanced to the baronetage, and in 1795 he received the order of the Bath. In 1797 he became a privy councillor. He had been, shortly after his return from Iceland, elected to the presidency of the Royal Society, but not without the violent opposition of the bigotted and the narrow minded, who understood not the dignity and benevolence of that science which he cultivated, and which, by his practical application of it to the service of the world, has raised him to the highest rank of public benefactors. One of his opponents, and perhaps the most formidable, was the talented, but captious polemical disputant, Bishop Horsley. It is written of Sir Joseph Banks that “his influence with the king enabled him to perform some valuable services to men of science throughout Europe, during the long interruption of friendly communication betwixt Great Britain and the continent. An eminent member of the French Institute, in his eulogy upon Banks, asserts that no less than ten times, different collections of plants addressed to the Jardin du Roi at Paris, but which had been captured by English vessels, were restored by Sir Joseph’s intercession to their original destination.”

In 1802 the National Institute of France elected him one of their eight foreign associates. This distinction and the letter to the Institute which acknowledged his thanks, roused Bishop Horsley, once again, whose antipathy for a time had slumbered. The bishop’s letter, publicly addressed to Sir Joseph Banks, pays the greatness of his public services such homage in the very fierceness of its censure, that we transfer it for the reader’s use at full length.

“ *To Sir Joseph Banks, &c. &c.*

“ ‘Sir,—The following article, extracted from the official French paper of the 18th instant, is not only so little honourable to your own character, but so insulting to the society over which you have long presided, and so repugnant to the genuine feelings of an Englishman, that the public voice demands from you an explanation of the letter, if it be authentic, or a disavowal of it, if it be a forgery.

“ ‘ *Letter of Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society of London, to the President and Secretaries of the National Institute of France.*

“ ‘ LONDON, January 21, 1802.

“ ‘Citizens,—Be pleased to offer to the National Institute my warmest thanks for the honour they have done me, in conferring upon me the title of associate of this learned and distinguished body. Assure, at the same time, my respectable brothers, that I consider this mark of their esteem as the highest and most enviable literary distinction which I could possibly attain. To be the first elected to be an associate of the first literary society in the world, surpasses my most ambitious hopes; and I cannot be too grateful towards a society which has conferred upon me this honour, and towards a nation of which it is the literary representative; a nation which, during the most frightful convulsions of the late most terrible revolution, never ceased to possess my esteem; being always persuaded, even during the most disastrous periods, that it contained many good citizens, who would infallibly get the upper hand, and who would re-establish in the hearts of their countrymen the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour. Receive more especially, citizens, my warmest acknowledgments for the truly polite manner in which you communicated this agreeable intelligence.—I am, with sincere esteem for your distinguished talents, &c.

JOSEPH BANKS.’

“ Now, sir, notwithstanding my disgust at this load of filthy adulation, I shall trouble you with some calm remarks upon it. Supposing your acceptance of the nomination to be perfectly consistent with your dignity, (which, however, I deny,) there would be no material objection to the first and concluding paragraphs of your letter, which would have been amply sufficient for the purpose of acknowledgment; but the intermediate part is highly reprehensible: it is replete with sentiments which are a compound of servility, disloyalty, and falsehood; sentiments which ought never to be conceived by an English

heart, never written by an English hand, and, least of all, by yours, distinguished as you are by repeated (out of respect to his majesty I will not say unmerited) marks of royal favour, and elevated to a station in which the country might be excused for looking up to you as the jealous guardian, not the betrayer, of its literary credit. Your 'respectable brothers' of the French Institute may, perhaps, be intoxicated by the incense which you have lavished before their altar of atheism and democracy; for, although they were companions of the respectable Bonaparte in his expeditions, and plundered libraries and cabinets with as much alacrity and as little scruple as he displayed in treasuries and in churches, I do not believe that the ungrateful nations whom they robbed ever composed such a brilliant eulogium on their talents and their virtues. No, sir; it was reserved for the head of the Royal Society of London to assure an exotic embryo academy that he is more proud of being a mere associate of the latter than president of the former; that he considers their election of him as 'the highest and most enviable literary distinction which he could possibly attain;' and that he deems them the 'first literary society in the world.' Sir, I have read, with pleasure and with profit, many volumes published by the Royal Society, and, with due submission to you, I assert that the cultivation of science is more indebted to their exertions than to those of any institution whatsoever. But I am yet to learn the merits of this novel association of revolutionary philosophers into which you have enlisted. What acts, but acts of robbery, have we seen of theirs? Where are the proofs of their pre-eminence? It is incumbent on you to produce those proofs, and to convince the British literati that your contempt of them is just. But the plenitude of your joy admits no consideration for English societies or the English nation. You exult in your new honours, and your gratitude knows no limits but those of France; it overleaps the cradle of the infant institute, and expands itself throughout a nation which you say has 'never ceased to possess your esteem during the most frightful convulsions of the revolution; being always persuaded, even during the most disastrous periods, that it contained many good citizens, who would infallibly get the upper hand, (as you elegantly express it,) and who would re-establish in the hearts of their countrymen the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour.' Really, sir, I know not which excites the greater admiration, the impetuous torrent of your esteem, which bears away the feeble impediments of loyalty, patriotism, morality, and religion, or the wonderful sagacity of your prognostics, some of which are

accomplished, and for the rest we must wait for the consul's leisure. The good citizen Bonaparte has already got the upper hand, but when will he re-establish the empire of virtue, of justice, and of honour, in the hearts of the republican Frenchman (where I suspect they never had much foundation) your penetration only can foresee. As to religion, you seem yourself to despair of its restoration, since you do not even mention it; or perhaps you deemed it a matter of too little importance to merit the consideration of philosophers. I must not omit another observation, that the French people 'never ceased to possess your esteem during the most frightful convulsions of the revolution.' There is a singular coincidence between the sentiment and the time at which it is uttered. Your letter is dated 21st January. Sir, the 21st of January was the day on which the ill-fated Louis XVI. was executed by his treacherous subjects, and it is the anniversary of that day which you select to assure his assassins that they 'never ceased to possess your esteem !!!' I will not assert that you designedly combined the declaration and the date; but the French jacobins are too quick-sighted not to remark the circumstance, and to deduce their inference; and the English jacobins will do the same: nay, I verily believe that this circumstance, together with an opportunity (which they are ever ready to embrace) of wounding the pride of Englishmen, were the motives which induced the publication of your letter. But, after all, sir, why this display of gratitude? You must acknowledge it to be at least superfluous; because the French nation, by electing you a member of their institute, merely discharged an old account. You understand me, sir; but as the public are probably not so well informed, I must solicit their attention to the following anecdote:—Soon after the judicial murder of Louis XVI. one of the officers who accompanied the unfortunate La Perouse returned to Europe with numerous specimens of natural history, collected during the early part of his voyage of discovery. In these latitudes he first obtained intelligence of the revolution, and being a man of honour, felt that he was accountable only to the crown of France, from which he had accepted his commission. Accordingly he brought his vessel to an English port, from whence, by permission of our government, the cargo was conveyed to London, and committed to the custody of a nobleman, who, having communicated the circumstance to Louis XVIII., was instructed to offer to the queen any part of the curiosities of which her majesty might approve, and to present the remainder to the British Museum. You must remember, sir, that,

in pursuance of these instructions, the entire (or nearly the entire) collection was confided to you, in order to be deposited in the museum; and you cannot forget that you disposed of it by sending it all to France, with no authority but your own, with no pretence except that the philosophers of the two nations were not at war. Thus, sir, you imposed an obligation on the French which they have repaid, it seems, to your exquisite gratification. By the sacrifice of what duties and what principles that obligation was imposed it is not for me to say; but I will without hesitation assert, that your acknowledgment of its discharge has brought disgrace upon your country and discredit on the Royal Society, the guardianship of whose honour was confided to you by your sovereign.—I am, sir, &c.

MISOGALLUS."

Sir Joseph Banks died on the 19th of June 1820, after a lingering illness, which he endured with much patience and even cheerfulness. His magnificent library of natural history, of which an admirable catalogue was compiled by his librarian, in five volumes octavo, he bequeathed to the British Museum. His published writings are neither very numerous nor very important. They consist of a few papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*, the "*Archaeologia*," and some other periodical works, and an essay on the causes of Mildew, first published in 1803.

SECT. IX.—ARTHUR YOUNG AND THE CONDITION OF IRELAND.

It was said of Sir Joseph Banks and of Arthur Young that they could obtain the liberation of any British prisoner during the French War from the service rendered by them to science.

Arthur Young was born in the year 1741. His father, Dr Young, was a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, prebendary of Canterbury, and chaplain to Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, from whom the subject of this memoir took his Christian name.

His attention was early drawn towards natural science; but after attaining manhood he chiefly devoted himself to the study of political economy, and theoretical and practical agriculture. At this period agriculture had scarcely engaged the attention of philosophers in this country; the field was, in a great measure, new, and from the immense importance of the subject, and its intimate connection with political economy, promised to reward the attention and talents that might be bestowed upon it. Mr Young, with an ardour which no dis-

appointments could damp, within six years after his marriage, he had pursued this study with so much success, and collected such a mass of important information, (although, as we understand, thus far, with very little or no pecuniary advantage to himself,) that he was enabled to publish several considerable works, proposing various improvements, and exhibiting the results of very extensive observations.

The chief of these works consisted of his northern, southern, and eastern tours through England. The first consisted of five octavo volumes, and the others were in proportion. The valuable and important contents of these productions arrested the attention of his countrymen, and excited a considerable degree of interest in the minds of many extensive landholders and farmers. The fame of his writings passed to the continent of Europe, and the author had the honour of seeing, we believe, all these works translated into the Russian language, by the order of Queen Catherine. Soon after, Mr Young took several young Russians under his care, to receive practical instruction in the best system of English farming. The success which had attended his tours through England, and the valuable stock of information thereby gained, induced him to turn his attention to Ireland—a country remarkable for its fertility, and, from the low and neglected state of agriculture, promising amply to repay the attention of the philanthropist and philosopher. He therefore undertook a tour through Ireland, and, in 1778, published two volumes in octavo, consisting of facts and suggestions relating to the internal economy of that country.

We select some of his remarks on the condition of Ireland then past and then present; not alone as specimens of his work, but as introductory to our sections on Irish trade. He says, "It must be very apparent to every traveller through that country, that the labouring poor are treated with harshness, and are, in all respects, so little considered, that their want of importance seems a perfect contrast to their situation in England, of which country, comparatively speaking, they reign the sovereigns. The age has improved so much in humanity, that even the poor Irish have experienced its influence, and are every day treated better and better; but still the remnant of the old manners, the abominable distinction of religion, united with the oppressive conduct of the little country gentlemen, or rather vermin of the kingdom, who never were out of it, altogether bear still very heavy on the poor people, and subject them to situations more mortifying than we ever behold in England. The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot who

yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but that of his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm; the language of law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery. There is too much of this contradiction in Ireland; a long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission; speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of written liberty. Landlords that have resided much abroad, are usually humane in their ideas, but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind; so that, even in this polished age, there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England.

"A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant, labourer, or cottar dares to refuse to execute. Nothing satisfies him but an unlimited submission. Disrespect, or anything tending towards sauciness, he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip, with the most perfect security. A poor man would have his bones broken if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence. Knocking down is spoken of in the country in a manner that makes an Englishman stare. Landlords of consequence have assured me that many of their cottars would think themselves honoured by having their wives or daughters sent for to the bed of their master, a mark of slavery that proves the oppression under which such people must live. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. But let it not be imagined that this is common; formerly it happened every day, but law gains ground. It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipped into a ditch by a gentleman's footman to make way for his carriage; if they are overturned or broken in pieces, it is taken in patience: were they to complain, they would perhaps be horsewhipped. The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where *manners* are in conspiracy against *law*, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? It is a fact that a poor

man having a contest with a gentleman must—but I am talking nonsense, they have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

“The landed property of the kingdom had been greatly changed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; still more under Cromwell, who parcelled out an immense proportion of the kingdom to the officers of his army, the ancestors of great numbers of the present possessors; the colonels of his regiments left estates which are now eight and ten thousand a year, and I know several gentlemen of two and three thousand pounds a-year at present, which they inherit from captains in the same service. The last forfeitures were incurred in that war which stripped and banished James II. Nineteen-twentieths of the kingdom changed hands from Catholic to Protestant. The lineal descendants of great families, once possessed of vast property, are now to be found all over the kingdom in the lowest situation, working as cottars for the great-great-grandsons of men, many of whom were of no greater account in England than these poor labourers are at present on that property which was once their own. So entire an overthrow and change of landed possession is, within the period, to be found in scarcely any country in the world. In such great revolutions of property the ruined proprietors have usually been extirpated or banished; but in Ireland the case was otherwise: families were so numerous, and so united in clans, that the heir of an estate was always known; and it is a fact that, in most parts of the kingdom, the descendants of the old landowners regularly transmit by testamentary deed the memorial of their right to those estates which once belonged to their families. From hence it results that the question of religion has always in Ireland been intimately connected with the right to, and possession of, the landed property of the kingdom, and has probably received from this source a degree of acrimony, not at all wanting, to influence the superstitious prejudices of the human mind.

“Flushed with success after the victory of the Boyne, and animated with the recollection of recent injuries, it would not have been surprising if the triumphant party had exceeded the bounds of moderation towards the Catholic, but the amazing circumstance is, that the great category of persecuting laws was not framed during the life of that monarch, who wisely was a friend to toleration; if ever such a system as would crush the minds of a conquered people into a slavish submission was necessary, it must have been an apparent justification; but why such a system should be embraced six or

seven years after the death of King William, is not so easy to be accounted for.

“By the laws of discovery as they are called :—

- “1. The whole body of Roman Catholics are absolutely disarmed.
- “2. They are incapacitated from purchasing land.
- “3. The entails of their estates are broken, and they gavel among the children.
- “4. If one child abjures that religion he inherits the whole estate, though he is the youngest.
- “5. If the son abjures the religion, the father has no power over his estate, but becomes a pensioner on it in favour of such son.
- “6. No Catholic can take a lease for more than thirty-one years.
- “7. If the rent of any Catholic is less than two-thirds of the full improved value, whoever *discovers*, takes the benefit of the lease.
- “8. Priests who celebrate mass to be transported, and if they return, to be hanged.
- “9. A Catholic having a horse in his possession above the value of five pounds, to forfeit the same to the discoverer.
- “10. By a construction of Lord Hardwick's, they are incapacitated from lending any money on mortgage.

“That it is a desirable object in some respects to have a people if not all of one persuasion, at least in good friendship and brotherhood as to religion, is undeniable. Though I think there are reasons against wishing a whole kingdom to profess only one similar faith. It excludes a variety of disquisitions which exercise and animate the talents of mankind; it encourages the priests of the national religion to a relaxation of their studies, their activity, and even their morals, and tends to introduce a lazy, wretched, vicious, and ignorant clergy: it is opposition and contrast that sharpen the wits of men. But waving these objections, and considering the question only in a political view, I admit that such a similarity of worship as is followed by laws equal to the whole community to be an advantage. Let us therefore examine whether the Irish intolerant ones have had the effect or not.

“That they have lessened the landed property in the hands of the Catholics is certain, their violence could not have had any other effect, but not, however, to such a degree as might have been imagined. There are principles of honour, religion, and ties of blood, too powerful for tyrannic laws to overcome, and which have prevented their full effect. I am not convinced

that the conversion of the landowners, while all the rabble retained their religion, was an advantage to the kingdom. Great possessions gave those landlords an interest in the public welfare, which in emergencies of danger might induce them to use their influence to keep their dependants quiet; but when none are connected with them richer than themselves, the whole party consisting of a poor and half ruined peasantry, and priests almost as poor as themselves, what tie, or what call is there to restrain the dictates of resentment and revenge? At this day the best subjects among the Catholics, and many there are very much to be depended on, notwithstanding all their oppressions, are the men of landed property; how impolitic to wish to lessen the number! to be desirous of cutting off two millions of peasantry from every possible connection that can influence their submission. The same observation is applicable to mortgages, and, in short, to all investments of money within the kingdom. Surely the obedience of a man who has property in the realm is much securer than if all he is worth is in the English or Dutch funds! While prosperity lay exposed to the practices of power, the great body of the people, who had been stripped of their all, were more enraged than converted; they adhered to the persuasion of their forefathers with the steadiest and most determined zeal; while the priests, actuated by the spirit of a thousand inducements, made proselytes among the common Protestants in defiance of every danger. And the great glaring fact yet remains, and is even admitted by the warmest advocates for the laws of *discovery*, that the established religion has not gained upon the Catholic in point of numbers, but, on the contrary, that the latter has been rather on the increase. Public lists have been returned in the several dioceses which confirm this fact; and the intelligence I received on my journey spoke the same language.

“But if these exertions of a succession of ignorant legislatures have failed continually in propagating the religion of government, or in adding to the internal security of the kingdom, much more have they failed in the great object of national prosperity. The only considerable manufacture in Ireland which carries in all its parts the appearance of industry, is the linen, and it ought never to be forgotten that this is solely confined to the Protestant parts of the kingdom, yet we may see, from the example of France and other countries, that there is nothing in the Roman Catholic religion itself that is incompatible with manufacturing industry. The poor Catholics in the south of Ireland spin wool very generally, but the purchasers of their labour, and the whole worsted trade, is in the hands of the Quakers of Clonmell, Carrick, Bandon, &c. The

fact is, the professors of that religion are under such discouragements that they cannot engage in any trade which requires both industry and capital. If they succeed and make a fortune, what are they to do with it? They can neither buy land nor take a mortgage, not even fine down the rent of a lease. Where is there a people in the world to be found industrious under such a circumstance? But it seems to be the meaning, wish, and intent of the *discovery* laws, that none of them should ever be rich. It is the principle of that system that wealthy subjects would be nuisances, and therefore every means is taken to reduce and keep them to a state of poverty. If this is not the intention of the laws, they are the most abominable heap of self contradictions that ever were issued in the world. They are framed in such a manner that no Catholic shall have the inducement to become rich; but if, in spite of these laws, he should accidentally gain wealth, that the whole kingdom should not afford him a possibility of investing it. Take the laws and their execution into one view, and this state of the case is so true, that they actually do not seem to be so much levelled at the religion as at the property that is found in it. By the law a priest is to be transported and hanged for reading mass, but the mass is very readily left to them with impunity. Let the same priest, however, make a fortune by his mass, and from that moment he is the object of persecution. The domineering aristocracy of five hundred thousand Protestants feel the sweets of having two millions of slaves; they have not the least objection to the tenets of that religion which keeps them by the law of the land in subjection; but property and slavery are too incompatible to live together. Hence the special care taken that no such thing should arise among them."

Mr Young proceeds to utter a momentous truth. It is the history of Ireland. We print it in italics.

"Relative to the national welfare, it must appear extremely evident to the unprejudiced, that *an aristocracy of five hundred thousand Protestants, crushing the industry of two millions of poor Catholics, can never advance the public interest.* Secure the industry of your people, and leave their religion to itself. It is their hands, not their faith, you want; but do not tie these behind them, and then ask why they are not better employed. How is agriculture to flourish, manufactures to be established, or commerce to extend in a dependant country labouring under great disadvantages, if the united capitals, industry, activity, and attention of the whole community, be not employed for such purposes? When the territory of an island lies in such a wretched state that, though blessed with a better soil, it yields, on comparison with England, as only 8

to 11 : when manufactures are of so sickly a growth as to be confined almost to one province, and when trade is known to exist only by the ships of other countries appearing in the harbours ; while a kingdom is in such a situation, is it wisdom to persist in a system which has no other effect than to clog, defeat, or exterminate the capital and industry of four-fifths of the inhabitants ! Surely the gentlemen of that country, when they complain of restricted commerce, and the remittance of the rentals of the absentees to England, cannot be thought serious in lamenting the situation of their country, while they continue wedded to that internal ruin which is the work of their own hands and the favourite child of their most active exertions. Complain not of restrictions while you yourselves enforce the most enormous restrictions ; for *what are the body of absentees when compared with the absence of industry and wealth from the immense mass of two millions of subjects !* I should be well founded in the assertion that both these evils, great and acknowledged as they are, are trifles when compared with the poverty and debility which result from the oppression of the Roman Catholics. Encourage the industry of those two millions of idle people, and the wealth arising from it will make ample amends for most of the evils complained of in Ireland. This remedy is in your hands ; you have no rivals to fear ; no ministers to oppose you."

It is to Arthur Young's forcible reasoning that Ireland, justice, humanity, owe the repeal of those penal laws which were called the Laws of Discovery. Their repeal was forced upon Lord North in 1779, the year after Mr Young's book was published. But they were practically retained long after they were removed from the Statute Book. With many of the Protestant landowners these penal laws are practically retained up to the present period, (1848).—(*See Letters from Ireland in the WHISTLER AT THE PLOUGH ; also the Evidence taken by the DEVON COMMISSION in 1844.*)

Mr Young was now well known both in England and America, and on the continent of Europe, though not yet forty years old, as one of the first practical and scientific agriculturists of the age. His reputation had risen gradually, and was now universally confessed. In the year 1784 he commenced his "Annals of Agriculture," a monthly publication, containing essays, communications, and facts on agriculture and political economy, comprising a most valuable mass of information. This work continued under his superintendence till his death, and consists of forty-five octavo volumes, but Mr Young did not limit his pursuits to the economy of his native land. His ardent thirst for knowledge and science led him to the continent, where he expected to reap a rich harvest of

improvement, among the philosophers and economists of France. He also traversed, in pursuit of his favourite subjects, both Spain and Italy ; and in 1791 published his travels in these countries.

At this period his attention, with that of most political speculators and economists, was powerfully arrested by the events which convulsed all Europe, and the influence of which seemed likely to produce very extensive and momentous changes in all the established governments of Christendom. The French revolution was the topic of general conversation, and of a warm public controversy. It was viewed by all parties not as a mere war of power, but of principle. In this controversy, Mr Young appeared as the author of a bold and vigorous pamphlet, entitled "The Example of France—A Warning to Great Britain." This pamphlet was published in 1792, and in the year following Mr Young was appointed secretary to the Board of Agriculture—then recently established. From this period he was much engaged in public business, and frequently came forward with small publications on the politics of the day ; and on the questions of national interest, all his productions, as they flowed from a vigorous mind and strong feelings, arrested a large share of public attention, and were extensively read out of his own country. Besides his occasional pieces, which were numerous, he continued his "Annals of Agriculture" monthly, and published at intervals surveys and reports of the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Hertford, Essex, and Oxford. The French Directory, at the suggestion, it is said, of Carnot, ordered all his works then published to be translated into French and published at Paris ; and a copy of the translation, consisting of twenty volumes octavo, was presented to the author. At a subsequent period Napoleon sent him an autograph letter, thanking him for his works descriptive of France.

The death of a beloved daughter, in 1797, made a deep impression upon Mr Young's mind : it gave a religious impulse to his feelings, and he thenceforward maintained a high character in the Christian world. In 1811 he lost the sight of both eyes by cataract. He prepared, after this distressing calamity, several useful publications, both on his favourite study of agriculture, and on practical and experimental religion. Two of the most celebrated of the non-conformist divines were among his chosen authors ; and from their writings he made interesting selections of the most choice and favourable passages, and published them in two duodecimo volumes, entitled, "Oweniana and Baxteriana." Up to the very period of his last illness, he was employed in useful studies, and was prepar-

ing a new work on agriculture, containing the chief results of his observations and experience through the space of sixty years.

"The closing scenes of his valuable and useful life," says a biographic writer in *Fullarton's Lives*, "were worthy of so great a man, and truly honourable to that grace of which he enjoyed no common share. The disease with which he was afflicted was of the most painful nature. Under its progress to the fatal issue, he manifested the strongest confidence in the reality of religion, and the all-sufficient grace of the Redeemer. He was never heard to repine against the will of his heavenly Father, but frequently admonished himself, by pious and solemn reflections, which he would utter aloud. His last hours were chiefly occupied in prayer, and in ejaculations of the most spiritual character. Towards the last, he expressed a strong confidence in the hopes and promises of the gospel, and earnestly sought deliverance from the body of sin and death under which he groaned. He expired on 12th of April 1820, in the house of the Board of Agriculture in Sackville Street, in the 79th year of his age."

The works of Mr Young abound with sound aphorisms in political economy, uttered at a time when these were little appreciated. The mercantile theory of monopoly and protection had long been in operation, and still was. Mr Young, though not writing so correctly in theory as Adam Smith, was yet the most influential of the anti-monopolist and free trade authors. On the corn trade he seems to have lost sight of the principles which he advanced against commercial monopoly. But as a practical writer, we may question if either before him or after him there has been any man in Britain whose pen has been so immediately and permanently useful to his country and to mankind as his pen. The poets and the moralists may have written more gracefully—though he too wrote gracefully, and was, incidentally, both a poet and a moralist. They may have ascended in loftier flights from the earth, and have flown farther; they may have discovered new regions of thought, or have created them, and clothed their creations with beauty; but Arthur Young remained upon the earth, and concerned himself with the literal earth, and it only; and did more than any other single man to clothe it with greenness, floweriness, and fruit.

When Mr Pitt's liberal treaty with France in 1787, by allowing the exportation of wool from England to France, gave so much uneasiness to the English manufacturers, Arthur Young was one of the ablest supporters of the free trade policy of Mr Pitt. He published several pamphlets on the sub-

ject, one of them directed chiefly to Mr Hustler of Bradford, a manufacturer, who, in the name of all the rest of Yorkshire, advocated an establishment of "riding officers," to extend round the shores of England, from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Chester, to prevent the exportation of wool by smugglers—he alleging that 13,000 packs were smuggled to France yearly, whereby the price was enhanced to the British manufacturer. In one of Arthur Young's pamphlets on the wool trade, chiefly addressed to the monopolist manufacturers, he says—"The manufacturer says to the farmer, (or flockmaster,) I will have your wool 100 per cent. cheaper than you could sell it abroad. Very well, replies the farmer, then you will allow me to buy my coat at the cheapest market. Not at all, replies the other; you shall buy it of no one but me, let the price be what it may." He refers here specially to the opposition of the whole of the British manufacturers and traders to the propositions of Mr Pitt for freeing the trade with Ireland in 1785—three years before.

Some exceptions have been taken to Arthur Young on the score of his hostility to commerce. It should be observed, however, that when he speaks of the "commercial spirit," he means the *monopolist spirit*. All commerce up to his time had been a series of monopolies. The commercial classes were the instigators and abettors of war in favour of monopolies against foreign countries, or of war in favour of aggressions upon the trade of other countries. The wars forced upon Sir Robert Walpole and carried on by the elder Pitt, Earl of Chatham, were popular wars, and their popularity arose from the fact that they were directed against Spanish commerce and French colonial trade. Arthur Young refers to their origin in the following section, which is a forcible and truthful description of the policy which had guided England up to the year when he was writing—1778. For *commerce*, we should, however, now read *monopoly*.

SECT. X.—THE TRUE CAUSE OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

"The entire administration of the colonies has been commercial," says Arthur Young. "It has been made a trader's project, and the spirit of monopoly pervaded every step of our progress in planting and rearing those settlements. They were governed by the narrow spirit of a counting-house, which, in the plantation of countries formed to be the residence of great nations, neither saw nor permitted anything better than a monopolized market. It was this spirit that shackled those countries in such commercial fetters as to render them inca-

pable of contributing to the necessities of the general government of the empire. Had a more liberal policy been embraced, such contributions would have been early introduced, with a capability (from a free commerce) of supporting them. The commercial government gave up the advantage of all contribution for the greater profit of monopoly: it was evident that *both* could not be had, till those countries became too great and powerful to be forced into new and unjust habits. Nothing therefore can be more idle than to say that this set of men, or the other administration, or that great minister, occasioned the American war. It was not the stamp act, nor the repeal of the stamp act; it was neither Lord Rockingham nor Lord North; but it was that baleful monopolizing spirit of commerce that wished to govern great nations on the maxims of the counter. That did govern them so; and in the case of Ireland and the Indies does still govern them so. Had not the trader's system been embraced, America would, in consequence of taxation, have been long ago united with Britain; but our traders knew very well that a free commerce would follow a union.

"Nor is it only in the loss of vast territories that we feel the direful effects of the monopolizing spirit. The greatest part of the national debt is owing to the two last wars, which cost us one hundred millions sterling, and arose solely from mercantile causes: that of 1740 was a war for the protection of English smugglers; and that of 1756 sprung from an apprehension that the French would divide the American market with our traders; the present, which may be as expensive before it is finished as either of the former, was owing to a determination to secure the market we had gained. But all the wars are for markets or smuggling, or trade or manufacture. That vast debt which debilitates the kingdom, those taxes we pay for having lost thirteen provinces, and the hazard we now run of losing or ruining Ireland, are all owing to the former predilection of our government for the trading (monopolist) system.

"I should go much beyond the line of truth to declare that trade and manufacture are necessarily ruinous. The very contrary is my opinion; extensive manufactures, and a flourishing commerce, are the very best friends of agriculture, as I have endeavoured to shew more at large in my *Political Arithmetic*. What I would urge here is, that trade is an admirable thing; but a trading government a most pernicious one. Protect and encourage merchants and manufacturers in every exertion of their industry; but listen not to them in the legislature. They never yet were the fathers of a scheme

that had not monopoly for its principle. It has been the fatality of our government to attend to them on every occasion. We are, at this moment, in the full maturity of the evils which a legislature influenced by traders can bring upon a country. Nor can I, without astonishment, view the commercial jealousy that has arisen in Europe in the last fifty years. Other nations have caught of us the commercial spirit. They have attributed the effects of the noblest and most perfect system of freedom the world has ever seen to the *trade* of the country. Deluded mortals! Give your subjects the liberty which Englishmen enjoy, and trade will spring up one among the many luxuriant branches of that wide-extended tree. Liberty, not trade, has been the cause of England's greatness. Commerce and all its consequences have been the *effect*, not the cause of our happiness. France has, with the same sort of folly, overlooked the simple and obvious advantage of improving her noble territory for the more precarious profits of trade: and what are the consequences? She too has hazarded those wars for commerce which have exhausted her resources, mortgaged her revenues, and debilitated every principle of her national strength.

"When the present rage for monopoly (the true characteristic of the commercial system) has half beggared Europe with the thirst of wealth, and nations have grown wiser by experience, they will, it is to be hoped, found their greatness in the full cultivation of their territories; the wealth resulting from that exertion will remain at home and be secure; nothing in that progress will kindle the jealousy of neighbours—no vile monopolies—no restrictions—no regulating duties are wanting: perpetual wars, heavy debts, and ruinous taxes, will not be necessary to extend and promote agriculture, inseparable as they have been from commerce.

"To a philosophical eye the present conduct of commercial Europe is an inexplicable enigma. The mercantile system of England having grasped at and possessed the monopoly of the North American market, France, in the transactions which preceded the war of 1756, manifested the plainest jealousy of our power in North America; the most ill-founded jealousy, as experience has shewn, that could actuate a nation. The two countries engaged in the war upon a subject merely commercial; and it cost, between them, above an hundred millions sterling, the one to be driven out of Canada, and the other to lose America by rebellion. Is it possible that the rulers of these two kingdoms, if they had an inclination to amuse themselves with expending such a sum, had so poor a genius that they could not devise the means of doing it at

home, in the encouragement of agriculture and arts; in inclosures, navigation, roads, harbours, the cultivation of wastes, draining marshes, raising palaces, &c.?

"In the Duke de Choiseul's ministry we were on the point of another commercial war: we had a greater trade to India than France, and, in order to balance it, that kingdom was ready to expend fifty millions more. Then Spain takes commercial umbrage at our settling with commercial views on a rock, the great products of which are seals and penguins; the affair could not cost less than five millions; but that is a trifle in the affairs of trade—for see, we are now engaged in a fresh career of commerce with America and the whole house of Bourbon. Upon a moderate computation, France, Spain, and Britain, will each of them spend enough in it to improve three or four provinces to the highest pitch of cultivation; which, instead of slaughtering three or four hundred thousand men, and leaving thrice that number of widows and orphans, would render a greater number of families happy for life, and leave a rich and increasing legacy of ease and plenty to their posterity: and all the slaughter, ruin, poverty, and destruction that is thus brought on the human species, it is for the sake of commerce.

"It was the commercial system that founded those colonies—commercial profits reared them—commercial avarice monopolized them—and commercial ignorance now was to recover the possession of what is not intrinsically worth the powder and ball that are shot away in the quarrel. The same baneful commercial genius influences France and Spain to exhaust their revenues, ruin their subjects, and stagnate every branch of domestic industry, for distant, ideal, and precarious commercial advantages."

At the commencement of the war of independence, says the *Anatomy of the Navigation Laws*, (by John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M.P., 1848,) "the American colonies could import or export nothing in any but British vessels.

"They could not export the most important articles of their produce to any part of Europe other than Great Britain." The separation of America may be traced to these and the like perverse acts of parliament.

Mr Bancroft, the American historian, says of the navigation laws and the monopolizing spirit of which Arthur Young writes so severely—"Those acts avowed the design of sacrificing the natural rights of the colonists to English interests. The harbours of the colonies were shut against the Dutch and every foreign vessel. American industry produced articles for exportation; but these articles were of two kinds.

Some were produced in quantities only in America, and would not compete in the English market with English productions. These were enumerated, and it was declared that none of them should be transported to any other country than those belonging to the crown of England, under penalty of forfeiture; and, as new articles of industry of this class grew up in America, they were added to the list. Hardly had time enough elapsed for a voyage or two across the Atlantic, before it was found that the English merchant might derive still further advantages by the imposition of still further restraints at the cost of the colonists. A new law prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in English ships from England. The activity of the ships of New England, which should have excited admiration, excited envy in the minds of the English. The law was still more injurious to England, from its influence on the connexion between the colonies and the metropolis. Durable relations in society are correlative and reciprocally beneficial. In this case, the statute was made by one party to bind the other, and was made on iniquitous principles. Established as the law of the strongest, it could endure no longer than the superiority in force. It converted commerce, which should be the bond of peace, into a source of rankling hostility, and scattered the certain seeds of a civil war."

We have also the testimony of Mr Huskisson. In his defence of his modification of the Navigation Laws, he said:—"It is generally believed that the attempt to tax our American colonies without their consent was the sole cause of the separation of these colonies from the mother country; but if the whole history of the period between 1663 and 1773 be attentively examined, I think it will be abundantly evident that, however the attempt at taxation may have contributed somewhat to hasten the explosion, the train had been long laid, by the severe and exasperating efforts of this country, to enforce, with inopportune and increasing rigour, the strictest and most annoying regulations of our colonial and navigation code. Every petty adventure in which the colonists embarked was viewed by the merchants of this country, and the Board of Trade, as an encroachment on the commercial monopoly of Great Britain.

"The professional subtlety of lawyers and the practical ingenuity of custom-house officers were constantly at work in ministering to the jealous but mistaken views of our seaports. Blind to the consequences elsewhere, they persisted in their attempts to put down the spirit of commercial enterprize in New England, until these attempts roused a very different spirit—that spirit which ventured to look for political independence in the result of a successful rebellion."

We here see that Mr Young is amply borne out in his allegation, that it was commercial monopoly which separated Britain and America. Let us again turn to Ireland.

SECT. XI.—THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP OF IRELAND AND
ENGLAND UP TO 1785.

“The only manufacture,” says Arthur Young, “of considerable importance in Ireland is that of linen, which the Irish have for near a century considered as the great staple of the kingdom. The history of it in its earlier periods is very little known; a committee of the house of commons, of which Sir Lucius O’Brien was chairman, examined the national records with great attention, in order to discover how long they had been in it; all that they discovered was, that by an act passed in 1542, the 33d of Henry VIII., linen and woollen yarn were enumerated among the most considerable branches of trade possessed by the natives of Ireland, in an act made against grey merchants forestalling. By the 11th of Queen Elizabeth, the same act was revived, and a further law made against watering hemp or flax, &c. in rivers. By the 13th of Elizabeth, all persons were prohibited from exporting wool, flax, linen, and woollen yarn, except merchants residing in cities and boroughs; and by a further act, the same year, a penalty of 12d. a-pound was imposed on all flax or linen yarn exported, and 8d. more for the use of the town exporting from. In this last act, it is recited that the merchants of Ireland had been exporters of those articles in trade upwards of one hundred years preceding that period; and by many subsequent acts and proclamations, during the reigns of Charles I. and II., those manufactures were particularly attended to, from whence it evidently appeared that the kingdom possessed an export trade in these commodities at those early periods. The Earl of Strafford, Lord-Lieutenant in Charles I.’s reign, passed several laws, and took various measures to encourage this manufacture, insomuch that he has by some authors been said to have established it originally. At the end of the last century, in King William’s reign, it arose to be an object of consequence, but not singly so; for it appears, from a variety of records in both kingdoms, that the Irish had then a considerable woollen manufacture for exportation, which raised the jealousy of the English manufacturers in that commodity so much, that they presented so many petitions to both Lords and Commons as to induce those bodies to enter fully into their jealousies and illiberal views, which occasioned the famous compact between the two nations brought on in the following manner:—

1698.—“The Earl of Stamford reported from the Lords committees (appointed to draw an address to be presented to his majesty, relating to the woollen manufacture in Ireland) the following address, viz. :—

“We, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, do humbly represent unto your majesty that the growing manufacture of cloth in *Ireland*, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here, by which the trade of this nation and the value of lands will very much decrease, and the numbers of your people be much lessened here : wherefore, we do most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, that your majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there, hath long, and will ever be looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom ; and, if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws, totally to prohibit and suppress the same ; and on the other hand, if they turn their industry and skill to the setting and improving the linen manufacture, for which, generally, the lands of that kingdom are very proper, they shall receive all countenance, favour, and protection, from your royal influence for the encouragement and promoting of the said linen manufacture, to all the advantage and profit that kingdom can be capable of.”

To which the House agreed.

“It is ordered, by the Lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, that the Lords, with white staves, do humbly attend his majesty with the address of this house, concerning the woollen manufacture in Ireland.

“The Lord Steward reported his majesty’s answer to the address, to this effect, viz. :—

“That his majesty will take care to do what their Lordships have desired.

ASHLEY COWPER.
“Clerk Parliamentor.”

“Most Gracious Sovereign,

“We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons in parliament assembled, being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great measure, depend upon the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much

as possible, entire to this realm, think it becomes us, like our ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and increase thereof elsewhere, and to use our utmost endeavours to prevent it.

“ And, therefore, we cannot without trouble observe that Ireland—dependant on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have ; and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves and so profitable to England—should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both them and us.

“ The consequence whereof will necessitate your parliament of England to interpose to prevent the mischief that threatens us, unless your majesty, by your authority and great wisdom, shall find means to secure the trade of England, by making your subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms.

“ And we do most humbly implore your majesty’s protection and favour in this matter, and that you will make it your royal care, and enjoin all those you employ in Ireland, to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland, to which we shall always be ready to give our utmost assistance.

“ Resolved, That the said address be presented to his majesty by the whole house.”

HIS MAJESTY’S ANSWER.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there ; and to promote the trade of England.

“ *Thursday, 27th September 1698.*”

PART OF THE LORD-JUSTICE’S SPEECH.

“ Amongst these bills there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures. At our first meeting, we recommended to you that matter ; and we have now endeavoured to render that bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as such we now recommend it to you. The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this

kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which, being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose ; whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as inconsistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England."

The Commons of Ireland returned the following answer to the speech from the throne :—

"We pray leave to assure your excellencies that we shall heartily endeavour to establish a linen and hempen manufacture here, and to render the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to this kingdom, and that we hope to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England." And they passed a law that session, commencing the 25th of March 1699, laying 4s. additional duty on every 20s. value of broadcloth exported out of Ireland, and 2s. on every 20s. value of serges, baize, kerseys, stuffs, or any other new sort of drapery made of wool, or mixed with wool, (friezes only excepted,) which was, in effect, a prohibition. And in the same session a law was passed in England restraining Ireland from exporting those woollen manufactures, including frieze, to any other parts, except England and Wales.

"The addresses of the two houses to the king," says Arthur Young, "carry the clearest evidence of their source, the jealousy of merchants and manufacturers ; I might add their ignorance too ; they are dictated upon the narrow idea, that the prosperity of the woollen fabrics of Ireland was inconsistent with the welfare of those of England ; it would, at present, be fortunate for both kingdoms if these errors had been confined to the last century. There is an equal mixture also of falsehood in the representations ; for they assert that the cheapness of necessaries in Ireland drew from England the woollen manufactures : but they forgot the cheapness of labour in Ireland to which no workman in the world ever yet emigrated. The Irish were engaged in various slight fabrics not made in England ; but had they been employed on broadcloth for exportation, the English manufacture would well have bore it ; they did, at that time and afterwards, bear a rapid increase of the French fabrics, and yet flourished. We have had so long an experience of markets increasing with industry and invention, that the time ought to have come long ago for viewing competitors without the eye of jealousy.

"The memoirs of the time, as well as the expression in the above transaction, evidently prove that it was understood by

both kingdoms to be a sort of compact, that if Ireland gave up her woollen manufacture, that of linen should be left to her under every encouragement. I have, however, myself heard it in the British parliament denied to have been any compact; but simply a promise of encouragement, not precluding a like or greater encouragement to the British linens. This is certainly an error; for, so understood, what is the meaning of the ample encouragement promised by the British parliament? They could not mean internal encouragement or regulation, for they had nothing to do with either; it could simply mean, as the purport of the words evidently shew, that they would enter into no measures which should set up a linen manufacture to rival the Irish. That woollens should be considered and encouraged as the staple of England, and linens as that of Ireland, it must mean this, or it meant nothing. That the Irish understood it so cannot be doubted for a moment; for what did they in consequence? They were in possession of a flourishing woollen manufacture, which they actually put down and crippled by prohibiting exportation. Let me ask those who assert there was no compact why they did this? It was their own act. Did they cut their own throats without either reward or promise of reward? Common sense tells us they did this under a perfect conviction that they should receive ample encouragement from England in their linen trade: but what moonshine would such encouragement prove if England, departing from the letter and spirit of that compact, had encouraged her own linen manufacture to rival the Irish, after the Irish had destroyed their woollen fabrics to encourage those of England? Yet we did this in direct breach of the whole transaction, for the 23d of George II. laid a tax on sail-cloth made of Irish hemp. Bounties also have been given in England without extending fully to Irish linens. Checked, striped, printed, painted, stained, or dyed linens of Irish manufacture, are not allowed to be imported into Britain. In which, and in other articles, we have done everything possible to extend and encrease our own linen manufacture, to rival that of Ireland.

“I admit readily that the apprehensions of the Irish at the progress of British linens, are in the spirit of commercial jealousy, as well as our violence in relation to their woollens. But with this great difference; we forced them to put down a manufacture they were actually in possession of; and we being the controlling power, do not leave them that freedom of market which we possess ourselves—points which necessarily place the two nations, in this respect, upon very different footings. Give them, as they ought to have, a free woollen trade, and they will then have no objection to any measures

for the encouragement of our linens, which do not absolutely exclude theirs."

The commodities of Irish commerce and their annual value are thus stated by Chalmers and other writers. The earliest records of it reach only to the reign of James I. In 1626, among the imports from Ireland were 449 tons of iron, 557 tons of timber, the produce of the country, which was not yet cleared of its natural woods; namely, 398,400 barrel staves, 409,000 hogshead, 25,000 pipe staves. Besides agricultural produce and fish, some coarse manufactures were also imported in the beginning of the 17th century; and these and other branches of trade were improving as the timber trade declined. The civil war, which arose upon the rebellion against Charles I., swept away this trade. The confiscations of landed property by Cromwell, to punish those who did not accept his government, or to reward his military officers whom he placed to rule with the sword of terror and blood, instead of placing there men of peace and commerce, suppressed the Irish trade internally and externally for several years.

After the restoration, trade rapidly revived, so that in the year 1665 the exports were estimated at L.358,077. Among them for the first time appear linen yarn to the value of L.17,385, and linen cloth to the value of L.590, the remainder consisted of agricultural produce, including, however, some woollen goods, L.309,808; fish L.24,107; skins of wild animals L.2687; wood L.2384; manufactured iron L.1116. Of the entire exports England took about a half, consisting principally of live cattle, sheep, wool, linen, and yarn, and about three-fourths of all the other articles.

The imports of Ireland for that year were, from England L.200,450; from foreign countries L.135,593, of which the tobacco amounted to L.70,000 and the wine to L.50,000.

By the year 1681 the Irish exports had risen L.582,814 and the imports to L.33,040, then came the revolution and the persecution of the Catholics, the enactment of the penal laws, as related by Arthur Young in the preceding section. Trade was again paralyzed; yet, despite the disastrous enactments against the Catholics, which restrained four-fifths of the Irish population from exercising the rights of property or industry, the commerce of the country gradually increased.

The entire gross revenue collected in Ireland was, in 1689, only L.11,814, and in 1690 only L.116,112; nor in 1694 was it more than L.297,149. But tranquil times gradually brought back the old prosperity; by the year 1697 the exports had again risen to L.525,004, the imports to L.423,182; and the next year, after the war with France had been terminated

by the peace of Ryswick, the exports at once bounded up to L.996,305, and the imports to L.576,863. The restrictions upon the rising woollen manufacture of Ireland, which were soon after this begun to be imposed by the English parliament, considerably affected the trade for 1700, 1701, and 1702; but still, for the three years ending with 1701, the average of the exports was L.779,109, and that of the imports L.726,559. But the very prospect of war in 1702 reduced the exports to L.493,435 and the imports to L.475,158; nor did they recover their former amount till after the peace of Utrecht. For the three years 1713, 1714, 1715, the average annual amount of the exports was L.1,280,810, of the imports L.882,829. From this date, however, the trade rather declined for some years upon the whole, so that for the three years ending with 1728, the annual average of the exports was L.1,035,575, and that of the imports L.916,895; making together only L.1,952,472, instead of L.2,163,639, the amount of the two thirteen years before. Chalmers conceives that this falling off was principally owing to the uncertain condition of political affairs, and to the extensive stockjobbing both in France and England, which had so shaken private credit. But in ten years more the trade of Ireland had recovered the point at which it stood at the beginning of the reign of George I. For the three years ending 1738, the last of the peace, the exports averaged L.1,232,446, imports L.951,548; making together L.2,183,994. And for the three years that followed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1749, 1750, 1751, the exports averaged L.1,858,606, the imports L.1,497,437; making a total of L.3,356,043. In the year 1755, again, the exports were L.2,047,660, the imports L.1,711,552; making an aggregate amount of L.3,759,212. Nor did even the war that broke out in the following year prevent the continuance of this advancing movement. For the three years ending with 1762, which were years of war, the average of the Irish exports was L.2,274,422, of the imports L.1,696,764; making together L.3,971,186. Much of this flourishing trade consisted in the exportation of beef, butter, and other provisions, the demand for which was rather augmented than otherwise by the war. But the peace that followed brought a still higher degree of prosperity; the average of the annual exports for the three years ending with 1772 having been L.3,302,576, that of the imports L.2,415,785; making a total of L.5,718,361. In the midst of the embarrassments of the colonial war, the Irish successfully demanded freedom of trade and industry, as well as legislative independence and

general political freedom.”—(*Knight's History of British Commerce.*)

The enactments which they obtained were, first—A law by which they were allowed to export directly from Ireland into the British plantations of America, and to the British settlements in Africa; and by which Irish-built ships were declared to be entitled to the same privileges as British. Second, The Roman Catholics were relieved from the disability of holding estates in Ireland. Third, Tobacco of Irish growth was allowed to be imported into Britain. Fourth, Bounties on the importation of Irish hemp were granted, (a questionable benefit.) Fifth, Restraints on the exportation of woollen drapery, and glass from Ireland were repealed. Sixth, A free trade with the British settlements in America, with the British West Indies, and the British settlements in Africa was allowed. Seventh, The Turkey trade was opened to the Irish people, and by the same statute (20, George III. c. 18) gold and silver were allowed to *be exported to Ireland.*

According to Chalmers, Irish commerce languished for want of capital during the years 1780, 1781, and 1782; but that in 1784 and 1785 it increased, after the “United States had opened their guilty ports to the Irish trade.” An excellent exculpation of the guilt of the ports which opened.

SECT. XI.—WILLIAM PITT AND FREE TRADE WITH IRELAND.

We have just seen that steps were taken to liberate the trade between Ireland and Britain during the last years of the difficulties arising out of the monopolist misgovernment of America. Those steps advanced not beyond the threshold. Yet, seeing that they comprised the abrogation of some of the penal laws which enforced idleness and want upon the Catholics, we might with propriety introduce the legislative authors of those first steps if we knew them. Lord North was prime minister, and was officially their author. Probably he was as closely allied personally to those measures as any other politician; but, again, it is more than doubtful, it is a certainty, that the policy of retaining office, the policy of keeping a political party together, was the cause of those liberal measures towards Ireland and the Catholics, and not a conviction of their imperial advantages. When Mr Pitt, who was pressed by no apprehension of rebellion in Ireland, who had nothing to urge him to commercial liberalism but his sincere convictions, founded on the doctrines of Adam Smith and Arthur Young, both of whom he personally consulted, brought forward his measures in 1785, he was opposed by those who, during the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781

and 1782, had been driven to make concessions to Ireland, under the apprehension that they would otherwise be driven from the government of England.

Mr Pitt is therefore the first British minister whom we find voluntarily advancing to the emancipation of commerce ; and persevering in his advances against the almost universal voice of the British merchants and manufacturers. We might search history in vain for another statesman whose principles, at once liberal and lofty, were so obstinately and suicidally opposed by a blinded people, who deemed them destructive of the national interests—principles which the grandsons of those people have demonstrated to be the principles of national vitality. In a parliamentary age, when the chief popular orators seem to have used the House of Commons for a debating club, they taking their sides on almost every question which came before them, not according to the right or the wrong of their positions, the consistency or inconsistency of present with previous opinions on similar subjects, or on the same subjects, but according to the side of the house on which the subjects were originated, and whether or not Mr Pitt supported or opposed them ; in that factious parliamentary age, when the popular voice applauded the popular orators, when their leading rule of conduct was opposition to Mr Pitt, it was to his honour, as it was to their shame, that he sought to promote the best interest of the largest number of the people. Exceptions must be taken to some of his measures which followed the occurrence of the French revolution, beginning about 1792. But had not his liberal policy for promoting the friendship of nations been factiously opposed up to that time, it is more than probable that he would not have submitted to be forced into a war with France. We say *forced*, for it must be now admitted (since the gradual publication of state secrets and family papers, such as the Memoirs of Lady Hester Stanhope his niece, prove the fact) that he was personally averse to a French war, against Fox and Fox's followers, who had contended in opposition to his Irish free trade policy in 1785, and against his liberal commercial policy with France in 1787, and who had in moments of political blasphemy declared that God and nature had set bounds to national intercourse, and made England and France natural enemies, he vindicated the benevolence of righteous Providence and the benignity of nature, and denied that nations could be naturally the enemies of one another. Nor did he vindicate God and nature and the righteous policy of nations only in debate ; Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and the rest of the mere debators, uttered great thoughts occasionally, and, in the freedom of opposition, enunciated in language of eloquent

controversy, expressions and sentiments of true liberalism. But they only debated. They evinced no appreciation of a higher principle than that of opposition to an unpopular minister; they acted on no higher policy than that of making the minister unpopular. While he, in pursuance of the principles of the two greatest luminaries of his time, Adam Smith and Arthur Young, legislated on principles which were not popularly understood, encountered the opposition of the commercial, manufacturing, trading, and working classes of the people, and persevered against those erroneous prejudices, when he might have earned an easy popularity by submitting to be what other premiers, and especially his father, had been—the minister of commercial monopoly, of national jealousies, and the popular errors of his time.

Perhaps our nation never did such wrong to any public man as it has done to William Pitt, in its flattery of his parliamentary opponents and depreciation of himself. But posterity will do him justice. Let us begin the reparation.

We omit, at present, his first efforts in parliament in favour of economy in the civil list expenditure, and parliamentary reform, which, by history, have been permitted to him as meritorious. We begin with the second year of his premiership, when, according to history, he abandoned the liberalism of his early politics. We begin with those measures which obtained for him the martyrdom of the stake, by effigy, in almost every town in the kingdom, and brought more petitioners to the bar of parliament to be heard by counsel than ever appeared there by counsel against any ministerial propositions before or since.

THE IRISH COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS OF 1785.

Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of August 1784, and met again on the 25th of January 1785. During the period of its prorogation, the British cabinet, in concert with commissioners appointed on the part of Ireland, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms. On the 7th of February, Mr Orde, the secretary to the lord-lieutenant, announced this system to the Irish House of Commons, and, four days afterwards, a set of resolutions, which he had previously laid on their table, was moved and agreed to by that house without much discussion, and without any material alterations. The concurrence of the Irish House of Peers having been soon after obtained, these resolutions were immediately transmitted to England, as the proposed basis, on the part of Ireland, for

an equitable and final adjustment. Almost immediately after their arrival, the business was opened in the British House of Commons by Mr Pitt, who, on the 22d of February, moved "That this house will immediately resolve into a committee of the whole house, to consider of so much of his majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, upon the 25th day of January last, as relates to the adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland." This motion having been agreed to, the various papers on the table relative to the trade of Great Britain and Ireland were referred to the committee. The house having resolved itself into a committee, Mr Gilbert in the chair, the eleven resolutions agreed to by the Irish parliament were then read, and were in the following terms:—

"Resolved, 1, 'That it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and, for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.'

"2. 'That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, should be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.'

"3. 'That, for the same purpose, it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale, of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty, in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.'

"4. 'That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as

the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.'

"5. 'That, for the same purpose, it is also proper that, in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture, coming from the other kingdom, shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.'

"6. 'That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.'

"7. 'That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, further, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and also except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms; in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.'

"8. 'That, for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid, or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, and that no duty should be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of, or for duties paid over and above, any duties paid thereon in Britain.'

"9. 'That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.'

"10. 'That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; and therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expenses.'

"11. 'That, for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties, granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce, over and above the sum of L. 656,000 in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expenses, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct.'"

As soon as the above resolutions had been read, Mr Pitt rose, and opened the system of commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms. He said he flattered himself he should be honoured with their indulgent attention, of which he should fully stand in need, while he endeavoured to state to them the important propositions on which he conceived an advantageous and honourable system of intercourse might be established between Great Britain and Ireland. In a business of such moment, he knew that it was equally unnecessary for him to desire the attention of gentlemen, as to entreat that they would enter into the consideration of the subject without prejudice, and with that earnestness which its political magnitude required. There was not a man in the house, of whatever party or description, however attached or connected, who would not agree that the settling of the commercial intercourse of the two countries, on a firm, liberal, and permanent basis, by which an end might for ever be put to jealousies and clamour; by which all future pretexts to discontent might be removed, and by which the surest foundations of future strength and opulence might be laid, was one of the greatest topics which could be agitated in parliament, and one of the most desirable objects that they could accomplish. They would meet with one disposition as to the end, however they might differ about the means; and he only prayed that gentlemen would enter into the discussion of the subject without prepossession from what they might have heard, and without giving ear to the insinuations which had been so industriously circulated through

the metropolis, and distributed, perhaps, to every corner of the country. These insinuations applied to particular subjects of the discussion, and were founded on misconception of those great and necessary data in our relative situation, upon which, without bending our view to partial aspects, we must ultimately decide this great question. If gentlemen had adopted ideas from cases half stated, or from cases misrepresented by those who had made up their minds, without knowing whether the state of the question made it necessary that the line should be pursued which had been adopted, it would be more difficult for him to clear the way to the true consideration of the question than it otherwise would have been. It was incident to every proposition that, until it should be fully exposed, those who might have the interest or inclination to raise clamour by partial statements of it, had the advantage in the conflict for a time; but when the whole could be fairly elucidated, truth would always, as it ought, have its prevalence over misrepresentation, and the delusion, though extensive, would be but momentary.

With regard to the important question, he conceived it to be simply this: What ought to be the principles on which the relative commercial interests of the two kingdoms should be settled in the system of intercourse to be established between them? In answering this question, he had no difficulty in saying that the system should be founded on principles of expediency and justice; and he was confident in saying that, in the mode in which the king's ministers had pursued the object, they had paid regard to those principles. It had been a subject of insinuation, that the steps which they had taken were not conducive to the ultimate success of the measure, and that they had embraced notions which were hostile in every conception to the end in view.

He would not go minutely into the detail of the propositions which had been read by the clerk at the table, and which he confessed were the basis of the system which he meant to submit to their wisdom; because he was aware that the committee were not ripe to decide on them, and would not be competent to the discussion, until they had examined all the accounts which were already, or which might hereafter be, laid on their table.

It was his wish that those examinations should be full and minute; that time should be given them for the discussion; and that the whole should be fairly and fully investigated before they came to any determination. He did this in the confidence that, upon such mature consideration, they would find the general propositions to be founded on good sense and

substantial policy. He was sensible that the smaller parts might require much curious and minute investigation ; they would stand in need of correction, and, perhaps, of change. He trusted that he should have the assistance of all the wisdom and information of the committee on those points ; and he assured them that full time, and the utmost information, should be given for the discussion. In such a business, such a determination was essential ; for it was of the greatest and most decisive importance to both kingdoms, since the end and object was no less than to establish a system that should be permanent and irrevocable.

He should confine himself to general principles in the exposition of the business of this day. The motion with which he should conclude, would fully explain the principles ; it had a reference to the commercial regulations which had been read at the table, and which the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland had declared to be the basis of what they should consider as a proper and effectual system of intercourse. His motion did not tend to any direct point, but it led their attention to the general prospect of the scheme, accompanied with a provision which he conceived to be essential to the whole.

In treating this important question, he would beg leave to recall their attention to what had been, and what was, the relative situation of the two countries. They would recollect that, from the revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, indeed until these very few years, the system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources ; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had, however, been exploded.

It was at once harsh and unjust ; and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive : for, however necessary it might be to the partial benefit of districts in Britain, it promoted not the real prosperity and strength of the empire. That which had been the system, counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry and enterprise of man. Ireland was put under such restraint, that she was shut out from every species of commerce ; she was restrained from sending the produce of her own soil to foreign markets, and all correspondence with the colonies of Britain was prohibited to her, so that she could not derive their commodities but through

the medium of Britain. This was the system which had prevailed ; and this was the state of thralldom in which that country had been kept ever since the revolution. Some relaxations of the system, indeed, took place at an early period of the present century. Somewhat more of the restrictive laws were abated in the reign of Geo. II. ; but it was not until a time nearer to our own day, and, indeed, within the last seven years, that the system had been completely reversed.

It was not to be expected but that when Ireland, by the more enlarged sentiments of the present age, had acquired an independent legislature, she would instantly export her produce and manufactures to all the markets of the world. She did so, and this was not all. England, without any compact or bargain, generously admitted her to a share in her colonies.

She gave her liberty to import directly, and to re-export to all the world, except to Britain, the produce of her colonies. Thus much was done some years ago ; but to this moment no change had taken place in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland themselves. Some trivial points, indeed, had been changed ; but no considerable change had taken place in our manufactures exported to Ireland, or in theirs imported to England. That, therefore, which had been done, was still viewed by the people of Ireland as insufficient ; and clamours were excited, and suggestions published in Dublin and elsewhere, of putting duties on our produce and manufactures, under the name of protecting-duties.

Having thus far relaxed from the system which had been maintained since the revolution ; having abandoned the commercial subserviency in which we had so long persevered ; and having so wisely and justly put them into a state in which they might cultivate and profit from the gifts of nature ; having secured to them the advantages of their arts and industry, it was to be observed that we had abolished one system and had established another ; but we had left the intercourse between the two countries exactly where it was.

There were, he said, but two possible systems for countries situated in relation to one another like Britain and Ireland. The one of having the smaller completely subservient and subordinate to the greater—to make the one, as it were, an instrument of advantage, and to make all her efforts operate in favour, and conduce merely to the interests, of the other. This system we had tried in respect to Ireland. The other was a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness, which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate

interests of the empire. Such a situation of commercial equality, in which there was to be a community of benefits, demanded also a community of burdens; and it was this situation in which he was anxious to place the two countries. It was on that general basis that he was solicitous of moving the proposition which he held in his hand, to complete a system which had been left unfinished and defective.

Under these circumstances, to discover the best means of uniting the two countries by the firmest and most indissoluble bands, ministers had, during the recess, employed themselves in inquiries, by which they might be able to meet parliament with a rational and well-founded system. That they might form the outline of such propositions, from the mutual ideas of both countries, and that they might join in the principles on which the basis of the intercourse was to be laid, they thought it their duty not to come into the parliament of Britain until they knew what additions to the relaxations which were lately made would be likely to give entire satisfaction to the people of Ireland; what commercial regulations they would think essential to commercial equality; and what proportion of the expense of supporting the common interests Ireland would be content to bear, on being thus made a common sharer in the benefits. They were now prepared to meet parliament with the system, founded on the intelligence of the sense of the Irish legislature on the subject, and, he believed, of the Irish people.

It was his wish to examine the system in two striking points of view, into which it naturally divided itself:—

1st, To examine what would be the effects of the commercial arrangements suggested in the propositions on the table, on our particular commerce and manufactures; and,

2d, To examine the effects of an extension of the trade of Britain, in the return which Ireland would make towards the common expense.

He would beg the indulgence of the house, while he went particularly into the consideration of these branches of the subject. The first branch, viz., the commercial arrangements, again should be divided into two parts. 1st, In so far as they regarded our navigation laws and the monopoly of our commerce with our colonies; and, 2dly, In so far as they regarded the intercourse between the two countries by the equalizing of duties.

The first branch of this subject, namely, the liberty of importing the produce of all countries importable into England, directly, from henceforth, through the medium of Ireland, was likely to attract most of the attention of the house. The

alarms of the people would also be excited to this measure, and excited under names which, from long habit, we were accustomed to reverence. It would be said that this measure would be destructive of our navigation laws, the source of our maritime strength and commercial opulence. Those who argued in this way merited, however, but little credit; for they did not seem to have taken much pains to make themselves acquainted by experience with those navigation laws. How far this measure would depart from the spirit of those laws would be seen from this short statement of the fact. Goods, the produce of Europe, might now be imported into Britain, through Ireland, by the express authority of the navigation act. The new proposition applied only to Africa and America, for Asia was excluded, as the East India Company had the monopoly of the trade to that quarter of the world. It was therefore to be asked whether it would be wise in this country to give to Ireland the liberty of importing, and afterwards of exporting to Britain, the produce of our colonies in Africa and America?

If we desired to give satisfaction to Ireland, and to put an end to all contention, by a system founded in equality and reciprocity, he conceived that this was a wholesome and proper measure.

Every man would agree that it was desirable to give them a complete participation, if it could be done without encroaching on our navigation laws and commercial system, which were so deservedly dear to us. It should be remembered that we had already given to Ireland our intercourse with our West India islands. In the late alteration of the system we had opened the way of Ireland to all foreign markets; and in doing that, we had conferred no favour, and made no concession. It was the natural right of Ireland, and the measure was a measure of justice, but not of grace. We, however, had gone farther than that; we had given them direct intercourse with our own colonies—with those colonies which we had acquired by our own treasure, and which we maintained by our own authority. This was liberal—it was a favour—it was certainly advisable to give this proof of our friendship; but it was given without reciprocity, without securing from Ireland any return, or receiving any proportionate aid towards the maintenance of trade or the protection of those colonies.

The question now was, therefore, whether, with so much given and so little received, it would be wise to destroy that much by a niggard detention of the little that was left; or whether, by adding the little to the much already given, we might not secure a valuable return?

He knew there might be persons who, with separate interests, or perhaps with personal interests, might start objections, and find pretexts for clamour against every national object that could be embraced; and while ear was given to such clamour, we must remain in the same unprofitable system as heretofore. But if they wished to pay respect to the advantages of quiet and security; if they desired to have a return proportional and adequate, it was his opinion that the little which was left ought to be given for a return, in addition to the much which was given without any return at all; and happy would it be for Britain, if, by a profitable use of what little was left, she could yet secure the advantages which might have been so much more certainly procured in the former season.

But it was requisite to proceed to inquire what would be the effects produced by giving this extension to Ireland? The committee would be the place for detail. He would confine himself, therefore, to the general view of the subject. They had heard in popular discussions, and in those publications which were propagated so freely through the metropolis, that this measure would strike a deadly blow to the navigation laws of this kingdom.

It would be said that, by this blow, that act, which was the palladium of our commerce, would be ruined. These were clamours to which he could not subscribe. He desired to know what was likely to be the extent of this boon? Would it be more than that Ireland would be able to send to Britain what she might have imported from the colonies above what was necessary to her own consumption? Was it likely that she was to become the emporium, the mart of the empire, as it was said she would? He could not believe that it would ever be the case. By emporium he supposed was meant, that Ireland would import the produce of Africa and America, afterwards to distribute it to all the world, and to Britain among the rest. If this liberty would strike a fatal blow to the commerce of England, he begged it might be remembered with whom the blow had originated. By the inconsiderate and unsystematic concessions which had been made four years ago the blow was struck. They would not have been inconsiderate, if accompanied with provisions of a return—not if the system had been finally settled; but those concessions were inconsiderate, because we had been inclined to hide our situation, both from ourselves and others, without examining the extent of what we were giving away, and without securing the general interests of the empire; so that, if there was any danger of Ireland's becoming the emporium, and of her supplanting us either in our own or in foreign markets, it was by

the advantages given by the noble lord* whom he had then in his eye ; and he trusted the nation would know and feel from whence the calamity really sprung.

No such consequence, however, was likely to ensue. Ireland did not covet the supply of the foreign markets, nor was it probable that she would furnish Britain with the produce of her own colonies in any great degree. Ireland was to have the liberty of bringing to Britain, circuitously, what she herself had the liberty of bringing directly. It must be proved that Ireland could afford this circuitous voyage cheaper than Britain herself could give the direct supply, before any idea of alarm or apprehension could be raised in any bosom. That fact would be inquired into. It would be inquired whether there was anything in the local situation of the ports of Ireland, which would enable her to make this circuitous voyage cheaper than we could make the direct one ; whether the nearest way to England was through the ports of Ireland.

He had no reason to believe that the freight was cheaper from Ireland to the West Indies than from England. Then there was to be super-added to this equal freight, the freight between Ireland and Britain, which would operate as a very great discouragement ; for he had reason to believe that this super-added freight would be, on the average, a fourth of the original freight. He wished to avoid figures and unauthorized assertions ; but all this would be subject of inquiry, and to this he must add the double insurance, double commission, double port duties, and double fees, &c., all of which would operate most severely against Ireland.

There was one other observation on this part of the subject. It was not merely a question, whether Ireland should be able, by local advantages and resources, to become the carriers, but we were to compare the contest between ourselves and them. Ireland could now send a cargo to the West Indies, and bring a cargo directly to Britain ; or she could invoice a part of her cargo to Britain and part to Ireland. The question was, therefore, whether her original cargo was to be afforded cheaper, whether her shipping and navigating were cheaper, and whether, with all these advantages, it could be possible that this circuitous trade could be cheaper than the direct trade ?

All this would be searched to the bottom ; and in this view of the subject the discussion would be fair ; but nothing would be more unfair than to contend that this new commerce would be contrary to the act of navigation. It ought to be a question, how much of the wealth of this nation might centre in

* Lord North.

Ireland by this measure ; but in looking into the spirit and meaning of the navigation act, nothing could be more absurd than to say that it was contrary to that act. The principle of that act was the increase of the British shipping and seamen. Here, then, this principle was out of the question ; for in several acts, and in one passed so lately as 1778, Irish shipping and seamen were to be considered as British. There was not then that degree of danger in adding this to the other concessions which had been made to Ireland.

The other great and leading principle in this branch of the measure was the equalizing of the duties on the produce and manufactures of both countries ; and this he would explain very shortly. On most of the manufactures of Ireland, prohibitory duties were laid in Britain ; linen, however, was a liberal exception. On the contrary, our manufactures had been imported into Ireland at low duties. It was now the question whether, under the accumulation of our heavy taxes, it would be wise to equalize the duties, by which a country free from those duties might be able to meet us, and to overthrow us in their and in our own markets. Upon this he would state some general observations as shortly as possible. A country not capable of supplying herself, could hardly meet another in a foreign market. They had not admitted our commodities totally free from duties ; they bore, upon an average, about ten per cent. ; but it was very natural that Ireland, with an independent legislature, should now look for perfect equality. If it be true that, with every disadvantage on our part, our manufactures were so superior that we enjoyed the market, there could be no danger in admitting the Irish articles to our markets on equal duties. What strong objections could be started ? Every inquiry had been made ; and the manufacturers with whom he had conversed had not been alarmed at the prospect. On our side, on account of our heavy internal duties on some articles, port duties must be added on the equalizing principle ; and he trusted that all little obstacles would be overruled.

It was said that our manufactures were all loaded with heavy taxes : it was certainly true ; but with that disadvantage they had always been able to triumph over the Irish in their own markets, paying the additional ten per cent. on the importation to Ireland, and all the charges. But the low price of labour was mentioned. Would that consideration enable them to undersell us !

Manufacturers thought otherwise : there were great obstacles to the planting of any manufacture. It would require time for arts and capital, and the capital would not increase without the demand also ; and in an established manufacture,

improvement was so rapid as to bid defiance to rivalry. In some of our manufactures, too, there were natural and insurmountable objections to their competition. In the woollens, for instance, by confining the raw material to the country, the manufacture was confined also.

There might be some branches in which Ireland might rival, and, perhaps, beat England ; but this ought not to give us pain ; we must calculate from general and not partial views ; and, above all things, not look on Ireland with a jealous eye. It required not philosophy to reconcile us to a competition which would give us a rich customer instead of a poor one. Her prosperity would be a fresh spring to our trade.

One observation more on this branch, and that was, that the price of labour, proportionably lower now, was an advantage which would be constantly diminishing. As their manufactures and commerce increased, this advantage would be incessantly growing less. For these reasons, he did not think that England had anything to fear in the proposed scheme for equalizing the duties on the admission of their mutual produce.

Having said so much about what was to be given by England, he should pass next to the other part of his proposition, without which the former would be an improvident surrender of advantages belonging, at this moment, to Great Britain : he meant the return that was to be made for them by Ireland. He could not, at the outset of this business, expect that any specific sum should be proposed by the Irish parliament towards defraying the expense of protecting the commerce of the empire ; because it was impossible for them to ascertain, at present, or for some time to come, the amount of the advantages that the Irish would derive from this system : on the other hand, it would have been improper not to stipulate for something. He had, therefore, thought it best for this country that she should have some solid and substantial provision for what should be stipulated in her favour, and that should keep pace with benefits that the system would produce to the Irish ; for this purpose it had been agreed that the provisions should consist of the surplus of the hereditary revenue, whenever there should be a surplus ; and this fund, the committee would perceive, from what he was going to state, was precisely that from which it could be best collected to what degree the Irish should have been benefited by the commercial regulations.

The hereditary revenue in Ireland was that which was inseparably annexed to the crown, and left to the king, to be disposed of at his discretion, for the benefit of the public. It was pretty much like the hereditary revenue that was formerly

annexed to the crown in this country, and which was given up by his present majesty for a certain annuity. Above four-fifths of the Irish hereditary revenue was raised in such a way that the whole must necessarily increase with an increase of commerce. It was raised from three several objects: from customs, the produce of which must necessarily be greater when the customed goods imported into Ireland should be more in value than they had hitherto been; from 10 per cent. on other kinds of goods entered, which must, of course, bear always a proportion to the extent of the trade; from hearths—an increase of population would produce an increase of houses, and an increase of houses would necessarily produce an increase of hearths, and, consequently, of this branch of the revenue; from an inland excise, which, depending always upon consumption, must always rise with population and property, and, consequently, should the trade and population of Ireland exceed in future what they are at present, the hereditary revenue would be benefited by both. This revenue had not, indeed, for many years back, been equal to the ends for which it had been granted to the crown; and the deficiencies had been made up by new taxes imposed by the Irish parliament: it did not at present make above half of the whole. By the papers on the table it appeared that it produced, at the present, L.652,000 a-year. For some time back there had been an arrear incurred, the expenses of the state being greater than its income; but he understood that steps were to be taken to bring both to a level, and then a reasonable hope might be entertained that, if the trade of Ireland should grow more flourishing, there would be a considerable surplus on this revenue applicable to the protection of the common trade of the empire; and he indulged this hope the rather, that, for several years back, when government took care that the expenditure should not be greater than the income, the hereditary revenue produced L.690,000 a-year, though the commerce of the country was at the time shackled with innumerable restraints: what then might be expected from it when that trade on which it depended should be enlarged?

Then it would be found that our strength would grow with the strength of Ireland; and, instead of feeling uneasiness or jealousy at the increase of her commerce, we should have reason to rejoice at such a circumstance, because this country would then derive an aid for the protection of trade proportioned to the increase of commerce in Ireland. He did not mean that we should very soon experience any very great assistance from this revenue, because it would take some time before new channels of trade could be opened to Ireland; but, from the nature of this fund, it would appear that, if little

should be given to England, it would be because little had been gained by Ireland, so that, whether much or little should be got from it, England would have no cause to be dissatisfied; if much should be got, she would be a gainer; if little, it would be a proof that little of the commerce of England had found its way into Ireland; and, consequently, there could not be much room for jealousy. The parliament of Ireland had readily consented to the appropriation of the surplus out of the hereditary revenue to the defence of trade; but though he did not in the least doubt the intention of that parliament liberally to fulfil what had been so readily resolved, yet, in a matter of so much moment to Great Britain, he felt that he ought not to leave anything to the generosity or liberality even of the most generous and liberal. As it was his object to make a final settlement in this negotiation, and to proceed upon a fixed principle, he wished it to be understood that, as he meant to ensure to Ireland the permanent and irrevocable enjoyment of commercial advantages, so he expected, in return, that Ireland would secure to England an aid as permanent and irrevocable.

The resolution of the Irish parliament on that point was not worded in so clear a manner as he could wish. It stated, "That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce annually, over and above, the sum of ———— should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such a manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct." Now this did not plainly hold out the prospect of this surplus being irrevocably applied to this purpose; and as this was with him a *conditio sine qua non*, he would not call upon the committee to pledge itself to anything on the subject, till the parliament of Ireland should have re-considered the matter, and explained it more fully.

SECT. XII.—FREE TRADE WITH IRELAND: MR PITT FOR IT;
MR FOX, MR SHERIDAN, AND THE WHIGS AGAINST IT.

A fortnight elapsed before the subject was again introduced. In the meantime, a report, prepared by the committee of the Board of Trade and Plantations, was laid by Mr Pitt upon the table of the house, to assist its deliberations. The report was stated to be founded on the opinions and declarations of some of the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had been examined by the committee; and its

particular object was to prove the expediency of that part of the system expressed in the third and fourth resolutions, which proposed to reduce the duties payable upon the importation of Irish produce and manufactures into Great Britain. In the meantime, also, the opposition members of parliament, and the merchants and manufacturers, including those who had been examined by the committee of the Board of Trade, held meetings, and declared that the proposed system of commercial intercourse with Ireland was contrary to the evidence of the manufacturers, and directly destructive of the commerce and manufactures of Britain. Petitions to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house were urged upon the commons. Deputations arrived in London from all the principal towns, and subscriptions were collected to retain barristers to plead for the petitioners at the bar. Mr Erskine was one of the counsel employed for Manchester, in support of whom a petition was sent from that town, signed by 120,000 persons. The deputation of manufacturers who conveyed it to London were met on their return by the inhabitants of the town, there being a universal holiday, with processions of all the trades, an effigy of Mr Pitt being hung on a gallows, and burnt in St Ann's Square, amid the tumult of the manufacturers of all classes. So popular did Mr Fox, and the other members of parliament who led the movement in favour of *protection to trade* become, that on the 15th of September following, Mr Fox, Lord Robert Spencer, Mr Grenville, and Sir Frank Standish, were feted at Manchester.

By *The Morning Chronicle* of May 7, 1785, we find that the following petitions, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar, had been presented to the House of Commons between the 3d of March and the 3d of May :—

March 3. From merchants, &c., of Liverpool.

- ... 8. Members of the Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow, Paisley, &c.
- ... 11. Merchants, &c., of Manchester, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 14. Calico manufacturers and printers of Lancashire, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 15. Manufacturers and dealers in British manufactures in London, (counsel heard.)
- ... Merchants, &c., of Bristol.
- ... 18. Commercial committee of Birmingham.
- ... Cotton and calico manufacturers of Blackburn, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 21. Merchants, &c., of Wolverhampton.
- .. Society of merchant venturers of Bristol, (counsel ordered.)

- Mar. 21. Sugar refiners of Bristol.
 ... Manufacturers of Nottingham.
- April 4. Weavers and inhabitants of Paisley, (heard by counsel.)
 ... Operative weavers of Glasgow, (heard by counsel.)
 ... Merchants and manufacturers of Dunfermline.
 ... Manufacturers and traders of Derby.
 ... Committee of merchants and manufacturers of Sheffield.
 ... Iron-masters, &c., of West Bromwich.
 ... Manufacturers of sail canvas in Warrington.
 ... Manufacturers of sailcloth in Lancaster.
 ... Manufacturers of fustians, cottons, velvets, &c., in Wigan.
- ... 5. Sailcloth manufacturers in Kirkham.
 ... Manufacturers and traders of Paisley.
- ... 6. Makers of pig and bar iron in the county of Salop.
 ... Nail ironmongers in and near Stourbridge.
 ... Manufacturers of earthenware in Staffordshire.
 ... Merchants, manufacturers, and traders of Walsall.
- ... 7. Merchants concerned in the corn and malt trade of Great Yarmouth.
 ... Nail ironmongers in Dudley.
 ... Glass manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Stourbridge and Dudley.
 ... Merchants, manufacturers, &c., of Kidderminster.
 ... Mr Robertson and others, in behalf of the iron manufacturers in Glasgow, Cramond, and Dalnottar.
 ... Merchants and manufacturers of Manchester.
 ... Gentlemen, clergy, and landowners in Rochdale.
- ... 8. Gentlemen, clergy, &c., of Ashton-under-Lyne.
 ... Operative weavers in the villages of Govan and Partick.
 ... Merchants and manufacturers in Bolton.
 ... Gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants of Lancaster.
- ... 11. Merchants, manufactures, &c., of Glasgow.
 ... The provost, magistrates, and town council of Dunbar.
 ... Merchants, manufacturers, and others in Aberdeen.
 ... Justices of Norfolk.
- ... 12. Master silk weavers in London and Manchester, (counsel heard.)
 ... Glass manufacturers of Glasgow, Bristol, Newcastle, and London, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 14. Merchants and manufacturers of broad cloth in Gloucestershire.

- April 14. Working silk weavers of Spitalfields, (heard by counsel.)
- ... 15. Manufacturers, &c., in the borough of Hamilton.
 - ... 20. Master printers in Edinburgh.
 - ... Ironmasters in the counties of Salop, Worcester, Stafford, and Warwick.
 - ... 25. Manufacturers, and inhabitants of Coventry and adjacent parishes.
 - ... 29. Merchants, manufacturers, &c., of Brechin.
- May 3. Manufacturers and wool-staplers of the county of Southampton, (counsel.)
- ... Manufacturers of shoes, &c., in the town of Stafford, (counsel ordered.)

Similar petitions continued to be presented. We give an extract from that of the manufacturers of Manchester. After relating specially how their own trade would be injured by competition with Ireland, they proceed to condemn the free trade principle:—

“But your petitioners do not confine their views to the danger arising immediately and directly from those resolutions as affecting the manufacturers of Manchester only, but feel themselves equally entitled, as subjects of this country, to protest against all the propositions, taken aggregately, as a *new and destructive system of commercial policy*; particularly the 2d, 3d, and 6th resolutions, which, by *universally undermining the interest of Great Britain*, must consequently affect every trade and manufacture within it, the prosperity of which depends evidently upon the general wealth, commerce, and prosperity of the whole nation.”

The formidable opposition manifested between the 22d of February and the 12th of May, induced Mr Pitt to introduce a new set of resolutions on that day; they were as follow:—

“Resolved, 1. ‘That it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

“2. ‘That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision equally permanent and secure shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expenses, in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

“3. ‘That, towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth

or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies or America, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

“4. ‘That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made or shall be made in Great Britain for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonists and plantations, shall be in force in Ireland in the same manner as in Great Britain; and that proper measures should from time to time be taken for effectually carrying the same into execution.

“5. ‘That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonists, in America or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain.

“6. ‘That, in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject, in passing from one port of Great Britain to another; and that all goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, be accompanied with a like certificate, as is now required by law, on the importation of Irish linens into Great Britain.

“7. ‘That, for the like purpose, it is also expedient that, when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, shall be shipped from Ireland for

Great Britain, they shall be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the British sugar-colonies as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain ; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel ; and, to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what port.

“ 8. ‘ That it is essential, for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies or America, should, from this time, be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

“ 9. ‘ That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should be importable into Ireland from any foreign European country ; and that, so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain, and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.

“ 10. ‘ That it is necessary, for the general benefit of the British empire, that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, (except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits,) and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary, in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

“ 11. ‘ That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are differ-

ent on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other ; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as any similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

“12. ‘ That it is also proper that, in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, except in the case of beer imported into Ireland ; such further duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed ; and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or where the whole or part of such duty on the raw material is drawn back or compensated, on exportation of the manufacture from one kingdom to the other, such manufacture may, on its importation, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same so imported to the same burdens as the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported ; and the said manufactures so imported shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

“13. ‘ That, in order to give permanency to the settlement intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

“14. ‘ That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, further, that no prohibition, or new or additional duty, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other ; except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, to impose upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

“15. ‘ That, for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except

such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, beer and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be payable on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any paid thereon in Britain.

"16. 'That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated, from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

"17. 'That it is expedient that the copyrights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the copyrights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

"18. 'That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expenses of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.'"

Mr Pitt opened the business to the committee in a speech which we need not repeat here, as in its general arguments it was only a repetition of that delivered by him on the 22d of February. We shall make room for one of the opposition speeches, and have selected that of Mr Fox, spoken after Lord North had moved as an amendment on Mr Pitt's resolutions the adjournment of the debate. Mr Erskine's speech at the bar of the House of Lords as counsel for the Manchester petitioners, delivered on the 21st of June, may be looked to

as the ablest of the pleadings of counsel. A full and corrected report of it is printed in the *General Advertiser* of the 23d of June 1785 ; but it deals so little with facts or with principles, is so full of rambling declamation, vague prophecy, and invective against Mr Pitt, that it would not repay the reader's patience were it inserted and perused here. Mr Fox's speech is more noticeable, as he was the parliamentary leader of the liberals, and the leader who most effectively defended monopoly and opposed the removal of the trading restrictions between England and Ireland. Mr Gilbert being chairman of the committee, Mr Fox rose and spoke as follows :—

“ Mr Gilbert, though I now rise to submit my sentiments on the present important subject, yet I beg it may be understood by the committee that I shall cheerfully give way to any gentleman on the other side who may be authorized to declare that it is not meant to press us to a vote this night. I do not conceive it possible, indeed, that any objection can be made to the motion of my noble friend. The vast variety of matter perfectly new, as well as the numerous alterations of that which we had previously before us, demanding the most minute and accurate discussion, surely the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not force the committee, at an hour so unseasonable, to come to a decision upon so difficult and so perplexed a subject. I have paused, sir, to give an opportunity for discovering if such be the intention of gentlemen ; but from their continued silence, it is evident they are determined, at all events, to precipitate the committee to this extraordinary and unparalleled decision. I must, therefore, entreat a more than usual indulgence from the committee if compelled, as I find myself, to enter into this important discussion. I shall, even at so late an hour, intrude for a considerable length of time on their patience. The committee will recollect that, in addition to the eleven original propositions, no less than sixteen new ones are now, for the first time, submitted to parliament ; so that, at one o'clock in the morning, I have to enter into the discussion of no less than twenty-seven of the most important and complex propositions that ever were the subject of parliamentary debate. Nor is this the whole of the difficulty : the sixteen supplemental propositions are not confined to verbal explanations, or to mere literal amendments of the former ; on the contrary, they directly change the whole tenor, and absolutely subvert the main principle of the original system upon which the right honourable gentleman declared it to be his fixed intention to proceed ; so that, in truth, they are altogether as unexpected as they obviously are new and contradictory. Surely, there-

fore, under circumstances so very novel and embarrassing, I may with less presumption entreat the committee to forgive that unavoidable intrusion on their time, which must be the consequence of compelling us to come to a vote on so interesting and so complicated a subject, before it is scarcely possible for gentlemen to form even any general ideas on the whole of the subject, as it is now modelled.

“But, first, with respect to this extraordinary system, most undoubtedly the claim of merit in being the author of it can admit of no question. My noble friend (Lord North) has waived all possible pretensions to it; but not, I am sure, more cheerfully than I concur with him, *in declaring it to be the sole and entire possession of the right honourable gentleman who has officially produced it. With him let the whole credit of it reside, undisputed and unenvied. He, indeed, who contends with him for its honours must be instigated by unjustifiable motives; for surely never did there appear a work more completely, more indivisibly, the sole and genuine composition of its author, than the present system evidently demonstrates itself to be exclusively the work of the right honourable gentleman. No necessity can be alleged to have given rise to it, for it flows from the mere will of the proposer. No urgent, no pressing calamity bore a share in its introduction. It is the offspring of peace and domestic tranquillity. Surely, therefore, it would be false and injurious to allege that the people of Ireland had forced the British minister into a tame surrender of the manufactures and commerce of our country. The fact is directly the reverse. The British minister has proffered this surrender from his own mere motion, his own sound will, his own unbiassed judgment. Unquestionably, therefore, he, and he only, is clearly entitled to enjoy all the merits and all the honours of a system so completely and so perfectly his own.*

“Perhaps, indeed, from the examples which the right honourable gentleman has so frequently afforded us of a wonderful perseverance in the defence of his own opinions, and at the same time as complete an adoption of the amendments which we suggest, and he himself disapproves, we ought not to be very much astonished at any new and sudden appearance that his present system may have assumed; but I confess, however, it was with considerable astonishment that I heard the right honourable gentleman state his new propositions. For these, sir, are at once directly, totally, and vitally in contradiction to the whole of that system on which he set out, and from which, if we had trusted merely to his own solemn declarations, we must have believed it impossible that he could deviate in the minutest degree. In saying this, the committee

must be sensible that I speak merely from the impression which the resolutions have made on my mind as they were cursorily read over and explained by the right honourable gentleman. I have not had time, and the committee are not to be permitted to have time, to read and weigh these propositions before they determine upon their merits; but such is the impression which, on the first blush, they have made upon my mind.

“Sir, I have all along understood that the basis of the right honourable gentleman’s original system was reciprocity in correspondent duties, and reciprocity in the prohibition of the export of raw materials. Now these principles, in my mind, the right honourable gentleman has completely abandoned in his new propositions; for, particularly in the article of beer, an exception is made to the reciprocity in correspondent duties, and in the seventh resolution a change is made with respect to prohibitions. The right honourable gentleman has, therefore, retracted and recanted his original principles; he has abandoned the ground on which he set out, and on which he so frequently pledged himself that the whole of his propositions should stand or fall. He has abandoned the reciprocity in correspondent duties; he has abandoned the reciprocal prohibition of raw materials. In these instances—which, if they are said to be trifling in themselves, are not trifles when considered as departures from principle—he has abandoned his ground; and, by doing this, he opens a new system, and comes forward with a set of propositions so far forth diametrically opposite to, and fundamentally different from, that system which he himself has most repeatedly assured us could not possibly admit of the slightest change, and was, indeed, to be wholly inviolable.

“Sir, the right honourable gentleman reprobates the charge which has been imputed to him, of rashness in the original propositions. Was there ever a charge made with more truth, or demonstrated with more clearness? Has not the right honourable gentleman’s conduct on this day given the most unequivocal testimony to the original rashness of his system? What can be a more decisive proof of original rashness than subsequent retraction? The right honourable gentleman brings forward a set of resolutions, as the basis of a system for the intercourse between the two countries; he pledges the government of this kingdom for the literal establishment of his system; he proudly resists inquiry and scorns deliberation; but, when circumstances arise which he has not ability to overcome, and time, in spite of his opposition, is procured for inquiry and discussion, he is constrained to

acknowledge the errors of his first opinions, and he comes forward with a set of propositions directly the reverse of the former. Whether this does not exhibit the rashness of the right honourable gentleman in colours more warm and durable than any with which we on this side the house are able to characterise his conduct, I submit to the committee and the public. The rashness of the right honourable gentleman is proved by the right honourable gentleman himself; and it is singularly striking that, by the whole of his behaviour, the rashness of one day is to be proved by the rashness of another. He now brings forward to the committee a set of propositions directly contradictory to those on which he first proceeded; and having thus himself demonstrated the rashness of his own conduct in the first instance, he becomes enamoured of this boasted weakness, and yet most liberally determines that we also shall be admitted to a full participation of it, by a rash, premature adoption of these his latest notions, which, however, may as suddenly and as consistently be abandoned as the former. So hostile is he to deliberation, such an avowed enemy to everything that looks like inquiry and reflection, that, even on this day, when he is suffering the shame of rashness, he calls upon us to be rash. Although his propositions have been but once cursorily read over, and in that reading embellished, and set off with all the lustre of his eloquence, although they are perfectly new, and although he has not submitted them to the committee till after midnight, he demands and compels us to come to a vote on them. The decency of this conduct I will not insist upon; but, thus driven, thus forced to a division, I must, however unwilling to give a hasty negative, *vote directly against his propositions, as conceiving them to be, at the best, unnecessary, most probably pernicious, but, undoubtedly, so productive of an entire revolution in our commercial system, as to involve a train of consequences, against which the wisest and best characters of this country might despair of providing any adequate security.*

“But, sir, I must congratulate the committee—I must congratulate the country—on the happy escape which we have had from the system proposed by the right honourable gentleman but two months since. That system, the ruin of which has been this day so ably demonstrated, was then within four-and-twenty hours of being carried through this house; so that, when we look back on all the circumstances of the case, we have, indeed, good reason to rejoice in our fortunate escape. The first propositions, when they were originally opened in this house, were pronounced to be so pure and beneficial, so clearly and demonstrably perfect, that not a moment

was to be wasted in a useless discussion of their merits. The right honourable gentleman, therefore, inveighed against the strange, uncandid opposition which was made to those his first propositions. He attributed the opinions of this side of the house to mere faction and disappointment; he called our solemn appeals to the legislature and to the nation illiberal artifices to excite unnecessary clamour; he gave a haughty defiance to the manufacturers and merchants, to exhibit any reasonable argument against a system so replete with every beneficial consequence to themselves; and he triumphed in the circumstance that, for some days, not a single petition was brought to the house from any part of the country against those propositions. Afterwards, indeed, he was forced to abate his triumph; he found no want of petitions, nor of argument; but his language was still lofty, and his mind implacable. His system was so superior to the petulence and faction of those who opposed it, that he declared his resolution of carrying it into a law, even to the letter of the specific resolutions. *Convinced, however, as we always were, that these resolutions were fraught with injury and ruin to the manufacturers and commerce of this country, we warned, we conjured the house to deliberate, to call for information, to examine those who, from their situations, were the most likely to be possessed of intelligence. We called for the commissioners of customs, and the commissioners of excise, that the house might learn from them whether from the operation of these resolutions the revenues of the country were not instantly exposed to insurmountable dangers. The right honourable gentlemen reprobated the proceeding. He asserted that we called for these commissioners merely to gain time; that our purpose was insidious delay, in order to inflame the public, and stir up factious clamours. But what has been the issue of all this? Will the right honourable gentleman now dare to attribute our conduct to those unworthy motives? The commissioners, whose opinions on the subject he considered of so little avail, have declared by their report that material and alarming injury would unavoidably arise from these resolutions, fraught, as they conceive them to be, with innumerable dangers. But still more strongly has the right honourable gentleman himself, on this day, described, in his own beautiful language, the variety of ruinous consequences that must have attended his original system. He himself has enumerated to the committee the long train of evils we have escaped by opposing his propositions; he himself has emphatically described the destruction we should have incurred by adopting his own*

exploded system. Let the committee recollect the detail of fatal consequences thus authoritatively admitted.

“First, it has been now admitted that, if the original resolutions had passed, we should have lost for ever the monopoly of the East India trade. It has been admitted that we could no longer have renewed the exclusive charter of the company; but the sister kingdom, having once an equal power with ourselves to trade to Asia, we must wholly have depended on the will of Ireland for a renewal of the charter, by which the monopoly could alone have been maintained.

“If these resolutions had passed into a law, it has equally been admitted that we must have hazarded all the revenue arising from spirituous liquors, no distinction having been made between our own and foreign liquors, nor any provision thought of to prevent their admission into this country.

“If these resolutions had passed into a law, we should equally have sacrificed the whole of the navigation laws of this country. These laws, the great source of our commercial opulence, the prime origin of our maritime strength, would at once have been delivered up in trust to Ireland, leaving us for ever after totally dependent on her policy and on her bounty for the future guardianship of our dearest interests.

“If these resolutions had passed into a law, we should have opened the door to a more extensive contraband trade than ever yet was known to exist in this country; for not a shadow of protection was provided against every species of smuggling, not even the means which we think it necessary to use in our own traffic from port to port—that of requiring bonds, cockets, and other instruments, on goods sent coastwise.

“If these resolutions had been carried into a law, we should have endangered the loss of the colonial market to the manufacturers of Great Britain; for no care was taken to prevent Ireland from giving bounties, or allowing drawbacks, on goods exported to the colonies; so that it was left in their power to give so decisive an advantage to their own manufactures as must have ascertained to them the market, or, which would have been equally ruinous, have forced us to enter into a warfare of bounties to the extinction of our revenues.

“If these resolutions had been carried into a law, dangers as extensive must have equally been incurred by our colonies; for not a single provision was stipulated for laying permanent high duties on the produce of foreign colonies imported into Ireland; so that, at any future time, Ireland might have taken off the annual high duties, and given admission to the produce of foreign colonies, on terms which must completely

have ruined our West India islands. I need not state to the committee a fact so universally known as that the produce of our colonies is dearer than that of the foreign islands. But we have, nevertheless, preferred the home market, on account of the natural interest which we have in them; and, undoubtedly, we must continue to do so. Ireland has no such obligation: on the contrary, her interest would as forcibly lead her to the foreign colonies.

“If these resolutions, therefore, had passed into a law, we should have been irretrievably bound to our part of the bargain, whereas Ireland would by no means have been confined to hers.

“If these resolutions had passed into a law, by the monstrous incongruity of the fifth, it would have been in the power of Ireland to draw a revenue from our consumption. They had only to lay an internal duty in Ireland on the articles of our consumption, equal to the internal duty that might exist on such articles in this country, and it must have followed that they, of course, would have drawn the revenue from the country that was to consume the goods. This astonishing absurdity is done away by the removal of the latter part of the fifth resolution. This also, if these resolutions had passed into a law, the leather trade must as certainly have been ruined; for though we were bound, in all future time, to send our oak-bark to Ireland duty free, Ireland was not bound to prohibit the exportation of raw hides to Great Britain, without which the trade could not subsist.

“These, sir, are some few of the evils which, confessedly, would have taken place if the original resolutions which the right honourable gentleman proposed but two months ago had unfortunately passed into a law. All these menaces, these fatal consequences of his own rash system, the right honourable gentleman has on this day himself acknowledged, at the same moment that he introduces, for the first time, a new set of complicated propositions, in remedy of the detected mischiefs of the former. In doing this, he has at once completely changed the ground on which he first set out; for, having originally declared that the very spirit and soul of his system was to square and finally determine the relative situation of the two countries, he then maintained that this salutary, this grand, this primary object, could only be accomplished by a complete and perfect reciprocity; yet that essential, that vital principle, he has now totally and directly abandoned, as well in the remarkable change which he has introduced in the seventh resolution, as in the article of beer, the export of which is of infinite consequence. Reciprocity, therefore, which

was the vital principle, the spirit, the quintessence of his system, is now completely abandoned.

"Sir, that these alterations are for the better, I most cheerfully admit. Undoubtedly they tend to make the present system far more palatable to Englishmen. Why, then, it may be asked, do I now state them? Clearly for this reason: to manifest to the house the important benefits of deliberation. I mentioned them to shew that the alarm given by gentlemen of this side of the house was a most fortunate alarm for this country. By that fortunate alarm, the manufacturing communities in every corner of the kingdom have been apprised of their danger; they have had time to come forward; they have had time to give those lights to the committee which have been the happy means of producing the alterations of this day. I mention them to shew what must have been the consequences to the empire if the committee had implicitly fallen into the system which the rashness of the right honourable gentleman, I will not say his ignorance, but which, to give it an easier term, his extraordinary confidence in his own abilities, induced him so peremptorily and so authoritatively to propose.

"There is also another and even more powerful reason for my enlarging on these important alterations. It is, sir, to convince the committee that there is still a powerful appeal to our equity, our benevolence, and even our common sense, for affording the merchants and manufacturers of this country a much longer period of deliberation, and surely as strong a claim on the justice of the minister, to suspend the vote of the committee on a question of such infinite magnitude to all our just and dearest interests. The committee will be taught, by a due estimation of the benefits already acquired from salutary delays, that most important advantages are to be derived from fair inquiry and impartial discussion. If in two months such serious and consequential errors have been discovered, what may we not expect from longer time and more careful investigation? If in two months the right honourable gentleman has gleaned so much from this side of the house, and from gentlemen whose ideas he certainly is not much disposed avowedly and ingenuously to adopt, however willing he may be to benefit in secret by them, what may we not expect when his bright talents have had more time to work on the suggestions with which we may have furnished him? That he has largely profited from this side of the house, the committee will readily perceive; neither will they, I believe, consider it extremely presumptuous if I arrogate some degree of honour to myself, in having contributed a little to the amendments of

this day. From my right honourable friend (Mr Eden) the minister has certainly collected many more of his new opinions. Surely, therefore, from the excellent use which the right honourable gentlemen has already made of our discoveries and suggestions, it will more and more be the wish of all impartial men that he should have time to mature the many other matters which he has not yet so far honoured us as entirely to adopt. For what must be the fruits of those ideas—how ample, how rich must be the harvest they produce—when his protecting hand shall raise them from obscurity to a richer soil: when he himself shall ‘transplant them to his own fair garden where the sun always shines!’ Nothing, surely, can be more beneficial than to wait for their mature production. I speak for myself, and I am sure I may speak also for my right honourable friend and the other gentlemen round me, that we shall be happy to trust our progeny to his care. If he is a plagiary, he is a plagiary uncommonly endowed; for he decorates that which he steals in apparel so gay and luxuriant, he enriches whatever he takes with such additions of flowers and embroidery, that, though as their legitimate parents we recognise our own offspring, we view them with no small degree of wonder in their strange and sumptuous attire. On this day, indeed, we may be proud to contemplate the predominating efficacy of our own suggestions; and on this day alone has the right honourable gentleman, for the very first time, condescended to depart from his usual stateliness and overbearing sense of his own superiority. Upon this day, with new and unaccustomed affability, he neither reprobates nor reviles the opinions to which he has deigned to accede. It is to us a strange and unexpected triumph, not, indeed, to have our ideas received by the right honourable gentleman, (in that acceptance he is courtesy itself,) but to hear them, even in the moment they are admitted, unstigmatized by the receiver, nor, as usual, traduced in words while they are approved in fact, and vilified at the very moment of their adoption.

“The right honourable gentleman, whom my noble friend (Lord North) most truly painted, when he asserted that ‘he had a mind which found gratification in invective,’* has this

* Lord North said, in the course of his speech, “There are some men, Mr Gilbert, who seem to be organized for slander; there are some men who, by the peculiar temperament of their nature, find gratification in invective, and, so eager are they for the enjoyment of their lust, that they go about to seek for blemishes, in order to expose them; and, in pursuit of their game, they will sometimes pretend to find them where they are not. Such men, if they propose any measure, are infinitely more desirous to make it stand upon the faults of

day alluded to a letter written by a noble lord* as a dispatch from Ireland, during the administration of which I had the honour to make a part, and he has insinuated that the letter manifested an intention in that administration to have gone the lengths of the present system, 'if they had had energy sufficient for so great an adventure.' I did not expect that, even from him, such a construction would have been put upon that dispatch. From his colleagues in office I am confident of meeting with more candour. But the letter has been read: I submit to the committee the terms of that letter, and call upon them to say if the English language could furnish expressions more decisive of the contrary opinion than those in which we declared to the lord lieutenant that we could not encourage him to make a promise to Ireland which, if fulfilled, would be destructive to Britain. In that opinion we were then unanimous, and to that opinion we firmly adhere. But, are these the arts by which the noble lord and I are to be degraded in the eyes of Britain? Let the minister persist in these unworthy insinuations: he shall not deter us from what we know to be our duty—he shall not overcome that deliberate firmness which, after healing the calamities of Ireland, and happily establishing both her commercial and constitutional liberty, had sufficient spirit, sufficient justice, to withhold what it were ruin to relinquish, and what, indeed, was as little expected or sought by Ireland, as it was safe or just for an administration here to bestow. That letter, which was written by the noble lord in his official capacity, was of too much consequence to be written under the sanction of any individual department. Every one of his majesty's confidential servants was privy to the measure; nor was any dispatch ever made up on a more decided and unanimous opinion. Let the right honourable gentleman refer to some of his present colleagues for information on the point. As to the want of energy—the temporizing spirit—the half measures—and the expedients of getting over a session by a post office or an admiralty court:—all these are insinuations which my noble friend has completely refuted. Neither the post office nor the admiralty court were conceded as expedients to get over a session: they were neither given nor accepted as boons; they were the natural consequences of the previous change of system; they flowed naturally from the new situation in which Ireland stood by the independence of her legis-

others than on its own merits; and such a man I take the right honourable gentleman to be."—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. xxv., p. 599.

* The Earl of Northington, who held the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the coalition administration.

lature. What occasion had we for expedients to get over a session? The lord lieutenant of that day enjoyed as high a degree of confidence, and deserved it as well, as any nobleman that ever filled the station. We were guilty of no violences, and there existed no clamour.

"I cannot help stopping here for a moment, to make a remark on a curious distinction to which the right honourable gentleman appears most remarkably attached: a distinction which betrays a feeling that I cannot well describe—a sort of self-complacency—a kind of over-pleasure with his own situation. In speaking of the noble lord in the blue ribbon, at different periods, he is ever solicitous of distinguishing between the First Lord of the Treasury and the mere Secretary of State. In the one character he ascribes to him all the dignity of sovereign rank, of superintendence, and of sole authority—in the other, he considers him as rather acting under or with a ministry, than as a minister possessed of either power or responsibility. He says of him, at one time, 'When the noble lord was the minister of the country;' at another, 'When the noble lord held a subordinate situation in the cabinet.' By these distinctions, the right honourable gentleman takes a juvenile pleasure in glancing at his own elevation. He considers the personage who fills the united offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury as a character so lofty and exalted, so super-eminent in his station, that he must on no account be confounded with inferior persons. In like manner, when he talks of coalitions, and reprobates them, he is moved by the same feeling. His charge against me and others is for coalescing with the minister, the great superintending minister of the American war! His own coalitions he can readily defend by the very same distinction. 'I own,' he says, 'I have certainly coalesced with some of the ministers who were concerned in the patronage and conduct of the American war: they, however, were inferior characters: Lords Chancellors of England, and such like persons of no account; but never have I been so infamous and abandoned as to form a coalition with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury, the great superintending minister of the crown, who was the soul of the system.'* I do not, sir, enlarge upon this feeling of the right honourable gentlemen as a charge against him: it is a feeling, in the enjoyment of which I am by no means inclined to disturb him:

* Lord Thurlow and Earl Gower, who held office in Mr Pitt's administration, the former as Lord Chancellor, and the latter as Lord President of the Council, held the same offices in the administration of Lord North.

a feeling, in the enjoyment of which I know of no person that has any interest to disturb him ; unless, indeed, there may be some of his immediate colleagues who may think it would be somewhat more decent in him to gratify his passion or his pride in a mode less publicly offensive both to their spirit and their dignity.

“ But, to return, sir, to the propositions on the table. I must now renew the observation that I made in the outset of this business ; namely, that there was a gross and fundamental error in originating these propositions in the Irish parliament. Independent of the insult to the parliament of this country, in not submitting, for their consideration, a great and extensive innovation in the whole system of our commerce, till after it had been determined upon in Ireland—surely the experience of this day sufficiently demonstrates the impolicy of so strange a measure. For, is it not evident that after the parliament and people of Ireland have been suffered to cherish the belief that the resolutions which the ministers of that kingdom assured them would be religiously adhered to as the basis of the new system, the ministers of England come forward, and change the spirit, principle, and tendency of these resolutions ? Is it to be imagined that, after the solemn pledge which the people of Ireland have received from their ministers, and which, undoubtedly, was held out to their parliament as a sufficient ground for an immediate extension of their revenue—is it to be imagined, I say, that, by any private tampering with the individual leaders of a party, the whole body of that nation will as rapidly acquiesce in the supplemental resolutions now brought forward as they at first did in the original propositions ; and when, too, the latter are directly framed to weaken and diminish the effect of the former, which those who proposed them in Ireland had peremptorily insisted should never undergo the slightest or most minute infringement. Nothing can be more absurd than the state of this proceeding. First, the original propositions were made in Ireland—now the amendments are made in England. The Irish thus exposed what alone would content them, and they were offered it without knowing whether it was what England would grant. Now, England is called upon to say what she will give, without knowing whether it is what Ireland would take. Thus, a double inconveniency and dilemma arises from the strange and incoherent proceeding. Nor is this the only impolicy in the mode of conducting this extraordinary measure.

“ His majesty’s ministers have erected a board of trade, under the name of a Committee of the Privy Council,

which, certainly, with proper regulations, I should consider as a wise and wholesome institution ; but this board was appointed—not to prepare materials for the system with Ireland ; not to supply government with information upon which they might deliberately proceed to the adjustment of the intercourse between the two kingdoms. On the contrary, this board was appointed to inquire rather into the propriety of what ministers were actually doing, than what they ought to do. For, at the precise time when Mr Secretary Orde first agitated the business in the Irish House of Commons, this committee of the privy council was employed in the examination of evidence and the discussion of points on which the merits of the proposed arrangement were ultimately to be estimated. Never, surely, was a board of privy council so perverted, so degraded as this ! Not appointed to investigate and examine all the necessary evidence as a preliminary to an important measure—not constituted to deliberate on the various effects of a great national change, the outline of which was merely in idea, unsettled, and unadopted by the minister ; but, in truth, to provide a posthumous defence for a plan already fixed, and to fabricate a vindication for mischiefs too far advanced to admit of qualification or amendment. With such views, and for such purposes, was this board of privy council at first convened. A right honourable gentleman, (Mr Jenkinson,) whose feelings, on being studiously excluded from all the ministerial departments of state, it was found not wholly inexpedient to console and soothe by some temporary delegation of insignificant eminence, was prudently appointed to the presidency of this mock committee. No higher mark of confidence was then bestowed on the now avowed associate of the great superintendent minister. On the report, however, of such a board, thus constituted and thus directed, did the Chancellor of the Exchequer call upon this house to depend with unreserved confidence for the complete justification of his plan. In other words, we were to trust the most important rights of British commerce to the opinion of a board of the king's privy counsellors, appointed by the king's ministers themselves, to inquire whether the measure that they had adopted was wise or the contrary. Can the committee imagine anything more frivolous, more absurd, than so partial an appeal ? Do we not all know that, when his majesty's ministers are committed on any one point, the servants whom they employ must be careful not to deliver an opinion hostile to that measure ? The board of council are selected by the minister, not as deliberate judges of his conduct ; it were the extreme of folly to consider them in such a light ; on the contrary, it was their object

to afford every possible support to measures which they were called upon directly to countenance. This always was, and ever must be, the case; and so the committee of privy council in the present instance seem entirely to have considered it. At first, indeed, before the minister had thought it safe to communicate his plan to the right honourable president of this board, some opinions, far from favourable to the plan, did appear upon their minutes, and of course are still to be discovered in their report; but this was a transient gloom: from the moment that the present complete intelligence and intimacy was established between the right honourable president and the ministers, a new light seemed to flash at once on the whole board of council; the happiest means were instantly pursued to effect the concealment of ministerial error; the most decisive mode of examining witnesses was systematically observed: not only the most apt and artful questions were propounded, but, with equal skill, the most fortunate answers were generally provided; all, however, was carried on with much plausibility and stateliness of deportment. 'It was an open court: it was accessible to witnesses of all descriptions, and, accordingly,' (as was repeatedly asserted,) 'gentlemen attended them of their own accord, and voluntarily offered their impartial testimony on the various articles of their respective manufactures.' But how has this description been verified? We have it in proof, that every individual witness who attended that board was expressly sent for—and that questions were put of an abstract nature, and on premises unexplained. We have found, too, that the answers so obtained were reserved, to be brought in contradiction to opinions which, when the premises were fully examined, and the consequences weighed, it was obvious could not fail to be stated in testimony at the bar of the House of Commons. The right honourable gentleman who is at the head of this board (Mr Jenkinson) has thought proper, however, to inform us that the manufacturers were voluntary attendants on the committee. But to this more than one gentleman of eminence and respect has directly answered that, in truth, the witnesses were expressly sent for; Mr Rose of the treasury having repeatedly entreated them to attend the committee. 'Ay,' says the right honourable gentleman, 'but we have nothing to do with Mr Rose, nor with the treasury: we did not send for you.'

"It is said in praise of simplicity of action, that 'the right hand knoweth not what the left hand doeth.' Perhaps this may be the case here? but which, sir, is the right hand, and which the left, of the present administration, it is not so easy

to ascertain. Certainly the Chancellor of the Exchequer has, till of late, been fond of disclaiming all connexion with certain obnoxious characters. He has, generally, in high tone and pompous parade, disavowed and reprobated all intimacy all friendship, all connexion, with the right honourable gentleman (Mr Jenkinson) who has long been suspected of promoting an undue influence in the government of this country. But all this was the language of a period when the momentary popularity which the minister had obtained had placed him above the degradation of so obnoxious a connexion. When the conduct of the popular branch of the constitution was bestowed upon the present minister, under the description and character of a popular statesman, it would, indeed, have been madness in the extreme to have held any other language of one whose habits, whose principles, whose avowed prejudices, marked him out as utterly disqualified for a situation which, even in common prudence, ought never to be subject to the direct control, or to the disguised influence, of prerogative. When the scene, however, began to change, when the Irish resolutions excited alarm, and the minds of men were irritated at so lavish a surrender of everything that was dear; when the right honourable gentleman began to feel himself weak and insecure, his language was less inflated, his proud rejection of obnoxious characters was heard no more;

*‘Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,
Projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba.’*

‘Misery makes us acquainted with strange companions.’ For my own part, sir, though I have always considered the right honourable gentleman alluded to as an objectionable character for mixing in the conduct of the British government, yet I must do him the justice to say that, in this singular instance, his cautious temper, his patient laborious habits, have undoubtedly been well employed in correcting the strange incoherent levities of the original propositions. And, therefore, it would be wholly unfair to withhold the merit of some of the alterations of this day from the instruction and advice so generously administered by the right honourable gentleman in the hour of danger and necessity.

“But, to return, sir, to the committee of privy council. I cannot suppress my indignation at the petty, miserable plan, which I am sorry to find they have pursued, of first entrapping witnesses, by inducing them to give hasty answers to questions unexplained, and afterwards endeavouring to detect contradictions in their evidence, when they came, at the distance of six weeks, to speak at the bar of this committee. Upon such

conduct, very ill-becoming a board of privy council, I cannot but observe that, undoubtedly, it would have been far more graceful for the right honourable gentleman to have lent his utmost aid to the manufacturers of this country, when they were forced to the bar of this committee in support of their dearest privileges: surely upon such an occasion, he ought himself to have manfully declared, 'I rejoice to see you here: eager as I am for the discovery of truth, I am happy that you are come to explain all those points in which you have been either misquoted or misrepresented by the committee of council. You have now an opportunity to correct those errors; improve it with all the sincerity and zeal that are the best characteristics of Englishmen.' Such, sir, ought to have been his language; for surely it is by no means discreditable for a man of the strictest honour to explain his opinions, when more mature reflection and greater light on the subject have convinced him that he was wrong. And yet, in pursuing a line of conduct diametrically opposite to that which I have described—in adopting the poor and miserable expedient which the minister preferred to the plain feeling of justice and honour—I pledge myself to prove that, with all their sinister industry to confuse and to prevent, they have completely and utterly failed; for not a single instance have they been able to offer of glaring and material contradiction in any one of the numerous witnesses who have been the constant objects of their illiberal attacks.

"I have said, sir, that so far as I have been able to comprehend the alterations, by hearing them once read over, I am ready to acknowledge they are infinitely more palatable than at first; but I desire to be understood, that I still insist they are by no means what they ought to be. Much of my objection remains, and I have no doubt but, when gentlemen come to discuss the amended resolutions, they will yet exhibit weighty arguments against their acceptance, as the basis of the future intercourse between the two countries.

"The right honourable gentleman has now removed the objection which originally existed against the first resolutions: namely, that we thereby sacrificed the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. How the right honourable gentleman could originally overlook that most important concern, unless he meant to abolish the monopoly, is a point for which I am utterly at a loss how to account. Surely the peculiar services which the company have rendered to his administration might well have claimed a more serious attention to their particular interests than the right honourable gentleman seems to have paid them at the present important crisis: but, roused to the

performance of his duty, by the zeal of gentlemen on this side of the house, he has at length, indeed, made some provision for the security of the East India trade. Certainly I do not grudge to the people of Ireland the benefits which he has allotted to them in this branch of commerce : it is by no means improper that they should have a share of the outfit of the East India ships, as they consent to a part of the return. Excluded from the commerce of Asia, it seems but barely equitable to permit them to supply some proportion of the export trade. On the contrary, if, at any time, either the necessities or the mere will of the East India Company should resort to Ireland for such supplies, in preference to the established trade with their own native dealers, I am sure there is no Englishman of sense or spirit who would debar Ireland from every fair participation of those benefits which may be safely and justly divided.

“The right honourable gentleman has made use of the most unfortunate argument that I ever heard delivered by the most unfortunate speaker in this or in any assembly. He says that, giving to Ireland the English market for the issue of colonial produce, though it will not enable the Irish to enter into any dangerous competition with us at home, will yet be of great avail to them, for they will thereby be more capable of taking advantage of the foreign market. This he explains by saying that, having the issue of the English market to depend upon in the last resort, they will have a greater spur to adventure ; they will import more of the produce of the colonies ; and, trusting to the power which they will now have of coming, in the end, to England with their commodities, they will strive to increase their foreign trade, and necessarily make their country a sort of commercial *dopôt*. If this argument is true of the colonial produce, it is equally true of their own manufactures. If they have the advantage of having the English market as an issue to enable them to push their foreign trade to a considerable increase in the colonial produce, then, with precisely the same ground, may we contend that, having the issue of the English market, they will be able to advance their foreign trade for their manufactures.

“Here, then, is an end to all the invective which was thrown on the manufacturers for having asserted that those resolutions would affect the manufactures of Great Britain in the foreign market : they were told, with petulance, that they did not understand the matter ; and that, if there was any danger of meeting a powerful competitor in the Irish manufactures at the foreign market, that danger existed before ; that the foreign market had always been open to the Irish

manufacturer: true, and of this they were not ignorant; but Ireland had not till now the sure issue of the English market as a collateral security for enterprise, and as a spur to speculation. I thank the right honourable gentleman for this argument; but I must apprise him that it refers more to manufactures than to colonial produce. Does he not know that, in colonial produce, the home market is everything and the foreign market nothing? In manufactures it is the reverse, or nearly so. This was good ground, therefore, for the manufacturers to state that they should now find a dangerous competitor in Ireland at the foreign market.

“With respect, sir, to the Navigation Act, upon which I have said so much in the course of this discussion, do we not now find that all my apprehensions were well founded? The right honourable gentleman has, at length, acknowledged that the Navigation Act was in danger, notwithstanding his repeated declarations to the contrary. This conviction may be collected from the nature of the remedy he has thought it expedient to adopt. Strong must have been the apprehensions which suggested such a relief: it is a relief which, in the peculiar circumstances of the two kingdoms, will require very particular consideration indeed, as its tendency is no less than this, that, notwithstanding the independence of Ireland, she must still, in commercial laws and external legislation, be governed by Britain. That she shall agree to follow whatever regulations we may think it right to pursue, from time to time, for securing privileges to our shipping, or for restraining the trade with our colonies, and that such laws shall be in full force in Ireland, is a remedy certainly of a very hazardous kind; but, sir, though it goes so far, it does not satisfy me; it is dangerous, indeed, but not efficacious; nor do I think that, strong and bitter as it is, it will be attended with the effects of preventing the various and radical evils which are attached to this pernicious system. I am of opinion that, even if Ireland should agree to this provision, we shall deliver up into the custody of another, and that an independent nation, all our fundamental laws for the regulation of our trade, and we must depend totally on her bounty and liberal spirit for the guardianship and protection of our dearest interests.

“Now, sir, although I feel as strong a disposition of partiality and favour towards the Irish nation as any man in this house: although I believe them to be a people as distinguished for liberality as any people upon earth, yet this is not of all others the particular point in which I would choose to trust to their liberality. I think the guardianship of the laws which I have

mentioned can be deposited in no hands so properly as in our own. It would be the interest of Ireland to evade those laws, and I ask you what security there is for the due performance of a commercial contract when it is the interest of a nation to evade it? He who trusts to the vague and rash notions of abstract right in preference to the constant and uniform testimony of experience, will find himself miserably deceived in his calculations on all subjects of commercial or political discussion. When it is the interest of a nation to evade a law, that law will be evaded: it always was so, and it always will be so. Perhaps there is no instance of a country more tenacious of engagements than our own; but, do we not all know that, finding the illicit trade which was some time ago carried on to the Spanish main highly beneficial to the country, that trade was connived at, though in the very teeth of our national engagements? Now, sir, when it shall be felt that Ireland will be materially benefited by evading our laws, and that the introduction of foreign sugars will be so much more valuable to them than the legal importation of our colonial produce, is it to be imagined that the people of Ireland will, out of mere love and liberality, shut their eyes against their own immediate interest, or that the laws which may be made in conformity with this new system will be enforced with vigour and with efficacy? Interest is the leading impulse with nations, and it supposes nothing unfavourable to the Irish, to suppose that the common feelings which actuate all mankind in their public character as states may prevail also with them. When it shall be found that foreign sugar may be introduced fifteen or twenty per cent. cheaper than our own; and when it shall be found that they can be introduced in American bottoms cheaper than in shipping navigated according to the law of Great Britain, it is idle to suppose that they will not be so introduced, that this sinister advantage will not be so obtained: that is, in other words, that the commerce of England will not be so affected and diminished.

“Mr Orde, on opening his system to the Irish parliament, if we may trust to the reports of the newspapers—and that we may do so, is evident from this circumstance, that, though Mr Orde was in London several days, he never came down to the house to contradict the reports, though argument was daily founded upon them—stated that Cork would become the emporium of the empire. This expression, to be sure, he afterwards changed to a term more prosaic and modest, affirming that his original phrase had been that Cork would become the medium of trade to the empire. The difference is imma-

terial, except in the sound of the word ; for by medium I can understand nothing else than that the produce of the western world will, in the first instance, be imported into Ireland, be deposited there as the magazine of the empire, and be subsequently dealt out to Britain as her wants may make such application necessary. We have a less sounding and less intelligible phrase, but the real meaning remains still the same, and the measure of oppression and injury unchanged or unabated. That Ireland will be this medium I have no doubt, and its being so will produce an evil beyond the mere loss of the direct trade to our colonies ; for there is every reason to believe that, by this means, the produce of the French and other foreign colonies will find their way into the country, to the ruin of our West India planters and merchants. ‘But,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘it is not to be believed that a circuitous voyage, as this will be, can be preferred to a communication with our colonies ;’ and, in a whisper across the house, he says ‘that Britain even now supplies the Irish market with colonial produce.’ This, sir, in my opinion, strengthens my argument ; such is the decided benefit resulting from having two markets instead of one, that now we are able, with all the disadvantage of the circuitous voyage, to supply Ireland. What, then, must be the consequence to Ireland when she shall enjoy the double market, added to all the advantages arising from harbours so admirably accommodated by the hand of nature for the intercourse in question, from cheap labour, and from an almost total exemption from national burdens ? She will, indeed, become the emporium, or, if the right honourable gentleman, out of compliment to his friends in England, likes it better, the medium of trade to the general empire, and, indeed, almost exclusively so with respect to the produce of our colonies.

“The right honourable gentleman has been anxious to set up an argument in favour of this country, that great capital would, in all cases, overbalance cheapness of labour. I know this to be the fashionable position of the present times, and of the present government ; but general positions of all kinds ought to be very cautiously admitted ; indeed, on subjects so infinitely complex and mutable as politics and commerce, a wise man hesitates at giving too implicit a credit to any general maxim of any denomination ; and, with this conviction in my mind, I am prepared to controvert the position of the right honourable gentleman, at the same time that I do not desire to be understood as wishing to establish the contrary. I do not think that great capital will always counterbalance cheapness of labour, nor that cheap labour will always over-

balance great capital ; as general theorems I dispute both, at the same time that I am clearly of opinion that, under certain circumstances, both may be true ; we have known several instances in which the cheapness of labour has triumphed over greatness of capital. In the rapid transitions of fortune in this country, do we not daily perceive the triumphs of industry over wealth ? Have we not abundant precedents to shew that our manufactures have changed their positions in this country merely on account of the cheapness of labour and provision ? Have they not, within these thirty years, travelled into Scotland, and is it not likely that, precisely for the same reason, together with other incitements, they will migrate to Ireland ? ‘ But,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘ the difference is not so great as is imagined in the price of labour : it is only rude labour which is cheap in Ireland, and the finer parts of work are much dearer there than in England.’ In proof of this assertion he brings Captain Brook to the bar of the House of Commons—a gentleman who has established a very considerable manufactory of cottons in Ireland. Whether it is perfectly proper to bring gentlemen from Ireland to give evidence before the House of Commons, on a subject that is to benefit Ireland and not England, I will not take up much time to inquire.

“ The Irish are, beyond all question, greatly interested in the conclusion of this bargain, and exclusively so as to hopes of benefit ; their evidence, therefore, as parties influenced and prejudiced, may, perhaps, be deemed improper when brought forward to support the system, and to persuade this house. I know it may be said that Messrs Richardson, Walker, Peel, and others, who gave evidence on the other side, are also interested in the termination of this compact. I admit the fact ; but on which side does their interest lie ? and to which ought we in this house to incline ? They are interested for England, of which we are the delegated guardians ; Mr Brook is interested for Ireland, who is on the other side negotiating for himself. Taking it, therefore, in that point of view, I cannot hesitate a moment as to the path it becomes me, as a British member of parliament, to pursue, in the credit which I am to bestow on the evidence adduced. But, on this point of the cheapness of rude labour, hear what the intelligent Mr Peel says :—‘ The finer parts of work cannot be carried on without the ruder. It is on the rude work that the hand is qualified in its art, and every man who is employed in the finer branch was first employed in the coarser.’ The cheapness of rude labour is, therefore, an advantage which in manufactures of the finer kind must be highly favourable ; but in those which

are in their quality coarse, must give to the country a decisive superiority. In one instance this has been proved. A manufacturer of Norwich gives it in evidence that he can buy in Norwich Irish worsted yarn cheaper than he can buy English, although it is subject to five or six duties before it reaches him, and subject also to the expense of the voyage and of the carriage, as well as of the internal duties in Ireland; so that, upon a fair and just calculation, it is demonstrable that they can manufacture worsted yarn in Ireland forty-five or fifty per cent. cheaper than in England. 'But,' say the witnesses from Ireland, 'it is by no means likely that Ireland will ever establish a cotton manufactory to rival that of Manchester: it would not be her interest to do so, and there are many stubborn inconveniences which she has to surmount.' I will admit the supposition for the sake of argument, though I by no means think it founded in probability. But, admitting even that she shall not think of establishing a cotton manufactory, she may still, by these new resolutions, effectually cut off the Irish market from ours; for, having a manufacture of her own to substitute in the room of this, she may lay a duty on cottons, which, by the principle of countervailing duties, might amount to a prohibition of ours, and, by a side blow, annihilate the Manchester manufacture in the Irish market at once.

"And this leads me to an argument which has been much insisted on in favour of these resolutions, that, by means of the new system, the right honourable gentleman would have the merit of putting an end to all idea of protecting duties. On what rational ground does he claim to himself this merit? By the power which is thus left to each country to lay internal duties on such manufactures as they may covet to crush for the sake of advancing a substitute, he gives rise to a countervailing duty that will act as a complete, though indirect, prohibition; and that this is in favour of Ireland and inimical to England is evident from this circumstance, that by the fatal ninth resolution we have for ever given up the only remaining hold which could have operated as a protection against so obvious and alarming an inconvenience. Protecting duties, however threatened, would never have been imposed under the old intercourse; for the good sense of Ireland would not have suffered the danger of retaliation on their staple commodity: that danger they will now no longer be exposed to. But the right honourable gentleman says that we shall by this means bind the two nations together in indissoluble bands; that between nation and nation the intercourse should be regulated by principles of equality and justice; and that this ought to be more particularly studied between na-

tions that are sisters, as it were, and are so connected in interest and in blood as Great Britain and Ireland. To such principles as these, if acted upon with wisdom or the chance of mutual harmony, far be it from me to object ! My objection is, that the intercourse is not to be regulated by principles of equality and justice. Let us suppose a fair and equal admission of manufactures into each country free of all duties—which of the kingdoms would shudder most at such a freedom ? The Irish, undoubtedly. We are to give them an intercourse infinitely more beneficial than throwing open our ports entirely ; and in doing this, we have given to Ireland the power of offending us without reserving the means even of retaliation, much less of prevention.

“By the seventh resolution we bind ourselves in no future time to prohibit the export of raw materials to Ireland. This is a measure which may be found highly prejudicial to our manufactures. In the course of this session we have passed an act to prevent the export of rabbit skins for the benefit of our hat manufactory. May not other occasions arise in which it would highly affect us to suffer raw materials to go out of our hands into those of foreign states, under the name of Ireland ; for such is the danger that I apprehend. A cargo of raw materials may be entered at our custom-house for Ireland ; but what security shall we have, either for their being carried thither, or for their stay in the country if they reach it ? Never let us be so weak as to trust to generosity when interest is at stake.

“The ninth resolution, sir, is that which I reprobate the most, and in that no alteration has been made. By that resolution we for ever surrender the only power which we had of enforcing the due performance of all the parts of the bargain obligatory on Ireland. By giving up a legislative control over the admission of her staple into Britain we for ever throw ourselves on the mercy of Ireland, and have no means of protecting ourselves against her future caprices. It is by such means that the right honourable gentleman hopes to produce a lasting amity between the two kingdoms. He provides ill for peace who deprives himself of the weapons of war. True policy suggests that, with a disposition to be amicable ourselves, we should be prepared against the effects of a contrary disposition in others.

“In regard to the compensation, I hardly know in what view of it to express my particular reprobation. The exaction of a permanent provision from Ireland is what I consider as a measure pregnant with the most alarming consequences to the liberties and to the constitution of both countries. As

an Irishman I would never consent to grant it, and as an Englishman I cannot accept it. What Ireland cannot concede with safety, England cannot receive with grace. It has always been the leading and characteristic privilege of our legislature—and when I speak of ours in this instance, I may include the legislature of Ireland also—to limit all grants of supplies to the period of one year. Thus, the supplies for the army are voted annually, for the navy annually, for the ordnance annually; and so also in every description of public expenditure that may any way tend to produce an undue control over the subject: to make them perpetual, even though the application of them is to be left to the disposal of parliament, is a measure to which I cannot give my consent: it establishes a precedent for diminishing the sole security which the domestic branch of the constitution possesses against the encroachments of the executive. Annual supplies are the vital source of the influence and authority which the representative body have, and ought to have, in the respective legislatures of the two countries, and I can accede to no regulation that has the operation of impairing so invaluable a privilege in the smallest degree. I object to this compensation on another account; and that is, that I do not think it worth our acceptance; for, even if the surplus of the hereditary revenue should amount to a sum which might be valuable when applied to the maintenance of our navy, what security have we that the Irish nation may not withdraw the sum which they now appropriate to the army? They now maintain a very considerable part of our army. I wish to know if it will not be in their power to withhold that sum whenever they shall deem it expedient, after the establishment of this new system: therefore, what we gain in the one way we may lose in the other. We may lose from our army what we are to gain in our navy, with this material difference still existing between the two cases, that the supply which is now granted on the part of Ireland for the support of our army, is granted in a manner truly and perfectly congenial with the practice and spirit of our own constitution; whereas the proposed expedient for the service of our navy originates in a violation of both, and cannot operate but to the obvious disadvantage of the popular department of the Irish government. The right honourable gentleman says the surplus of the hereditary revenue would be appropriated to the purchase of provisions for the navy, and that thus it would be beneficial to Ireland. To this I have no objection; I think it would be reasonable and advantageous: but to the permanency of the grant I must enter my most cordial and determined protest. The right honourable

gentleman says that he would not trust to the generosity of Ireland for compensation, which he considers as founded in justice. He will implicitly trust to her generosity and kindness for the due and rigorous execution of the trade laws, but he will not trust to her generosity for the return which she shall make for his present⁴ benevolence towards her. In this I completely differ with the right honourable gentleman. I would trust to Ireland in the case where he would not, and I would not trust where he is inclined to do so. If there be any nation upon earth in whom, on a point of honourable compensation, I would have implicit confidence, it is Ireland; but in the due performance of commercial regulations, where the laws stand for ever in the way of interest and adventure, I would not trust to any people existing. In the case of the compensation, the voice of all Ireland would be heard in her parliament. In the instance of sinister trade, it would be confined to the intrigues between smugglers and custom-house officers; and neither the generosity nor the manliness of the more enlightened and polished part of the nation would be at all concerned in the discussion.

“The right honourable gentleman has insinuated that there is an immediate necessity for adopting the system which he has proposed; that is as much as to say, in plain English, he has held out the resolutions to Ireland, and the necessity for adopting them has arisen from his having done so. This is a mode of argument which merits a great share of countenance, whatever truth there may be in the fact. Ireland is not, however, I trust, so unreasonable as to insist upon the rash and intemperate transfer of privileges, demonstrably ruinous to England. ‘But,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘this system will finally determine every question between the two nations, and nothing can arise in future to make a contest between them.’ I call upon the right honourable gentleman to say what security he can give us for the certain accomplishment of his presage. Does he speak from experience? Evidently not. Experience of the past, which I conceive to be the best criterion by which to determine the probability of the future, is against him. When the noble lord in the blue ribbon, in the year 1780, opened to the Irish the trade of our colonies, the parliament of that country declared themselves fully gratified, and thanked his majesty in terms of the utmost gratitude and apparent satisfaction. In a few months, however, their voice was heard again. During the administration of which I formed a part their legislature was declared to be independent; and, in addresses from both houses of parliament, they professed themselves so entirely

content, as not to consider it possible that any subsequent question of political division could arise between the two kingdoms. Yet, in the very next session, they gave indications of new dissatisfaction, and further concessions were made. How are men to argue from these facts? One would imagine that the most effectual and satisfactory method of quieting the apprehensions or relieving the exigencies of a distressed country would be that of appealing to their own testimony for a knowledge of their circumstances; to collect information from themselves; to desire them to state, in their own persons, the measure of their calamities, and the best expedient for the relief of them. This was precisely the way pursued heretofore. The concessions were granted on the declarations of the best informed men in the land—men the best qualified to know the state, the wants, and the expectations of the kingdom. Mr Hussey Burgh and Mr Grattan—names which no man could mention but with the sincerest and most cordial respect, were the authorities on which England proceeded, and on which she relied. But this, it seems, however specious and natural, was not the proper method of ascertaining the wants and wishes of another kingdom. The true and only means of finally concluding all disputes with Ireland is to send a stranger there, and order him to address himself to their senate in such language as this: ‘Hear me, ye men of ignorance and credulity! You know nothing of what you want, what you wish, or what would be good for you—trust yourselves to me—I am perfect master of all your infirmities—here is the specific that will cure you, the infallible nostrum for all ailments.’ It seems that this is the only conciliatory expedient for administering to the relief of a disordered state—not to suffer the inhabitants to speak, but to send a man amongst them ignorant at once of their exigencies, their grievances, and their policy, to propose wild schemes of extravagant speculation, and prescribe for the disorder without the painful tediousness of trying to understand it. In compliance with this new idea, Mr Orde, an English gentleman, the secretary to an English nobleman, the Lord-Lieutenant for the time, rises up and proposes a set of resolutions which he pledges himself to carry into complete execution. These resolutions are brought to England, and, after two months’ discussion, are completely and fundamentally altered. Upon these resolutions the right honourable gentleman thinks himself warranted to say that the system will be final. The right honourable gentleman said that he must have a fund of credulity who believed all the evidence which the manufacturers had given at the bar. In like manner, I say that he must

have a fund of credulity indeed who can believe on such premises that the Irish will be content with this system, or that the general interests of both countries can be promoted by its establishment.

“ ‘It is possible,’ says the right honourable gentleman, ‘that one country may lose what another may gain.’ I am ready to agree with the right honourable gentleman that, in similar manufactures, or even in the same manufacture, one country might open channels of commerce unknown to another, the one acquire riches without the other suffering diminution ; but it so happens that between England and Ireland, under these resolutions, this cannot be the case. Their channels of consumption are precisely the same, and a mutual participation in all markets is the leading principle of the agreement. Ireland, therefore, cannot make a single acquisition but to the proportionate loss of England. I defy the right honourable gentleman to mention any one article—and he has not mentioned one—in which Ireland may gain without England suffering a loss. This, sir, constitutes the distinct and prominent evidence of the impolicy of the system. It is this which will stir up jealousy between the two countries, and make English and Irishmen look at one another with cold hearts and suspicious eyes. If any one thing demands more than another the cautious deliberation of the committee, it is that of guarding against insidious competition ; to take care that the new system shall not make the countries rivals instead of friends.

“ Another objection requires a more satisfactory answer than it has yet obtained. We have gone great lengths for the suppression of smuggling, and have loaded our constituents with a commutation tax of a most heavy and unequal kind, merely to crush the contraband trade on our coasts. Upon the very heel of a most oppressive and inequitable expedient for the prevention of smuggling, we are preparing to adopt a new system, that will give to every species of this indirect and contraband commerce ten times the vigour and the generality that it ever possessed in the country. This is the right honourable gentleman’s consistency. In one year he loads the subjects with the most intolerable imposition to which they were ever exposed, and the single motive, as well as the only possible excuse, for it is this, the prevention of smuggling. The next year he introduces a new measure, the obvious and undeniable tendency of which is to encourage all illicit trade to an extent hitherto unknown in any period of our history ; for, by means of this new intercourse, no laws, no watchfulness, no penalties will have power enough to pre-

vent the revival of every sort of contraband trade. I shall mention only a single article or two, to shew the facility which these new resolutions will give to the exercise of smuggling. At present, so anxious are we to guard against the illicit importation of French gloves, that we have had recourse to a prevention of unexampled severity. Besides the penalty, which is uncommonly high, the person in whose custody suspected gloves are found is obliged to prove that they were made in this country. The *onus probandi* lies upon the person accused; an instance of severity unknown to the general penal provision of our statutes. When this communication with Ireland is opened, what will be the consequence? The person has only to say that they are Irish. It will be in vain that you call upon him to prove that they are manufactured there; and thus you will have articles of every kind poured in upon you. Silk stockings are another article of the same kind. Distinctions will be impracticable; and every species of light goods, of small package and easy transfer, will flow in upon us, to the ruin of our manufactures.

“I shall conclude, sir, with supplicating the committee to take time to deliberate, and to inquire fully before they decide on this measure, which must make an entire revolution in the whole system of British commerce. We have seen the benefits of delay. Let us be wise from experience. It is impossible that Ireland can object to our desiring a sober deliberation on a subject so infinitely important. It is said that Ireland is out of temper, and that she has been irritated almost beyond her bearing. Ministers are answerable for this irritation, if such irritation exists. The violence which they committed in Ireland deserves the most marked and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the press; their endeavours to prevent the legal and quiet meetings of counties to deliberate on the best peaceable means of amending their deficient representation; their proceeding against men by summary attachment; all were violences which, perhaps, may have inflamed Ireland, and now ministers are desirous of avoiding the consequences of imprudent insult by imprudent concession. But let us be cautious how we assist them in a design which may eventually turn out as insidious to that country as it would be ruinous to this: a design which may, perhaps, involve in it another commutation, and that a more pernicious one, even than that well-known and universally-execrated measure which now bears that name—a commutation of English commerce for Irish slavery.

“Let us remember, that all the manufacturing communities of Great Britain are avowedly against the system. So general

an union never took place as on this occasion. So large a number of petitions never were presented from the manufacturers on any former occasion ; and, what is still more remarkable, there is but one solitary instance of any manufacturing body having expressed a syllable in its favour. The voice of the whole country is, therefore, against the resolutions. It is within the memory of all men, that some time ago the right honourable gentleman was an advocate for the voice of the people ; ‘ What,’ said he, when a number of petitions were presented against the India Bill which I had the honour to move, ‘ will you persist in this bill against the voice of the people ? Will you not hearken to the petitions upon your table ?’ It was ever my opinion, sir, that petitions should be heard, and most seriously attended to ; but it was not my opinion that they should always be implicitly complied with. A distinction should be made between petitions, as temporary circumstances, or the casualties under which they are presented shall suggest ; and I should certainly be at all times more inclined to pay respect to them when they applied to subjects of which the petitioners could, from their habits or otherwise, be considered as competent judges—much more so, beyond all question, than when they spoke merely from vague representations, and on topics with which they had no means of being conversant. The right honourable gentleman is of a contrary opinion. It is only when they come against the India bill that he thinks them worthy of notice. When hundreds of thousands come to our bar, deprecating the countenance of a system which, from their own knowledge, they pronounce to be ruinous to the manufactures of England, he treats them with something that merits a severer term than disdain. Mr Wedgwood, Mr Richardson, Mr Walker, and the other great manufacturers, and who, from opulence and every other consideration, are worthy to be ranked with the best men in this house, have received from the right honourable gentleman every species of ill treatment and indignity that the lower or most degraded characters could receive, or the most contemptuous and violent could bestow. Their intelligence on their respective manufactures ought to give weight to their petitions as well as to their evidence, and to ensure them, not only a decent hearing, but a most attentive regard. The right honourable gentleman, however, considers the voice of the people only as sacred and commanding where it is exerted against things upon which the petitioners are not competent to decide. For instance : if these gentleman—who, I dare say, during the rage of opposition to the India bill, also signed petitions against it—were at the bar, they had been asked if

they objected to that bill, and they had answered in the affirmative, would their testimony in the one case have been deserving of the same notice as on the interests of their particular manufactures? Surely not. In the one case they spoke from what they had heard, or from what they conjectured; in the other, from what they knew. Can the committee think that they know more of the Manchester manufacture than Mr Richardson and Mr Walker?—of the iron manufacture, than the gentleman that we have heard this day?—and of every other manufacture, than the persons who have spent their lives in the study, and embarked their fortunes in the progress? If we do know better, let us, in the name of heaven discharge our consciences, and speak as we think, against those manufacturers; but, at any rate, let us deliberate; let us take time to think before we act. Our decision will not be less efficacious for being the result of inquiry; nor is it possible that any evil can arise from a delay which affords some interval for decent discussion.

“Before I sit down, Mr Gilbert, it may not be amiss to suggest to gentlemen, that the present is a subject from which, above all others, private partialities or personal attachments ought to be totally excluded. This is not a question of personal struggle between man and man, a contest for power, nor the mere war of individual ambition. It is a question of life and death for the country—not for the official existence of this or that minister, but for the political existence of Great Britain herself. In the consideration of such a question, therefore, let gentlemen strip themselves at once of prejudices and predilections: let them guard their minds equally against an undue bias of every denomination, whether of political sympathy with the minister or of attachment to opposition—whether of individual respect for gentlemen on that side of the house or on this—let them recollect that the minister has, by his conduct this day, demonstrated to the house, that implicit confidence in him is as dangerous as it is absurd; that infallibility is no more the prerogative of the right honourable gentleman than of the rest of the world. He has introduced sixteen new propositions, the general object of which is to correct and to qualify his original system, and the particular aim of some of which is to change the very essence or vital nature of his previous plan. Let us suppose, then, that this principle of implicit confidence had prevailed in the minds of gentlemen when this system was originally proposed to the house, if they had acceded to the propositions, in the shape and formation in which they were at first presented—and that it was for a long time the minister’s inten-

tion to obtrude them upon this house with all their original infirmities upon their head, is well known to us and to the world—what would have followed? Why, evidently this—that this confidence, so reposed, would have led gentlemen to do that which, in the opinion of the minister himself, would have been wrong. Let this example, therefore, of the demonstrated and acknowledged peril which results from blind predilection and the total resignation of personal judgment, warn gentlemen how they fall into the same error a second time. The minister himself tells them this day that they would have been in the grossest and most pernicious error in which the legislators of a great country were ever involved, if they had trusted entirely to him on a former occasion. I will take upon me to tell them that their error will not be less gross, nor less pernicious, if they trust him too implicitly on this.

“I shall only add, sir, that he who can understand so complicated and so extensive a subject upon so slight and transitory a view of it, possesses an intellect not common to the general body of mankind, and which certainly cannot be the general characteristic of this house. For one, I can truly say, he must possess an understanding of infinitely more quickness and acumen than any to which I pretend. He that votes for the propositions without understanding them, is guilty of such a desertion of his duty and his patriotism as no subsequent penitence can possibly atone for: he sacrifices the commerce of Great Britain at the shrine of private partiality, and sells his country for the whistling of a name. The minister who exacts, and the member who submits to, so disgraceful an obedience, are equally criminal. The man who, holding the first seat in his majesty’s council, can stoop to so disgraceful and fallacious a canvass as to rest his ministerial existence on the decision of a great national question like this, must be wholly lost to all sense of dignity, of character, or manly patriotism; and he who acquiesces in it from any other inducement but that of cautious and sincere conviction, surrenders every claim to the rank and estimation of an honest and independent member of parliament, and sinks into the meanness and degradation of a mere ministerial instrument, unworthy the situation of a senator, and disgraceful to the name of an Englishman.”

After a debate, which lasted till five o’clock in the morning, the committee divided on the question of adjournment moved by Lord North; Yeas, 155; Noes, 281. The first resolution was then agreed to.

May 30. The report of the committee of the whole house

on the Irish propositions was this day taken into consideration. When the fourth resolution was put, Mr Sheridan opposed it. Mr Pitt said, "that when he considered the language that had been held, and the quarter it came from; when he reflected on the designs of those who had presented themselves in so conspicuous a manner as the enemies of the resolution then before this house, and saw with how much artifice and zeal those designs were supported, and when he weighed the motives, as well of those who had been silent as of those who had spoken to the question, he could not remain an idle spectator in a transaction that so essentially concerned the interest of the two kingdoms which composed the remaining part of the British empire. If a chain of recent events, and the whole tenor of the conduct that had been adopted by persons of a certain description had not exhausted and anticipated his surprise at anything that could come from them, he could scarcely believe his senses when he beheld a gentleman, (Mr Sheridan,) who for many weeks had concealed his intentions so effectually as to leave it a doubt whether he was friendly or hostile to the arrangement now depending, stand forth the avowed enemy of a part of the system which was necessarily connected with the whole, and take up a ground of opposition the most dangerous and inflammatory that could possibly suggest itself. But it was not to be wondered at that the conduct of the honourable gentleman should be so inconsistent, when it was remembered how inconsistent all the measures of the party of which he was the mouth were in themselves, and how inconsistent the persons who composed that party were with one another. Still the pursuits of that party, however various and however contradictory, had one uniform tendency. Whether they reprobated on this day what they had approved on the preceding, or whether they abandoned a principle which they had before admitted; whether one individual differed from or coincided with the rest of his associates, still the effect of all their efforts, of all their perseverance, and of all their tergiversation was to be the same—to embarrass and confound the measures of administration, to embroil and disunite the affections of their fellow-subjects, to excite groundless alarms, and on those groundless alarms to foment the most dangerous discontents. The noble lord in the blue ribbon, in assenting to the resolution, and the honourable gentleman in opposing it, had taken care to support their several opinions by the same argument, and that argument was, of all others, best calculated to promote the ultimate design of both, however different the modes they took to accomplish it—the jealousy and resentment of the sister king-

dom. The resumption of legislative supremacy over Ireland was the ground of acquiescence in the one, of dissent in the other ; and thus they divided between them the two features of the character which their right honourable friend, Mr Fox, had shewn himself so ambitious to assume, that of an English and an Irish patriot. How gentlemen could think themselves warranted in setting up an opposition to measures in favour of which they had borne more than a silent testimony (for they had expressly acknowledged the several amendments to be such as not only were in themselves unexceptionable, but had also the positive merit of correcting, in a great degree, the objectionable qualities of the original propositions,) was a circumstance only to be accounted for by those who, from a close attention to the conduct of the party, and a congeniality of sentiment with them, had brought themselves to understand and to adopt the whole of their system, and were thence enabled to see that it was a double game that they were playing, and that their appearing to oppose the resolutions by arguments directly contrary to each other, was merely with a view to secure the same end and to compass the same design."

Mr Fox began with remarking that, "in the personal and political character of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, there were many qualities and habits that had often surprised him, and, he believed, had confounded the speculations of every man who had ever much considered or analyzed his disposition ; but that his conduct on that night had reduced all that was unaccountable, incoherent, and contradictory in his character in times past to a mere nothing. That he shone out in a new light, surpassing even himself, and leaving his hearers wrapt in amazement, uncertain whether most to wonder at the extraordinary speech they had just heard, or the frontless confidence with which that speech had been delivered. Such a farrago of idle and arrogant declamation, uttered in any other place, and by any other person, upon the subject in question, would naturally fill the members of that house with astonishment ; but, spoken by that right honourable gentleman within those walls, in the presence of men who were witnesses of all the proceedings upon this business, every one of whom could bear testimony to the gross and unblushing fallacy of the right honourable gentleman : it was," Mr Fox said, "an act of boldness, a species of parliamentary hardihood, certainly not to be accounted for upon any known or received rules of common sense or common reason.

"I cannot," continued Mr Fox, "help remarking the vast disparity in the tone, the temper, and the style of expres-

sion exhibited by the right honourable gentleman upon this night, from those which he deemed it expedient to adopt when he opened the eighteen propositions to this house. On that night I quoted a passage :

‘Telephus et Pleus, cum pauper et exul uterque,
Projicit umpullas, et sesquipedalia verba ;’

and quoted it to exemplify the change occasioned by the deplorable situation in which his rashness, his ignorance, or what is not more reputable than either, his servile adoption of other men's fancies, and thrusting forward the crude heap of discordant and dangerous materials which form this miserable project, had involved the right honourable gentleman. Upon that occasion I could not help observing that the *ampullæ* and the *sesquipedalia verba*—that the right honourable gentleman's magnificent terms, his verbose periods, and those big, bombastic sentiments, which constitute, in general, the principal part of his orations, had for once forsaken him, or been relinquished, for language and for manners better accommodated to his disastrous condition. Then we saw the avowed confederacy of the right honourable gentleman with those about him, whose co-operation in the general system of his government he is commonly so anxious to disavow, but whose opinions he so uniformly propagates and asserts ; then we saw that preposterous ambition, that gaudy pride, and vaulting vanity, which glare upon the observer beyond all the other characteristic features of the right honourable gentleman, and which prompt him to look down with contempt on his political co-adjutors, to fancy himself the great overseer, the surveyor-general of the British government ; we saw this glittering assemblage melt away, and that right honourable gentleman descend to a curious and most affecting sympathy with the other supporters of this system, as well as into something like a modest and civil demeanour towards those who oppose it. But, alas ! the right honourable gentleman's deviation into a moderate and humble course of argument, into a course befitting a man detected in ten thousand instances of folly, precipitancy, rashness, weakness, and consummate ignorance of the subject in discussion, was but transient and temporary. The hopes of a reform in his conduct were as fallacious even as the many hopes of other reforms which that right honourable gentleman has gulled a variety of persons in this country to entertain upon points of more importance. Upon this night, the right honourable gentleman has relapsed into his own favourite and darling habits ; the *ampullæ* and *sesquipedalia verba* are again resumed, with additional redundancy. Nerved with new rancour, and impelled with fresh vehemence, the

right honourable gentleman rushes blindly forward ; but, surely, it cannot escape observation, that the display of these passions, and the resumption of that mode of reasoning, are the best proofs that the right honourable gentleman is, indeed, reduced to the last extremity ; and, by the use of such arguments, that he shews himself destitute of any that better become a real statesman or a great orator.”—And so forth.

Seldom has there appeared in the parliamentary conflicts of parties, either before Mr Fox or after him, such a reckless sacrifice of reason, principle, honour, truth, everything most worthy of a statesman, as his sacrifice of those qualities to oppose Mr Pitt on the Irish propositions, and the other liberal measures of commercial legislation which followed.

The Irish parliament, which had passed the eleven resolution as at first proposed, refused to adopt the eighteen which supplaced them. The ground of opposition in Ireland was that of independence of English legislation. It was at once seen by Mr Pitt, and all other practical men, that an independent legislature in Ireland would not work harmoniously with that of England, nor for the good of either country ; and from this time he turned his face to the prospect of uniting the two countries under one legislature.

SECT. XIII.—MR PITT AND THE TREATY OF COMMERCE WITH FRANCE.

This Treaty of Commerce, commonly called the *Eden Treaty*, from Mr William Eden, (afterwards Lord Auckland,) the British ambassador, through whom it was negotiated, was a more marked, decided, important step in liberal and sound legislation than even the Irish propositions. The treaty was signed at Versailles, on the 26th of September 1786, and ratified by parliament early in the year 1787. The *History of British Commerce* states that “this treaty was founded upon principles more liberal than had ever *before or since*” (the historian, Mr Craik, is writing before the enactment of the liberal tariff of Sir Robert Peel in 1846) “been recognised in any similar compact between England and France.

“It commenced with a joint declaration of his Britannic majesty and his most christian majesty of their desire to establish a system of commerce on the basis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, *by discontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have existed for almost a century* between the two nations, might procure the most solid advantages on both sides to the national productions and industry,

and put an end to contraband trade, no less injurious to the public revenue than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection.' In the spirit of this profession it was stipulated, in the first place, that there should be 'a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each party, in all and every the kingdoms, states, provinces, and territories subject to their majesties in Europe, for all and singular kinds of goods in those places;' and by the second article it was declared that, even in the case of a rupture breaking out between the two crowns—'which rupture,' said the treaty, 'shall not be deemed to exist until the recalling or sending home of the respective ambassadors and ministers'—the subjects of either power residing in the dominions of the other should be allowed to remain and continue their trade, without any manner of disturbance, so long as they behaved peaceably and committed no offence against the laws of the country; 'and in case,' it was added, 'their conduct should render them suspected, and the respective governments should be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months shall be allowed them for that purpose, in order that they may remove with their effects and property whether intrusted to individuals or to the state.'

"The third article bound the subjects of either party to abstain from all acts of hostility against those of the other, either by sea or land, and to accept of no patent or commission for privateering from any princes or states enemies to the other party; either government, as often as required by the other, engaging to visit transgressors with the severest penalties in its power to inflict. If such an agreement as this had subsisted between the two countries during the peace that succeeded the Seven Years' War, the private adventurers who flocked from France to assist the Americans at the commencement of their rebellion could not have been permitted by their government to gratify their peculiar sympathies in that manner; and the insertion of the article in the present treaty may be regarded as a condemnation, or renunciation at least, by the French court, of the policy which it had then pursued.

"By the next article liberty was secured to the subjects of either sovereign, 'without license or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, or any other way,' to enter, return from, pass through, or remain in, any dominions, towns, or other places whatsoever in Europe belonging to the other, therein to purchase whatever they pleased; 'and they shall mutually,' said the article, 'be treated with all kindness and favour.'

"The fifth article put English and French on the same footing as to the right of coming with ships and merchandises to all places belonging to either government in Europe, to hire houses, to warehouse their goods, &c. subject to no other impositions or duties than were provided by the treaty or were payable by the native-born as well as the foreign trader. 'In matters of religion,' it was added, 'the subjects of the two crowns shall enjoy perfect liberty: they shall not be compelled to attend divine service, whether in churches or elsewhere; but, on the contrary, they shall be permitted, without any molestation, to perform the exercises of their religion privately in their own houses, and in their own way. Liberty shall not be refused to bury the subjects of either kingdom who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appointed for that purpose; nor shall the funerals or sepulchres of the deceased be in anywise disturbed.'

"Then followed the tariff, or list of duties on certain goods and merchandises, of which the following were the chief items:—The wines of France, imported direct from France into Great Britain, to pay the same duties then paid by the wines of Portugal, (the same abandonment of the principle of the Methuen Treaty which had proved fatal to the treaty of commerce entered into by the two governments after the peace of Utrecht;) the duty upon French vinegars to be reduced by rather more than one-half (from L.67:5:3¹²/₂₀ per ton, to L.32:18:10⁵/₂₀;) the duty on French brandies to be reduced from 9s. 6¹²/₂₀d. to 7s. per gallon; olive-oil, direct from France, to pay no higher duty than that paid for the same from the most favoured nations; beer to pay reciprocally an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent.; the duties on hard-ware, cutlery, cabinet-ware, turnery, and all works of iron, steel, copper, and brass, not to exceed 30 per cent. *ad valorem*; all sorts of cottons, and also of woollens, manufactured in the dominions of the two sovereigns in Europe, to pay in both countries an import duty of 12 per cent. *ad valorem*, (fabrics of cotton or wool mixed with silk, however, remaining prohibited on both sides;) French and English linens to pay reciprocally no higher duties than were then paid by those of Holland or Flanders imported into Great Britain; cambrics and lawns to pay reciprocally an import duty of 5s. per demi-piece of 7¹/₂ yards; saddlery, a reciprocal *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent.; gauzes, one of 10 per cent.; and millinery, porcelain and earthenware, and glass, (including plate-glass,) one of 12 per cent. 'The duties above specified,' said a subsequent article, 'are not to be altered but by mutual consent; and the merchandises not above specified shall pay,

in the dominions of the two sovereigns, the import and export duties payable in each of the said dominions by the most favoured European nations at the time the present treaty bears date; and the ships belonging to the subjects of the said dominions shall also respectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to those of the most favoured European nations.'

"In case either government should afterwards grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nation, it was stipulated that the subjects of the other should participate therein; without prejudice, however, to advantages which they might reserve, France in favour of Spain, in compliance with the family compact signed 10th May 1761; England in conformity to her convention of 1703 with Portugal, (the Methuen Treaty.) Then followed various regulations which need not to be quoted.

"By the 16th article it was agreed that foreign privateers, not being subjects of either crown, who had commissions from any other prince or state at enmity with either nation, should not be allowed to arm their ships in the ports of either of the two kingdoms, or to sell or exchange what they had taken, or even to purchase victuals, except only such as should be necessary for their going to the nearest port belonging to the power by whom they were commissioned. On the other hand, the subjects of either of the two contracting powers were to have full liberty to sail with their ships to the ports of countries at war with the other; and it was stipulated that everything should be deemed free which should be found on board such ships, 'although the whole lading, or part thereof, should belong to the enemies of their majesties,' with the exception only of the following commodities, which were to be considered contraband or prohibited; namely, 'arms, cannon, harquebusses, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, saucises, carcasses, carriages for cannon, musket-rests, bandoleers, gun-powder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head-pieces, helmets, cuirasses, halberts, javelins, holsters, belts, horses and harness, and all other like kinds of arms and warlike instruments, fit for the use of troops.' But it is expressly added, after this curious enumeration of the military weapons and artillery of the day, 'these merchandises which follow shall not be reckoned among contraband goods; that is to say, all sorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials; all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are usually made; gold, silver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, brass, coals; as also wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn

and pulse; tobacco, and all kinds of spices; salted and smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oil, wines, sugar, all sorts of salt, and of provisions which serve for sustenance and food to mankind; also all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, sails, sailcloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar, and rosin, anchors and any parts of anchors, ship-masts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships. Nor shall any goods whatever, which have not been worked into the form of an instrument or furniture for warlike use, by land or by sea, be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpose."

This was giving as limited a definition to warlike stores as the thing could well bear, and as large an interpretation to the rights of neutrality (only, however, between the two nations) as could be allowed without extinguishing all distinction between a neutral power and an enemy's ally. It may interest readers of the present day to quote the regulation established for the exercise of the right of search by any man-of-war or privateer of the one country meeting a ship belonging to the other, "either on the coast or on the high seas"—a previous article having provided that all merchant-ships in war time should be furnished with "sea-letters or passports, expressing the name, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of abode of the master or commander," and, if laden, "also with certificates containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ship sailed, and whither she is bound;" the 26th article says, "the said men-of-war and privateers, for preventing any inconveniences, are to remain out of cannon-shot, and to send their boats to the merchant-ship which may be met with, and shall enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall shew his passport containing the proof of the property of the ship, made out according to the form annexed to this present treaty; and the ship which shall have exhibited the same shall have liberty to continue her voyage, and it shall be wholly unlawful any way to molest or search her, or to chase or compel her to alter her course." Ships going to an enemy's port, "concerning whose voyage, and the sort of goods on board, there may be just cause of suspicion," were to be obliged, both on the high seas and in ports and havens where they might put in, to exhibit not only their passports, but their certificates. Contraband or alleged contraband goods, if discovered in the certificate, were not to be seized. "It shall be unlawful," says the 28th

article, "to break up or open the hatches, chests, casks, bales, or other vessels found on board such ship, or to remove even the smallest parcel of the goods, . . . unless the lading be brought on shore, in the presence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the said goods; nor shall it be lawful to sell, exchange, or alienate the same in any manner, unless after due and lawful process shall have been had against such prohibited goods; and the judges of the admiralty respectively shall, by sentence pronounced, have confiscated the same, *saving always as well the ship itself as the other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be accounted free*; neither may they be detained on pretence of their being mixed with prohibited goods, much less shall they be confiscated as lawful prize; and if, when only part of the cargo shall consist of contraband goods, the master of the ship shall agree, consent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has discovered them, in such case the captor, having received those goods as lawful prize, shall forthwith release the ship, and not hinder her by any means from prosecuting her voyage to the place of her destination." In short, in regard both to this and to all other matters, everything was arranged, as far as possible, upon the principle of a perfect reciprocity of rights and advantages, or of the subjects of either government being entitled to the same treatment from the other as from their own. The treaty was to last, without revision or alteration, for the space of twelve years.

It lasted only until the beginning of the revolutionary war, taking effect in 1787 and ending with 1792. But in those years the trade between the two countries advanced rapidly—wonderfully. From the years of open trade in the historically calumniated reign of James II., which were ended by the revolution of 1688, there had been no such profitable intercourse and prosperity as now. Had not the revolutionary troubles of France begun in 1789, only two years after the reciprocal opening of the trade, it is but reasonable to suppose that the increase would have been much greater than it was.

It is worthy of note to refer to the British and French trade as it was at the restoration of peace with France in 1782 and in the last year of peace 1792. The figures of exports and imports are a homage alike to peace and to an open commerce:—

In 1783 the imports from France were L.87,119; the exports thither were L.98,166.

In 1784 the imports were L.141,568; the exports L.495,572.

In 1785 the imports were L.211,791; the exports L.604,318.

In 1786 the imports were L.266,121 ; the exports L.612,519.

In 1787 (the first year under the treaty) the imports were L.577,012 ; the exports L.986,906.

In 1788 the imports were L.452,986 ; exports L.1,259,672.

In 1789 the imports were L.556,060 ; exports L.1,290,171.

In 1790 the imports were L.605,371 ; exports L.872,323.

In 1791 the imports were L.546,057 ; exports L.1,131,376.

In 1792 the imports were L.717,634 ; exports L.1,228,165.

"Comparing, therefore, the last year of the peace with the first," says the authority last quoted, "it may be said that the commercial intercourse between the two countries was not doubled, but decupled in the course of that interval ; or if, discarding the first twelve months after the cessation of hostilities, we start from 1784, we find our imports from France to have become, in 1792, five times as great as in that year, and our exports thither between twice and three times as great. The commercial treaty may be said to have doubled both the imports and the exports within a year after it came into operation. After 1789 the convulsed or uncertain state of things in France, no doubt, tended to check the further development of the trade ; but still it maintained itself at the height to which it had grown ; if there was a falling off in the exports in 1790, they recovered their former amount in the course of the next two years. In 1792 the exports to France from Great Britain consisted of British merchandise to the value of L.743,280 and foreign produce to that of L.484,885. This amount of goods was carried out in 1317 British vessels, measuring 107,821 tons, and navigated by 7912 men ; and in 166 foreign vessels of the burthen of 8421 tons, and carrying 1010 men. The imports from France in that year were brought in 1413 British ships of the burthen of 91,428 tons, and manned by 7659 sailors ; and in 330 foreign ships of 12,362 tons burthen, and carrying 2195 men. So that altogether the French trade at this time employed 2730 British vessels, measuring 199,249 tons, and manned by 15,571 seamen ; besides 496 foreign vessels of the burthen of 20,783 tons, and manned by 3205 hands. In this account, however, repeated voyages of the same vessel are reckoned as voyages by different vessels ; the actual quantity of shipping engaged in the trade, therefore, was, no doubt, considerably less than it is here made to appear."

The debates in both houses of parliament were frequent before the address to the crown passed which ratified the treaty. The ground of opposition occupied by Fox, Lord North, Burke, Sheridan, Francis, and the whigs whom they led, was that of *protection to British manufactures*, and the

natural enmity of nations. The following is part of one of Mr Pitt's speeches in support of reciprocity: (he dared not speak of absolute free trade, though it is more than probable, almost certain, that he contemplated its future achievement.) This speech also vindicates the common sense of mankind—the benevolence of nature—providence of God against the impious doctrine that nations are *natural* enemies. Seldom has a statesman in political controversy, perhaps at no other time has a minister in the House of Commons, occupied a position so dignified as that of William Pitt on this occasion. And when he was taunted in the debate by Mr Francis and Mr Flood with the patriotism of his father, the Earl of Chatham,—that the father would never have betrayed England to her natural enemy, France, nor have made an inroad upon the protective policy of his own country,—he but stood the higher as a statesman. Believing his father to have been in error, and all who followed him in error; believing that the true interest of Britain for herself, and the peace and progress of the world, was to open her shopkeeping doors to her neighbour nations, and to ask them to open their doors to her, that they might buy and sell, and be friends, and supply the wants of each from one another, he did his father's patriotism no irreverence (if his father was a patriot) in departing from family and adhering to country. In the debates on the commercial treaty, as in those on the Irish propositions, Mr Pitt found it necessary to allay the apprehensions of his opponents, by representing some of the principles involved as of less importance than they really were; for instance, that France had less to send to Britain than Britain had to send to her. His new system of legislation was undermining the absurd mercantile theory, that a nation, to derive benefit from foreign commerce, must sell more than it buys; still he was not beyond the necessity, if beyond the conviction, of paying some deference to that theory.

Mr Pitt said :—"France had the advantage in the gift of soil and climate, and in the amount of her natural produce; that, on the contrary, Great Britain was, on her part, as confessed, superior in her manufactures and artificial productions. Undoubtedly, in point of natural produce, France had greatly the advantage in this treaty. Her wines, brandies, oils, and vinegar, particularly the two former articles, were matters of such important value in her produce, as greatly and completely to destroy all idea of reciprocity as to natural produce; we, perhaps, have nothing of that kind to put in competition, but simply the article of beer. But, on the contrary, was it not a fact as demonstrably clear, that Britain,

in its turn, possessed some manufactures exclusively her own, and that in others she had so completely the advantage of her neighbours, as to put competition to defiance? This then was the relative condition, and this the precise ground, on which it was imagined that a valuable correspondence and connection between the two might be established. Having each its own and distinct staple—having each that which the other wanted; and not clashing in the great and leading lines of their respective riches, they were like two great traders in different branches, they might enter into a traffic which would prove mutually beneficial to them. Granting that a large quantity of their natural produce would be brought into this country, would any man say that we should not send more cottons by the direct course now settled, than by the circuitous passages formerly used—more of our woollens, than while restricted in their importation to particular ports, and burthened under heavy duties? Would not more of our earthen ware, and other articles, which, under all the disadvantages that they formerly suffered, still, from their intrinsic superiority, force their way regularly into France, now be sent hither? and would not the aggregate of our manufactures be greatly and eminently benefited in going to this market, loaded only with duties from twelve to ten, and in one instance, with only five per cent.? If the advantages in this respect were not so palpable and apparent as to strike and satisfy every mind interested in the business, would not the house have had very different petitions on their table than that presented this day? The fact was apparent. The article (saddlery) charged the most highly in the tariff, gave no sort of alarm. The traders in this article, though charged with a duty of fifteen per cent., knew their superiority so well, that they cheerfully embraced the condition, and conceived that the liberty would be highly advantageous to them. A market of so many millions of people—a market so neat and prompt—a market of expeditious and certain return—of necessary and extensive consumption, thus added to the manufactures and commerce of Britain, was an object which we ought to look up to with eager and satisfied ambition. To procure this, we certainly ought not to scruple to give liberal conditions: we ought not to hesitate, because this which must be so greatly advantageous to us must also have its benefit for them. It was a great boon procured on easy terms, and as such we ought to view it. It was not merely a consoling, but an exhilarating speculation to the mind of an Englishman, that after the empire had been engaged in a competition, the most arduous and imminent of any that ever threatened a nation, after struggling for its existence, still it

maintained its rank and efficacy so firmly, that France, finding they could not shake her, now opened its arms, and offered a beneficial connection with her on easy, liberal, and advantageous terms.

"We had agreed by this treaty to take from France, on small duties, the luxuries of her soil, which, however, the refinements of ourselves had converted into necessities. The wines of France were already so much in possession of our markets, that, with all the high duties paid by us, they found their way to our tables. Was it then a serious injury to admit these luxuries on easier terms? The admission of them would not supplant the wines of Portugal nor of Spain, but would supplant only an useless and pernicious manufacture in this country. He stated the enormous increase of the import of French wines lately, and instanced the months of July and August, the two most unlikely months in the year, to shew the increase of this trade. The committee would not then perceive any great evil in admitting this article on easy terms. The next was brandy; and here it would be inquired whether the diminution of duty was an eligible measure. He believed they would also agree with him on this article, when they viewed it with regard to smuggling. The reduction of the duties would have a material effect on the contraband in this article; it was certain that the legal importations bore no proportion to the quantity clandestinely imported; for the legal importation of brandy was no more than 600,000 gallons, and the supposed amount of the smuggled, at the most rational and best founded estimate, was between 300,000 and 400,000 gallons. Seeing then that this article had taken such complete possession of the taste of the nation, it might be right to procure to the state a greater advantage from the article than heretofore, and to crush the contraband by legalizing the market.

"The oil and vinegar of France were comparatively small objects, but, like the former, they were luxuries which had taken the shape of necessities, and which we could suffer nothing from accepting on easy terms. These were the natural produce of France to be admitted under this treaty. Their next inquiry should be to see if France had any manufactures peculiar to herself, or in which she so greatly excelled as to give us alarm on account of the treaty, viewing it in that aspect. Cambric was the first which stared him in the face, but which, when he looked around him, and observed the general countenance of the committee, he could hardly think it necessary to detain them a moment upon. The fact was, it was an article in which our competition with France had ceased, and

there was no injury in granting an easy importation to that which we should have at any rate. In no other article was there anything very formidable in the rivalry of France. Glass would not be imported to any amount. In particular kinds of lace, indeed, they might have the advantage, but none which they would not enjoy independent of the treaty; and the clamours about millinery were vague and unmeaning, when, in addition to all these benefits, we included the richness of the country with which we were to trade; with its superior population of twenty millions to eight, and, of course, a proportionate consumption, together with its vicinity to us, and the advantages of quick and regular returns, who could hesitate for a moment to applaud the system, and look forward with ardour and impatience to its speedy satisfaction? The possession of so extensive and safe a market must improve our commerce, while the duties transferred from the hands of smugglers to their proper channel would benefit our revenue—the two sources of British opulence and British power.

“Viewing the relative circumstances of the two countries then in this way, he saw no objection to the principle of the exchange of their respective commodities. He saw no objection to this, because he perceived and felt that our manufactures were unrivalled, and in the operation must give the balance to England. But it was said that the manufacturers dreaded the continuance of this superiority. They were alarmed at the idea of a competition with Ireland, and consequently they must be more under apprehensions at the idea of a rivalry with France. He always did think, and he must still continue to think, that the opinions of the manufacturers on this point were erroneous. They mixed in the clamour in respect to Ireland chiefly, he imagined, because they perceived no certain and positive advantage by the intercourse to counterbalance this precarious and uncertain evil. In this instance, their consent to the treaty did not proceed from a blind acquiescence, for they never would be blind to their interest; but now that they saw so certain and so valuable an advantage to be reaped, the benefits being no longer doubtful, they were willing to hazard the probability of the injury.

“Some gentlemen thought proper to contend that no beneficial treaty could be formed between this country and France, because no such treaty had ever before been formed, and, because, on the contrary, commercial intercourses with her had always been injurious to England. This reasoning was completely fallacious, though it sounded largely. For, in the first place, we had not, during a very long series of years, experienced any commercial connexion with France, and could

not therefore form a rational estimate of its merits ; and secondly, though it might be true that a commercial intercourse founded on the treaty of Utrecht would have been injurious, it did not follow that this would prove the same ; for at that time the manufactures, in which we now excelled, had hardly existence, but were on the side of France instead of being against her. The tariff did not then, as now, comprehend all the articles in which we comparatively excelled, but, in addition to the produce of France, which at all periods must be the same, she had the balance of manufactures also in her favour. At that period also the prejudices of our manufacturers against France were in their rage, and corresponded with party violence of the day in reprobation of the measure ; but so far was the parliament from entertaining the opinion of no treaty being otherwise than detrimental which could be made with France, that they went up with an address to her majesty, praying her to renew commercial negotiations with the court of France. It was not correctly stated, neither, that we had invariably considered it as our policy to resist all connection with France. She had been more jealous of us than we of her—prohibitions began on the part of France, and we only retaliated in our own defence.

“Considering the treaty in its political view, *he should not hesitate to contend against the too-frequently advanced doctrine that France was, and must be, the unalterable enemy of Britain. His mind revolted from this position as monstrous and impossible. To suppose that any nation could be unalterably the enemy of another was weak and childish. It had neither its foundation in the experience of nations nor in the history of man. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man.* But these absurd tenets were taken up and propagated ; nay, it was carried farther—it was said, that, by this treaty, the British nation was about blindly to throw itself into the arms of this constant and uniform foe. Men reasoned as if this treaty was not only to extinguish all jealousy from our bosoms, but also completely to annihilate our means of defence ; as if by the treaty we gave up so much of our army, so much of our marine ; as if our commerce was to be abridged, our navigation to be lessened, our colonies to be cut off or to be rendered defenceless ; and as if all the functions of the state were to be sunk in apathy. What ground was there for this train of reasoning ? Did the treaty suppose that the interval of peace between the two countries would be so totally unemployable by us as to disable us from meeting France in the moment of war with our accustomed strength ?

Did it not much rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this forcible language—that the interval of peace, as it would enrich the nation, would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come? It did more than this; *by promoting habits of friendly intercourse, and of mutual benefit, while it invigorated the resources of Britain, it made it less likely that she should have occasion to call forth those resources.* It certainly had at least the happy tendency to make the two nations enter into more intimate communion with one another, to enter into the same views even of taste and manners; and while they were mutually benefited by the connection, and endeared to one another by the result of the common benefits, it gave a better chance for the preservation of harmony between them, while, so far from weakening, it strengthened their sinews for war.

“May I not,” exclaimed Mr Pitt, “be led to cherish the idea that, seeing the durable and steady character of our strength, and the inefficiency as well as the ruin of hostility, France would eagerly wish to try the benefits of an amicable connection with us? It was a singular line of argument which he had heard, and which he saw was also propagated out of doors, that the treaty would prove objectionable, if it should be found that, though advantageous to ourselves, it would be equally so to them. It was ridiculous to imagine that the French would consent to yield advantages without an idea of return; the treaty would be of benefit to them; but he did not hesitate to pronounce his firm opinion, even in the eyes of France, and pending the business, that though advantageous to her, it would be more so to us. The proof of this assertion was short and indubitable. She gained for her wines and other produce a great and opulent market; we did the same, and to a much greater degree. She procured a market of eight millions of people, we a market of twenty-four millions. France gained this market for her produce, which employed in preparation but few hands, gave little encouragement to its navigation, and produced but little to the state. We gained this market for our manufactures, which employed many hundreds of thousands, and which, in collecting the materials from every corner of the world, advanced our maritime strength, and which, in all its combinations, and in every article and stage of its progress, contributed largely to the state. France could not gain the accession of L.100,000 to her revenue by the treaty; but England must necessarily gain a million. This could easily be demonstrated. The high price of labour in England arose chiefly from the

excise, and three-fifths of the price of labour were said to come into the exchequer. The produce of France, on the contrary, was low in the staple, and less productive to the state in the process. Even the reduced duties were so proportionably high, that France could not send to us L.500,000 of brandies, but we must gain cent. per cent. by the article. In this view, then, though France might gain, we must be, comparatively, so much more benefited, that we ought not to scruple to give her the advantages; and surely ought not to fear that this very disproportionate gain could be injurious to us in case of a future contest. It was in the nature and essence of an agreement between a manufacturing country blessed with peculiar productions, that the advantages must terminate in favour of the former; but it was particularly disposed and fitted for both the connections. Thus France was, by the peculiar dispensation of Providence, gifted, perhaps, more than any other country upon earth, with what made life desirable in point of soil, climate, and natural productions. It had the most fertile vineyards and the richest harvests; the greatest luxuries of man were produced in it with little cost, and with moderate labour. Britain was not thus blest by nature; but, on the contrary, it possessed through the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, an energy in its enterprise, and a stability in its exertions, which had gradually raised it to a state of commercial grandeur; and not being so bountifully gifted by Heaven, it had recourse to labour and art, by which it had acquired the ability of supplying its neighbour with all the necessary embellishments of life in exchange for her natural luxuries. Thus standing with regard to each other, a friendly connection seemed to be pointed out between them, instead of the state of unalterable enmity which was falsely said to be their true political feeling towards one another."

Mr Fox contended that France was the natural foe of Great Britain, and that she wished, by entering into a commercial treaty with us, to tie our hands and prevent us from engaging in any alliance with other powers. He answered that part of Mr Pitt's speech, in which he had said that at one time France and Great Britain were friends, and had carried on a commercial intercourse with each other. The reason, he said, was, this country had at that time a natural enemy, and that was Spain.

"The right honourable gentlemen (Mr Pitt) had dwelt a good deal on the benefit which individuals would reap from the treaty being carried into execution; that was one good reason with him (Mr Fox) for disliking it. Connections of

such great political importance ought not to rest on the advantage that would accrue to them from interested individuals," (the individuals spoken of by Mr Pitt were the merchants, manufacturers, and all whom they employed.) In the reign of Charles II., we had a connection with France—why? for the good of an individual, because of the corruption of the crowned head.

It is hardly possible to conceive a greater perversion of argument than to compare the manufacturers and merchants of Britain seeking markets for the national products with Charles II., who accepted a pension from France, which, however, originated when he was an exile in that country.

"Oliver Cromwell, it was true," continued Mr Fox, "notwithstanding the wisdom and vigour of his measures, was also in connection with France. The only reason that could be assigned, was probably for the sake of his own personal situation, having to dread that France might lend her aid to the family of the abdicated prince."

Next he proceeded to remark on that hostility to France which began the national debt; which despoiled the trade that grew up under James II., which gave us taxes on newspapers, windows, letters, soap, starch, and most other commodities, and penal laws in Ireland. He spoke of it thus:—

"In King William's time a more glorious policy was pursued, and also in the subsequent reign, until the people were led away by the false notions of their interests, and were not only persuaded that the victories and the triumphs of the wars they had carried on so successfully against France had been purchased at too dear a price of blood and treasure to this country; but that those who had planned those wars in the cabinet, and conducted them in the field, deserved execration and punishment. At that period it was that the treaty of Utrecht was thought of and negotiated; a treaty that deservedly met with the execration of all ranks of people!" (yet it was a treaty to give the nation trade and peace.) "Even that parliament—a parliament that had proved so servile, that it had disgraced itself in a variety of instances, would not consent to swallow the infamous treaty of Utrecht, but rejected it. They thereby proved, that though they were a tory, they were not a French parliament."

"He enlarged upon the argument that this country ought not, by any means, to connect herself too closely with France. Her true situation was that, he said, of a great maritime power, looked up to by the other powers of Europe as that to which the distressed should fly for assistance whenever France unjustly attacked them, with a view to the attainment of her

favourite object. Two things it behoved a wise ministry of this country to aim at with respect to France: the one was, to divert her attention from her marine, and turn it to land connections and fortifications; the other, to procure an alliance for Great Britain with some marine power that could assist her whenever France thought it a fit moment to attack her.

"As to the commercial part of the treaty, the first object that claimed his attention was the woollen manufactures. It had been argued that we had opened to ourselves a market containing twenty-four millions of people, while France had only obtained a market from us of eight millions. But, with respect of the number of persons in a market, he did not estimate the advantage to be derived on such a scale of computation. The advantages were to be estimated from the consumption of the national produce." (Truly.) "The raw material, if grown in the country and then manufactured, was certainly the estimate of the profit of one nation with another in a commercial intercourse. Now, how stood the situation of this country with regard to our woollen manufactures? As far as the woollen articles we might export to France, by virtue of the treaty, were composed of English wool we should clearly have benefit; but, as we used at least L.350,000 worth of Spanish wool in our manufactures of woollen cloths, we clearly lost the advantage of the raw material. And this was not all, for this L.350,000, when manufactured into cloth, was estimated, by those most conversant in the trade, to amount to no less a sum than L.700,000, which would be clearly so much to our disadvantage."

Mr W. W. Grenville followed Mr Fox. "He could not agree that this country ought to stand forth ready on all occasions to assist others in attacking France; but thought that every measure that could be adopted, that was likely to ensure the duration of peace, ought to be adopted by her. The best alliance, in his mind, was an alliance with our merchants and manufacturers. Encourage the spirit of adventure and of industry, and that would necessarily increase the means and furnish the resources to enable us to support a war, should a war unfortunately become necessary."

Mr Francis (afterwards Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of *Junius*) went into the question at great length. He said, "The right honourable gentleman (Mr Pitt) not only admits, but triumphs in the novelty of the measure. He expressly allows that it militates against many ancient prejudices. Sir, this very language ought to guard us against the conclusion into which it endeavours to hurry us. It has been said that the wisdom of a nation has been expressed in its proverbs.

One of the oldest in our language says, that ‘ Evil communications corrupt good manners.’ I do not mean to apply it to the right honourable gentleman, (Mr Pitt ;) far be it from me to say that his manners are within the reach of corruption ; though I cannot help thinking, in this business, he partakes of the levity and precipitation of his new friend and favourite nation, which perhaps may have infected him. I hope the right honourable gentleman’s eagerness to learn French will not make him forget his English ; that, while he imports the wit and genius of France, he will not prohibit or discourage the use of English common sense. My serious opinion is, that the more the two nations are drawn into contact, and the more successfully they are invited to mingle and to blend with one another, in the same proportion the remaining morals, principles, and vigour of the English mind will be enervated and corrupted. We shall be civilized out of our virtues, and polished out of our character. The judgment of a nation appears in its proverbs : the virtue, and possibly the vices, of a nation appear in its prejudices. To cure a whole nation of their prejudices, is to efface their distinct character. The French and English, we say, are natural enemies, not that there is any natural antipathy between them ; on the contrary, no people agree better in private life. It is their relative position, their vicinity to each other, that furnishes a perpetual source of dispute, that makes them rivals in peace, as well as enemies in war *Nations which border on each other never can thoroughly agree, for this single reason, because they are neighbours.* If their respective power be unequal, that very inequality is a source of enmity.” (Mr Francis referred to the olden policy of England, which was, always to be jealous and distrustful of her nearest neighbours, France and Scotland, and continued :—) “ Such to this day has been the true English principle of English councils. But now it seems we are arrived at a new enlightened era of affections for our neighbours, and of liberality to our enemies, of which our uninstructed ancestors had no conception. The pomp of modern eloquence is employed to blast even the triumphs of Lord Chatham’s administration. The polemic laurels of the father must yield to the pacific myrtles which shadow the forehead of the son. Sir, the first and most prominent feature in the political character of Lord Chatham was anti-gallican. His glory is founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the House of Bourbon.” (The war against Spain and France.) “ The present minister has taken the opposite road to fame ; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of Lord Chatham, is the *gens amicissima* of his son.”

The committee divided. For Mr Fox's motion, 118; against it, and in favour of Mr Pitt and the treaty, 252. On the 15th of February the subject was resumed. Mr Charles Grey, member for Northumberland, afterwards Earl Grey, and Prime Minister, made his parliamentary *debut* in speaking against the treaty; but his opposition was moderate. Mr Flood spoke vehemently, and at great length, against the treaty. Mr Wilberforce followed in its support, repudiating the doctrine that nations were natural enemies. After some animated debates in the House of Lords, the question was settled. Its favourable results we have already cited in this section.

SECT. XIV.—MR PITT'S BIOGRAPHY.

William Pitt was the second son of the first Earl of Chatham. His mother was Hester Grenville, sister of Richard Earl Temple. He was born at Hayes, in the county of Kent, on the 28th of May 1759. His education was commenced under the immediate eye of his father, who took great delight in personally superintending his studies.

At the age of fourteen he was sent to Pembroke college, Cambridge, where he made rapid progress in the classics. "He seemed," said Mr Wilson, his tutor, "not to *learn*, but only to read and *recollect*." He took great pleasure in the philological disquisitions of critics and commentators, he became deeply versed in the niceties of construction and peculiarities of idiom, both in the Latin and Greek languages. He had also read the first six books of Euclid's Elements, Plane Trigonometry, the elementary parts of algebra, and the two quarto volumes of Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, a work in some degree of repute while Mr Wilson was a student at Cambridge, but afterwards laid aside. Nor was it in learning only that Mr Pitt was so much superior to persons of his age. Though a boy in years and appearance, his manners were formed, and his behaviour manly. He mixed in conversation with unaffected vivacity; and delivered his sentiments with perfect ease, equally free from shyness and flippancy, and always with strict attention to propriety and decorum. Lord Chatham, who could not but be aware of the powers of his son's mind and understanding, had encouraged him to talk without reserve upon every subject, which frequently afforded opportunity for conveying useful information, and just notions of persons and things. When his lordship's health would permit, he never suffered a day to pass without giving instruction of some sort to his children; and seldom without reading

a chapter of the Bible with them. He must indeed be considered as having contributed largely to that fund of knowledge, and to those other advantages, with which Mr Pitt entered upon his academical life."

On leaving his alma mater, young Pitt entered Lincoln's Inn nearly at the same time with Mr Addington. At the end of three years he was called to the bar, and—as is customary with junior counsel—selected one of the circuits as the scene of his first professional efforts. A gentleman who was very intimate with Pitt on the western circuit, and afterwards till they were separated in 1792 by a difference of political opinions, thus writes of him at this stage of his career—"Among lively men of his own time of life, Mr Pitt was always the most lively and convivial in the many hours of labour which occur to young unoccupied men on a circuit; and joined all the little excursions to Southampton, Weymouth, and such parties of amusement as were habitually formed. He was extremely popular. His name and reputation of high acquirements at the university commanded the attention of his seniors. His wit, his good humour, and joyous manners, endeared him to the younger part of the bar. In some bribery causes from Crickdale, he was retained as junior counsel; but even in that subordinate character he had an opportunity of arguing a point of evidence with extraordinary ability. I remember also, in an action of crim. con. at Exeter, as junior counsel, he manifested such talents in cross examination, that it was the universal opinion of the bar that he should have led the cause. During his short stay in the profession he never had occasion to address a jury; but upon a motion in the court of king's bench, for a habeas corpus to bring up a man to be bailed, who was charged with murder, Mr Pitt made a speech which excited the admiration of the bar, and drew down very complimentary approbation from Lord Mansfield. When he first made his brilliant display in parliament, those at the bar who had seen little of him expressed surprise; but a few who had heard him once speak in a sort of mock debate at the Crown and Anchor tavern, when a club, called the Western Circuit Club, was dissolved, agreed that he had then displayed all the various species of eloquence for which he was afterwards celebrated. Before he distinguished himself in the House of Commons, he certainly looked seriously to the law as a profession. The late Mr Justice Rooke told me that Mr Pitt dangled seven days with a junior brief and a single guinea fee, waiting till a cause of no sort of importance should come on in the court of common pleas. At Mr Pitt's instance an annual dinner took place for some years at Richmond Hill, the

party consisting of Lord Erskine, Lord Redesdale, Sir William Grant, Mr Bond, Mr Leycester, Mr Jekyll, and others; and I well remember a dinner with Mr Pitt and several of his private friends, at the Boar's Head, in Eastcheap, in celebration of Shakspeare's Falstaff. We were all in high spirits, quoting and alluding to Shakspeare the whole day; and it appeared that Mr Pitt was as well and familiarly read in the poet's works as the best Shaksperian present. But to speak of his conviviality is needless. After he was minister, he continued to ask his old circuit intimates to dine with him, and his manners were unaltered."

But he was soon called to a different sphere of life. He had been bred a statesman from his boyhood; and he always contemplated the House of Commons as the goal whence he was to start in his political career. At the request of many of his friends, he first offered himself to represent the university of Cambridge, but was unsuccessful. Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale, then procured his return for Appleby, on the solicitation of the Duke of Rutland, and with the express understanding that the young commoner should enter parliament totally unfettered. On the 26th of February 1781, the future premier made his maiden-speech. The subject of debate was Mr Burke's bill for economical reform in the civil list. Lord Nugent was speaking against the bill; and Mr Byng, member for Middlesex, knowing Mr Pitt's sentiments upon the measure, asked him to reply to his lordship. Mr Pitt gave a doubtful answer; but, in the course of Lord Nugent's speech, he determined not to reply to him. Mr Byng, however, understood that Mr Pitt intended to speak after Lord Nugent; and the moment his lordship sat down, Mr Byng, and several of his friends, to whom he had communicated Mr Pitt's supposed intention, called out, in the manner usual in the House of Commons, Mr Pitt's name as being about to speak. This probably prevented any other person from rising; and Mr Pitt, finding himself thus called upon, and observing that the house waited to hear him, thought it necessary to rise. Though really not intending to speak, he was from the beginning collected and unembarrassed. Before Mr Pitt had a seat in parliament he had been a constant attendant in the gallery of the House of Commons, and near the throne in the House of Lords, upon every important debate; and whenever he heard a speech of any merit on the side opposite to his own opinions, he accustomed himself to consider, as it proceeded, in what manner it might be answered; and when the speaker accorded with his own sentiments, he then observed his mode of arranging and enforcing his ideas, and considered whether

any argument had been omitted. We quote part of his speech delivered on this occasion, with a voice rich and deep. It made a great impression :—

“ He said that he gave the most hearty consent to what had fallen from his honourable friend on the other side of the house—that a proposition for the retrenchment of the civil list revenue ought to have come from his majesty’s ministers. He gave his entire approbation to this sentiment. It would have come with more grace, it would have come with more benefit to the public service, if it had sprung from the royal breast. His majesty’s ministers ought to have come forward and proposed a reduction in the civil list, to give the people the consolation of knowing that their sovereign participated in the sufferings of the empire, and presented an honourable example of retrenchment in an hour of general difficulty. They ought to have consulted the glory of their royal master, and have seated him in the hearts of his people, by abating from magnificence what was due to necessity. Instead of waiting for the slow request of a burthened people, they should have courted popularity by a voluntary surrender of useless revenue.

“ Far more agreeable would it have been to that house to accede than to propose ; much more gracious to have observed the free exercise of royal bounty than to make the appeal, and point out what was right or what was necessary. But if ministers failed to do this ; if they interfered between the benignity of the sovereign and the distresses of his people, and stopped the tide of royal sympathy ; was that a reason why the House of Commons, his majesty’s public counsellors, should desist from a measure so congenial to the paternal feelings of the sovereign, so applicable to the wants and miseries of the people ? The natural beneficence of the royal heart would be gratified by the seasonable remittance. And surely it was no reason, because ministers failed to do their duty, that the house should cease to attend to theirs.

“ Acting as the faithful representatives of the people, who had trusted them, they ought to seize on every object of equitable resource that presented itself ; and surely none were so fair, so probable, or so flattering, as retrenchment and economy. The obligations of their character demanded from them not to hesitate in pursuing those objects even to the foot of the throne ; and, actuated by duty, to advise the crown to part with useless ostentation, that he might preserve necessary power ; to abate a little of pomp, that he might ascertain respect ; to diminish a little of exterior grandeur, that he might increase and secure authentic dignity. Such advice

would become them, as the counsellors of his majesty and as the representatives of the people ; for it was their immediate duty, as the Commons' House of Parliament, to guard the lives, the liberties, and the properties of the people.

“ The last obligation was the strongest ; it was more immediately incumbent upon them to guard the properties, because they were more liable to invasion by the secret and subtle attacks of influence than either their lives or liberties ; it would not derogate from the real glory of the crown to accept of the advice. It would be no diminution of true grandeur to yield to the respectful petitions of the people. The tutelage of that house might be a hard term ; but the guardianship of that house could not be disgraceful to a constitutional king. The abridgment of useless and unnecessary expense could be no abatement of royalty. Magnificence and grandeur were not inconsistent with retrenchment and economy ; but, on the contrary, in a time of necessity and of common exertion, solid grandeur was dependant on the reduction of expense. And it was the general sentiment and observation of the house, that economy was at this time essentially necessary to national salvation. But it had been said that the saving was immaterial—it was a matter of trifling consideration, when measured by the necessities or the expenses of the time. It proposed to bring no more than L.200,000 a-year into the public coffers ; and that sum was insignificant, in the public account, when compared with the millions which we spend. This was surely the most singular and unaccountable species of reasoning that was ever attempted in any assembly. The calamities of the crisis were too great to be benefited by economy ! Our expenses were so enormous, that it was ridiculous to attend to little matters of account ! We have spent so many millions, that thousands are beneath our consideration ! We were obliged to spend so much, that it was foolish to think of saving any ! This was the language of the day, and it was by such reasoning that the principle of the bill had been disputed.

“ Much argument had been brought to prove the impropriety and the injustice of resuming a parliamentary grant ; and it had been even said that they had not a right to do so. It would be needless to attempt an answer to such a doctrine. It contained its refutation in its weakness. But it ought to be remembered that the civil list revenue was granted by parliament to his majesty for other purposes than those of personal gratification. It was granted to support the power and the interests of the empire, to maintain its grandeur, to pay the judges and the foreign ministers, to maintain justice, and

support respect ; to pay the great officers that were necessary to the lustre of the crown ; and it was proportioned to the dignity and the opulence of the people. It would be an ungracious task to investigate the great difference that there was between the wealth of the empire when that revenue was granted and the wealth at the present time. It would serve, however, to shew that the sum of revenue which was necessary to the support of the common dignity of crown and people, at that time, ought now to be abated, as the necessities had increased. The people who granted that revenue, under the circumstances of the occasion, were justified in resuming a part of it, under the pressing demand of an altered situation. They clearly felt their right ; but they exercised it with pain and regret. They approached the throne with bleeding hearts, afflicted at the necessity of applying for retrenchment of the royal gratifications ; but the request was at once loyal and submissive. It was justified by policy, and his majesty's compliance with the request was inculcated by prudence as well as by affection.

"He confessed that when he considered the obligations of the house, he could not cherish the idea that they would dispute the principle of the bill before them. He could not believe it possible that the principle of economy would be condemned, or the means of accomplishing it abandoned. For his own part, he admitted the plan proposed. He felt himself, as a citizen of this country and a member of that house, highly indebted to the honourable author of it ; and as he considered it essential to the being and the independence of his country, he would give it the most determined support."

On a division, the motion for the reading was negatived. Ayes 190, Noes 233.

The young statesman seemed to have been pleased himself with his first essay. On the next day he wrote to his tutor at Cambridge, that "he had heard his own voice in the House of Commons, and had reason to be satisfied with the success of his first attempt at parliamentary speaking." On the 31st of May, he spoke again on a motion relative to the commissioners of public accounts ; and, for the third and last time during the session, on the 12th of June, in a debate respecting the American war. He expressed himself, on this occasion, in the most indignant terms, reprobating "the cruelty and impolicy of the contest with our colonies. It was conceived," he said, "in injustice ; it was nurtured and brought forth in folly ; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation. In short, everything that went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude were to be

found in it. It was pregnant with mischief of every kind, while it meditated destruction to the miserable people who were the devoted objects of the black resentments which produced it." Strong to violence as such language was, his speeches elicited the following encomium from Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville: "I cannot say to Mr Pitt's face what truth would extort from me were he absent; yet even now I must declare that I rejoice in the good fortune of my country, and my fellow-subjects, who are destined to derive the most important services from so happy a union of first-rate abilities, high integrity, bold and honest independency of conduct, and the most persuasive eloquence." At the close of the session, some one having observed that Pitt promised to be one of the first speakers ever heard in the House of Commons, Fox instantly replied, "He is so already." Some time afterwards, in allusion to a speech delivered by Pitt in support of a motion against the lords of the admiralty, Dunning confessed "that nearly all the sentiments which he had collected in his own mind on the subject, had vanished like a dream on the bursting forth of a torrent of eloquence from the greatest prodigy that ever perhaps was seen in this or in any other country—a gentleman, possessing the full vigour of youth, united with the wisdom and experience of the maturest age."

Notwithstanding his success in parliament, Pitt still continued at the bar. On the following circuit he held briefs in several election causes of considerable importance at Salisbury; and had the satisfaction of being spoken of in high terms, as well by Mr Justice Buller as the famous Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton. In the ensuing session he voted with Fox and the opposition; strongly censuring the conduct of ministers, Lord North and his friends particularly, with regard to the American war.

Lord North and his friends were at length compelled to resign; but Pitt, as he was not offered a seat in the cabinet, declined taking office under Lord Rockingham, who succeeded to the premiership. On the 22d of May 1782, he made an unsuccessful motion for a committee to inquire into the state of the representative system. On this occasion he spoke to the following import:—

"The representation of the commons in parliament," he observed, "was a matter so truly interesting, that it had at all times excited the admiration of men the most enlightened; while the defects found in it had given them reason to apprehend the most alarming consequences. That it had lately undergone material alterations, by which the Commons' House of Parliament had received an improper and dangerous bias,

he believed it would be idle for him to attempt to prove. That beautiful frame of government, which had made us the envy and admiration of mankind, and in which the people were entitled to hold so distinguished a share, was so far dwindled and departed from its original purity, that the representatives ceased in a great degree to be connected with the people. It was not his intention to enter into any inquiry respecting the proper mode of reform, or to consider what would most completely tally and square with the original frame of the constitution; this he left to a committee: but he still felt it his duty to state some facts and circumstances which, in his opinion, made this object of reform essentially necessary. He believed, indeed, that there was no member of that house who would not acknowledge that the representation was incomplete. It was perfectly understood that there were some of the boroughs under the influence of the treasury, and others totally possessed by them. It was manifest that such boroughs had not one quality of representation in them. They had no share or concern in the general interests of the country; and they had in fact no stake for which to appoint guardians in the popular assembly. The influence of the treasury in some boroughs was also contested, not by the electors of those boroughs, but by some powerful man, who assumed or pretended to an hereditary property in what ought only to be the rights and privileges of the electors. There were other boroughs, which had now, in fact, no actual existence but in the return of members to that house. They had no existence in property, in population, in trade, or in weight of any kind. Another set of boroughs and towns claimed to themselves the right of bringing their votes to market. They had no other market, no other property, and no other stake in the country, than the property and price which they procured for their votes. Such boroughs were the most dangerous of all others. So far from consulting the interests of their country in the choice which they made, they held out their borough to the best purchaser; and in fact some of them belonged more to the nabob of Arcot than they did to the people of England. They were towns and boroughs more within the jurisdiction of the Carnatic than the limits of the empire of Great Britain; and it was a fact pretty well known, and generally understood, that the nabob of the Carnatic had no less than seven or eight members in that house. There was no man in that house who possessed more reverence for the constitution and more respect even for its vestiges than himself; but he was afraid that the reverence and enthusiasm which Englishmen entertained for the constitution

would, if not suddenly prevented, be the means of destroying it ; for, such was their enthusiasm, that they would not even remove its defects for fear of touching its beauty. But so great was his reverence for the beauties of that constitution, that he wished to remove those defects, as he clearly perceived that they were defects which altered the radical principles of the constitution. That a reform of the present parliamentary representation was indispensably necessary was the sentiment of some of the first and greatest characters in the kingdom ; and he should also observe that he well knew it to be the sentiment of his much honoured father, the late Earl of Chatham, who was firmly of opinion that a reform of the representation was absolutely requisite for the security of the liberties of the people of this country." He concluded with moving "that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation in parliament, and to report to the house their observations thereon." This proposition was seconded by Alderman Sawbridge and supported by Sir George Saville. Mr Fox, although then a minister, spoke in favour of reform ; and instanced the county of Middlesex, which, he said, was so little represented, that although it contained one-eighth part of the whole number of the electors of Great Britain—although it paid one-sixth part of the land-tax, and a full third of all other taxes—yet it had not more than a fifty-fifth part of the representation. The motion, however, on a division, was rejected ; but the majority was small, for it only consisted of 40, the numbers being 161 to 121

When Lord Shelburne became premier, Pitt, then only twenty-three years of age, was called to the office of chancellor of the exchequer ; and when, in the course of a few months, the coalition of the Fox and North parties—whigs and tories—drove his lordship from office, the premiership itself was offered by the king to the youthful chancellor, but declined. Bishop Tomline praises this act, and regards it "as sufficient to refute the charge of inordinate ambition which has been sometimes urged against Mr Pitt ;" but it may fairly be asked whether this act was not one quite as much of mere prudence as self-denial ? What chance could he and his party have had at this juncture, in resisting a coalition so powerful and indefatigable as that which had just prevailed against Shelburne, a coalition, too, against which, as has been well observed, after Fox's East India bill had trebled its unpopularity, he himself with so much difficulty kept his ground. The coalition, however, would have gladly availed themselves of Pitt's talents by retaining him in the office of chancellor ; but he peremptorily declined any negotiation with the party. When the ill-fated

India Bill of Mr Fox was brought before the house, it experienced a systematic and determined opposition from the ex-chancellor of the exchequer, Mr Pitt, who chiefly insisted upon two objections: the one founded in the infringement, or rather the violation, of the charter; the other on the new and unconstitutional influence it was calculated to create. He allowed that the government of India wanted reform; but he contended that this was a tyrannical alteration that broke through every principle of justice and integrity. By the bill before the house an attack was made on the most solemn charters; it also pointed a fatal blow against the integrity and the faith of parliament; and, in addition to this, it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The charter in question, he argued, was not indebted for its birth or its pretensions to the foolish prepossession, or the mad prodigality of a Plantagenet, a Tudor, or a Stuart; it was a fair purchase made of the public, an equal compact for reciprocal advantages between the proprietors and the nation at large. The coalition having wrecked itself upon this bill, and the king being determined to shake off his ministers whatever the effort might cost, Pitt was again solicited to accept the premiership, and at last consented to make the bold experiment. He was now only in his twenty-fifth year; the opposition he knew he would have to encounter was headed by men of the highest talents; and the coalition party was still paramount in the house. Yet, in the face of all these obstacles, the young statesman undertook the premiership, and ultimately triumphed by an appeal to the people in a general election, in which upwards of 160 of his opponents were unseated, and he gained the original object of his ambition in being returned for Cambridge, although but a few months before, on his repeating his attempt to stand for that university, some of the heads of houses had almost shut the door in his face, and expressed great astonishment "at the young man's impudence in daring so to disturb the peace of the university!" He now passed an India bill, differing in several points from that which he had unsuccessfully proposed in the preceding parliament. But the new minister was placed in a very delicate and embarrassing situation by a motion of Mr Alderman Sawbridge, (June 16th, 1794,) "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the commons of Great Britain in parliament." The alderman affected to be desirous of resigning this business to the chancellor of the exchequer, who had on a former occasion brought forward questions upon the same subject, and in whose hands, he conceived, it would assuredly be attended with a greater prospect of success. Mr Pitt,

however, declined the proposal on account, he said, of the pressure of public business, which did not leave his mind sufficiently at leisure to enter on the disquisition and arrangement of a subject so peculiarly complicated and extensive. He added that "this was not, in his opinion, the proper time for bringing forward the question, and that it might be urged with a greater probability of success on some future occasion." He declared his own resolution to offer something on the subject early in the next session; and although the precipitate discussion had not his approbation, the business itself should have every support he was able to afford it.

On the 15th of April, Mr Pitt, in conformity with a notice of motion, called the attention of parliament to the necessity which existed for reform of the House of Commons. Mr Fox, and the other professed reformers, cavilled at the procedure. The opponents of all reform, and the factious opposition of Mr Fox and his adherents, gave the numbers against Mr Pitt thus:—for leave to bring in a bill to reform parliament, 174: against leave to bring in a bill to reform parliament, 248. The Irish propositions were also the work of 1785.

On the 29th of March 1786, he proposed his scheme of a sinking fund for paying off the national debt. He proposed to invest one million annually in the hands of commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchase of stock, so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp of the chancellor of the exchequer large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged were to be added to, and incorporated with, the original fund, so that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would, from time to time, fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which he calculated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum! The commissioners to be nominated under the act, were the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker of the House of Commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of England, and the accountant-general of the High Court of Chancery. Strange to say, this scheme was received with approbation by all parties. The only amendment of any material consequence suggested on Pitt's plan was, in the progress of the bill, offered by Fox, "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it, as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and *douceur* annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." This amend-

ment was readily and candidly accepted by Pitt, and the bill finally passed with great approbation. The merest tyro in political arithmetic of our own days would have told the minister that, as in the family so in the state, the excess of income above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which any debt, whether private or public, can be discharged.

In 1787 the commercial relations with France was the great subject of the session, as detailed in the preceding section. In 1788 the famous regency question was brought on by the illness of his majesty. A motion was made by Pitt for the appointment of a committee to inspect the journals for precedents. "With respect to precedents, there were," said Fox, "notoriously none which applied to the present instance; and he affirmed that all that was requisite to their ultimate decision was now embodied in a report upon their table. By that report they had ascertained the incapacity of the sovereign; and he advanced, as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, that whenever the sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir-apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise."* Pitt immediately, with much apparent warmth, declared, "that the assertion which had been made by Fox was little short of treason against the constitution; and he pledged himself to prove that the heir-apparent, in the instance in question, had no more legal right to the exercise of the executive power than any other of his majesty's subjects; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. To assert an inherent right in the Prince of Wales to assume the government, he said, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had so justly sunk into contempt, and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people; and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision." Thus, in this famous political question, Fox, the professed advocate of the people, appeared to lean to prerogative; while Pitt, who had been loudly, though as yet un-

* When Fox first stated his opinion in parliament on this important subject, Pitt, it is said, exultingly slapped his thigh, and exclaimed, "I'll un-whig the gentleman for the remainder of his life!"

justly, accused of deserting the principles of liberty, stood forth their intrepid and zealous assertor. All those popular arguments and primary axioms of government on which the friends of liberty delight to dwell were upon this occasion urged by Pitt with energy and eloquence.

At the opening of the session of 1792, the table of the House of Commons was covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring the abolition of the slave-trade. On the 2d of April Wilberforce moved the question of abolition in a most eloquent speech, in which he declared "that, from his exertions in this cause he had found happiness, though not hitherto success. It enlivened his waking, and soothed his evening hours; and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction, that he had demanded justice for millions who could not ask it for themselves." Whitebread distinguished himself by the energy and animation of his remarks. He observed "that a fatality attended the arguments of those who defended this detestable and shocking trade. In an account of selling the stock of a plantation, one of the evidences in favour of the slave-merchants said, 'that the slaves fetched less than the common price, because they were damaged.' Damaged! what is this but an acknowledgment that they are worn down by labour, sickness, by every species of ill treatment. A trade attended with such dreadful evils ought not to be thought of; it cannot be mentioned without horror, nor continued without violating every moral and religious obligation!" Dundas, now advanced to the dignity of Secretary of State by the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, recommended to the house the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the interests of the West India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and concluded by moving 'that the word gradual might be inserted before abolition.' But Pitt declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment, and, in a speech fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the house not to postpone even for an hour the great and necessary work of abolition. "Reflect," said he, "on the eighty thousand persons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendships—attachments—relationships that are burst asunder! There is something in the horror of this trade that surpasses all the bounds of imagination! How shall we repair the mischiefs we have brought upon that continent! If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain!" On the 27th of the same month he thus expressed himself on the same subject:—"I do not understand complimenting

away the lives of so many human beings. I do not understand the principle on which a few individuals are to be complimented, and their minds set at rest, at the expense and total sacrifice of the interest, the security, the happiness, of a whole quarter of the world, which, from our foul practices, has, for a vast length of time, been a scene of misery and horror. I say, because I feel, that every hour you continue this trade you are guilty of an offence beyond your power to atone for; and by your indulgence to the planters, thousands of human beings are to be miserable for ever. I feel its infamy so heavily, I am so clearly convinced of its impolicy, that I am ashamed I have not been able to prevail upon the house to abandon it altogether at an instant—to pronounce with one voice immediate and total abolition. There is no excuse for us, seeing this infernal traffic as we do. It is the very death of justice to utter a syllable in support of it. Sir, I know I state this subject with warmth. I feel it is impossible for me not to do so; or if it were, I should detest myself for the exercise of moderation.”

In justice to Mr Pitt, though regretting the course he took with France after the Revolution, we must let him speak for himself.

On the 1st of February 1793, in moving the address on his majesty's speech, the member began by adverting to the execution of the French king, “that act of outrage to every principle of religion, justice, and humanity; an act which in this country, and throughout Europe, had excited but one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence, and could not fail to excite the same sentiments in every civilized nation. He should, indeed, better consult his own feelings and those of the house, could he draw a veil over this melancholy event. It was in all its circumstances so full of grief and horror, that it must be a wish in which all united to tear it, if possible, from their memories—to expunge it from the page of history—and remove it for ever from the observation or comments of mankind.

‘*Excidat ille dies ævo, nec postera credant
Secula? nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa
Nocte tegi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.*’

Such,” he continued, “were the words applied by an author of their own, to a transaction (the massacre of St Bartholomew) which had always been deemed the standing reproach of the French nation, and the horrors and cruelties of which had only been equalled by those atrocious and sanguinary proceedings which had been witnessed in some late instances. But whatever might be their feelings of indignation and abhor-

rence with respect to that dreadful and inhuman event to which he had set out with calling their attention, that event was now past ; it was impossible that the present age should not now be contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it, or that the breath of tradition should be prevented from handing it down to posterity. They could only now enter their solemn protestation against that act, as contrary to every sentiment of justice and humanity, as violating the most sacred authority of laws and the strongest principles of natural feeling. Hence, however, they might derive a useful theme of reflection—a lesson of salutary warning ; for, in this dreadful transaction they saw concentrated the effect of those principles pushed to their utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds of legislation by which society were held together—which are in opposition to every law, divine and human—and which, presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation. While, therefore, he directed their attention to this transaction, he paid not only a tribute to humanity, but he suggested to them a subject of much useful reflection ; for, by considering the consequences of these principles, they might be duly warned of their mischievous tendency, and taught to guard against their progress. Indeed he wished that this subject might, on the present occasion, be considered rather as matter of reason and reflection than of sentiment. Sentiment was now unavailing ; but reason and reflection might yet be attended with the most beneficial effects ; and while they pointed out the horrid evils which had disgraced and ruined another country, might preserve our own from becoming a scene of similar calamity and guilt. No consideration, indeed, could be of greater importance than what tended to avert in this country such transactions as had taken place in a neighbouring state ; here, where a monarch, clothed with that inviolability which was essential to the exercise of the sovereign power, formed an essential part of the government ; where the legislature was composed of a mixture of democracy and aristocracy ; and where, by the benefits of this system, we had been exempted from those mischiefs which in former ages had been produced by despotism, and which were only to be exceeded by those still more horrid evils which in the present time had been found to be the fruits of licentiousness and anarchy. The situation of the country, he must, indeed, compare to the temperate zone, which was the situation in every respect best fitted for health and enjoyment ; and where, enjoying a mild, bene-

ficial, regulated influence, the inhabitants were equally protected from the scorching heats of the torrid and the rigorous frosts of the frigid zones. Compared with this country, where equal protection was extended to all, and there existed so high a sum of national felicity, dreadful indeed was the contrast afforded in the present situation of France, where prevailed a system of the utmost licentiousness and disorder, and where anarchy through a thousand organs operated to produce unnumbered mischiefs. Such a system could surely never find its way into this happy country, unless industriously imported; and to guard against the introduction of such a system was their first duty and their most important care.

“His majesty had declined taking any part in the internal government of France, and had made a positive declaration to that effect. When he took that wise, generous, and disinterested resolution, he had reason to expect that the French would in return have respected the rights of himself and his allies; and most of all, that they would not have attempted any internal interference in this country. A paper on the table contained, on their part, a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had provoked the indignation of this country. In this paper they disclaimed all views of aggrandizement; they gave assurances of their good conduct to neutral nations; they protested against their entertaining an idea of interfering in the government of the country, or making any attempts to excite insurrection, upon the express ground that such interference, and such attempts, would be a violation of the law of nations. They had themselves, by anticipation, passed sentence upon their own conduct; and the event of this evening's discussion would decide whether that sentence would be confirmed by those who had actually been injured.

“During the whole summer, while France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, his majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe, nor did he, by the smallest act, give any reason to suspect his adherence to that system. But what, he would ask, was the conduct of the French? Had they also faithfully observed their part of the agreement, and adhered to the assurances which, on the ground of his majesty's neutrality, they had given, to reject all views of aggrandizement—not to interfere with neutral nations—and to respect the rights of his majesty and his allies? What had been their conduct would very soon appear from a statement of facts. They had shewed how little sincere they were in their first assurances, by immediately discovering intentions to pursue a system of

the most unlimited aggrandizement. The first instance of their success in Savoy had been sufficient to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately adopted the course to annex it for ever to their own dominions, and had displayed a resolution to do the same wherever they should carry their arms. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree they had stated their plan of overturning every government, and substituting their own; they threatened destruction to all who should not be inclined to adopt their system of freedom; and, by a horrid mockery, offered fraternization, where, if it was refused, they were determined to employ force—and to propagate their principles, where they should fail to gain assent, by the mouths of cannon! They established, in the instructions to the commissioners whom they appointed to enforce the decree with respect to the countries entered by their armies, a standing revolutionary order; they instituted a system of organizing disorganization. And what was the reason they assigned for all this? ‘The period of freedom,’ said they, ‘must soon come; we must then endeavour, by all means in our power, to accomplish it now, for should this freedom be accomplished by other nations, what then will become of us? Shall we then be safe?’ It is a question indeed which they might well put, ‘What will become of us?’ for justly might they entertain doubts of their safety. They had rendered the Netherlands a province in substance as well as name, entirely dependant upon France. The system pursued by the Jacobin societies, in concert with their correspondents, had given a more fatal blow to liberty than any which it had ever suffered from the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarch. What had been the circumstances which had attended the triumphal entry of General Dumourier? Demonstrations of joy inspired by terror! illuminations imperiously demanded by an armed force! And when the primary assembly met to deliberate, in what circumstances did they assemble? With the tree of liberty planted amidst them, and surrounded by a hollow square of French soldiers—a situation surely equally conducive to the ease of their own thoughts and the freedom of their public deliberations! And what had happened, even since the French had professed their intention of evacuating the territories which they had entered at the conclusion of the war?

“A deputation had been received from Hainault, requesting that it might be added as an eighty-fifth department. And how had this deputation been received? Had the request been rejected? No; it had only been postponed till a committee should be able to prepare instructions how those na-

tions, who should be desirous of the same union, should be able to incorporate themselves with France in a regular and formal manner; in other words, till the preliminaries should be settled by which it should subject to its government, and add to its territories, every country which should be so unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms, and give to its wild and destructive ambition only the same limits with those of its power. It was matter of serious consideration how far such conduct not only ought to rouse the indignation, but might tend to affect the interests of this country. To shew how the French had behaved with respect to neutral nations, he need only refer to their decree of the 19th of November, which had already been so often mentioned and so amply discussed. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of this decree, but of all these explanations he should say nothing but what had already been stated by the noble Secretary of State,—that they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, institutions, and conduct, had been directed to the total subversion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had testified the most decided aversion; and so violent was their enmity, that they could be satisfied with nothing less than its entire extermination. The bloody sentence, which the hand of the assassin had lately carried into execution against their own monarch, was passed against the sovereigns of all countries! Were not these principles intended to be applied in their effects to this government? No society in this country, however small in number, however contemptible, however even questionable in existence, had sent addresses to their assembly, in which they had expressed sentiments of sedition and treason, which had not been received with a degree even of theatrical extravagance, and cherished with all the enthusiasm of congenial feeling. Need he then ask if England was not aimed at in this conduct, and if it alone was to be exempted from the consequences of a system, the profession of which was anarchy, and which seemed to aspire to establish universal dominion upon the ruin of every government?

“On the subject of the violation of the rights of his majesty and his allies, he had already on a former occasion spoken at some length. He had stated that the only claim which the French could have to interfere in the navigation of the Scheldt must either be in the assumed character of sovereign of the Low Countries, or as taking to themselves the office of the arbiters of Europe. There were the most solemn engagements of treaties to protect the Dutch in their exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt. An infringement of treaties more

notorious and more flagrant perhaps never had occurred than that which now appeared in the instance of their conduct with respect to the Scheldt. For this infringement they had advanced some pretences, alleging that the exclusive privilege of navigating the Scheldt was contrary to certain principles with respect to the rights of rivers. Capricious and wild in their theory, and in entire contradiction to whatever had been sanctioned by established practice, they likewise pretend that the treaty on which was founded the exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt was antiquated and obsolete, and had become no longer binding; though they had, upon receiving the assurances of his majesty's intentions of neutrality, pledged themselves to an observance of all the subsisting treaties. The pretences which they alleged upon this occasion were indeed such as equally went to weaken the force of every treaty—to remove every obligation—and to destroy all confidence between nations. From what had passed in a former part of the evening, he understood that it would be urged that the Dutch had made no formal requisition for the support of this country, in order to resist the opening of the Scheldt by the French, and to enable them to maintain their right to the exclusive navigation of that river. He granted that no such formal requisition had been made. But might there not be prudential reasons for not making this requisition on their part, very different from those which should induce this country to withhold its support? When the French opened the Scheldt, the Dutch entered their solemn protest against that invasion of their rights, which left them at liberty at any time to take it up as an act of hostility. If, from the sudden progress of the French arms, and the circumstance of their forces being at their very door, they either from prudence or fear did not think proper to take it up as an immediate commencement of hostilities—because they had been timid—would England think itself entitled to leave its allies, already involved in a situation of imminent danger, to that certain ruin to which they were exposed in consequence of a system, the principles of which threatened also destruction to England, to Europe, and to the whole of mankind?

“Thus, in all those three assurances which they had given of their intention to reject any system of aggrandizement, to abstain from interfering in the government of any neutral country, and to respect the rights of his majesty and of his allies, they had entirely failed, and in every respect completely reversed that line of conduct which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. Whatever they had offered under the name of explanations contained nothing that either

afforded any compensation for the past, or was at all satisfactory with respect to the future. They had stated that they would evacuate the Netherlands at the conclusion of the war; upon a promise so illusory there could not be the smallest grounds of dependence. With respect to the decree of the 19th November, they had made no apology for the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from this country. They stated, indeed, that it was injurious to them to suppose that they would interfere in any government without a previous express declaration of the national will; but they had left themselves to judge what was sufficient to constitute that declaration of the national will; and thus allowed this decree—which in fact was nothing else than an advertisement for sedition in every country—to remain in full force. And what in their opinion was to constitute a declaration of the national will we could only judge of from the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from a minority in this country—so small, that those who were disposed to put the conduct of the French in the most favourable point of view, held them out as too contemptible for notice; these addresses they received as expressive of the sentiments of the people of Great Britain, the great majority of whom he was, however, happy to say, detested their principles—principles which, if once adopted, would involve in them the ruin of our happy constitution, and the destruction of our country, and introduce anarchy and all those scenes of horror with which the country which had hatched them was now afflicted.

“But the patience of the house and his strength would fail him should he proceed to state all the facts connected with the propositions which he now meant to lay before them. On the 27th of December M. Chauvelin, on the part of the executive council, had presented the note complaining of the injurious construction of the decree of the 19th of November. On the 31st of December a member of that executive council (minister of the marine) addressed a letter to all the friends of liberty in the sea-ports; from which he would now read some passages:—‘The government of England is arming, and the king of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us; but no—a people who have made themselves free—a people who have driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians—the people of France will not suffer laws to be dictated to

them by a tyrant ! The king and his parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it ? Already these free men shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French. Well ! we will fly to their succour — We will make a descent on the island—We will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—We will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren—the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed !' He called the attention of the house to this declaration, which distinguished the English people from the king and the parliament. While such declarations were made, what could be thought of any explanations which were pretended to be given, or what credit was due to the assertions that they entertained no intentions hostile to the government of this country ? From all these circumstances he concluded that the conduct and pretensions of the French were such as were neither consistent with the existence or safety of this country—such as that house could not, and he was confident, never would acquiesce in. Their explanations had only been renewed insults, and instead of reverting to those assurances with which they had originally set out, they now shewed themselves determined to maintain the ground, such as it was, upon which they stood with respect to this country. In the last paper which had been delivered, they had given in an ultimatum, stating that, unless you accept such satisfaction as they have thought proper to give, they will prepare for war—unless you then recede from your principles, or they withdraw it, a war must be the consequence. As to the time—the precise moment—he should not pretend to fix it ; it would be left open to the last for any satisfactory explanation ; but he should deceive them if he should say that he thought any such explanation would be given, or that it was probable that a war could be avoided. Rather than recede from our principles, war was preferable to a peace, which could neither be consistent with the internal tranquillity nor external safety of the country."

A war against the French republic of 1793 ensued. Its disastrous results to the national interest, in debt, taxes, and human life, are written in all histories, are pressing upon Britain to this day, and will press on generations to be born long hereafter.

But the fact is not to be overlooked that the politics of parties in Britain seeking fraternity with the revolutionists of France were so wild, and the intention of the French to join with them against all old governments was so undoubted,

that in blaming the minister which placed Britain in a state of war, and sunk her inextricably in debt, we should first blame the wild demagogues who trampled upon rational liberty, and, despising rational reform and progressive politics, rushed to the torch to set the world in a blaze. Nor should the lesson of 1793 be lost on us in the fifty-fifth year following.

From the year 1785, when the Irish propositions for free-trade between Britain and Ireland, and their being rejected by the Irish parliament because they were amended in that of Britain, demonstrated that two parliaments could not act independently under one sovereignty, Mr Pitt had never lost sight of the all-important project of a legislative union between the two countries. It is to be regretted that this union could not be effected without an extensive system of bribery. It seems, however, undoubted, that the corrupt men of politics could only be influenced by corruption. The emancipation of the Catholics was the chief promise of advantage, or hope, held out to the political leaders of that portion of the Irish people. But from the personal determination of King George III. not to yield equality of rights to the Catholics, Mr Pitt could not fulfil his engagement to them, and so resigned office in 1801. It is due to his memory to place the blame where it ought to rest. The following letter to the king on the 31st of January 1801, and the answer, will explain all:—

“Mr Pitt would have felt it, at all events, his duty, previous to the meeting of parliament, to submit to your majesty the result of the best consideration which your confidential servants could give to the important questions respecting the Catholics and dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of your majesty’s general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject would have made this a painful task to him; and it is become much more so, by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the extent to which your majesty entertains, and has declared that sentiment.

“He trusts your majesty will believe that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment, must make him look to your majesty’s ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, but those arising from a sense of what, in his honest opinion, is due to the real interest of your majesty and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred in what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the cabinet—that the admission of the Catholics and dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to parliament, (from which latter the dissenters are now excluded,)

would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom.

“For himself, he is, on full consideration, convinced that the measure would be attended with no danger to the established church, or to the protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland: that, now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions which make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office, or in parliament, either to Catholics or dissenters, as could give them any new means (if they were so disposed) of attacking the establishment;—that the grounds on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were founded have long been narrowed, and are since the Union removed;—that those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining, and, among the higher orders particularly, they have ceased to prevail. That the obnoxious tenets are disclaimed in the most positive manner by the oaths which have been required in Great Britain, and still more by one of those required in Ireland, as the condition of the indulgences already granted, and which might equally be made the condition of any new ones. That if such an oath, containing (among other provisions) a denial of the power of absolution from its obligations, is not a security from Catholics, the sacramental test is not more so. That the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising either from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, from the apprehension of a Popish queen or successor, a disputed succession, and a foreign pretender, and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things. That with respect to those of the dissenters, who, it is feared, entertain principles dangerous to the constitution, a distinct political test, pointed against the doctrine of modern Jacobinism, would be a much more just and more effectual security than that which now exists, which may operate to the exclusion of conscientious persons well-affected to the state, and is no guard against those of an opposite description. That with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, might be provided, by gradually attaching the popish clergy to the government, and for this purpose making them dependent for a part of their provision (under proper regulations) on the state, and by also subjecting them to superintendence and control:—that, besides these provisions, the general interests of the established church, and

the security of the constitution and government, might be effectually strengthened by requiring the political test, before referred to, from the preachers of all Catholic or dissenting congregations, and from the teachers of schools of every denomination.

“It is on these principles Mr Pitt humbly conceives a new security might be obtained for the civil and ecclesiastical condition of this country, more applicable to its present circumstances, more free from objection, and more effectual in itself, than any which now exists, and which would at the same time admit of extending such indulgences as must conciliate the higher orders of the Catholics, and by furnishing to a large class of your majesty’s Irish subjects a proof of the good-will of the united parliament, afford the best chance of giving full effect to the great object of the Union—that of tranquillizing Ireland, and attaching it to this country.

“It is with inexpressible regret, after all he now knows of your majesty’s sentiments, that Mr Pitt troubles your majesty, thus at large, with the general grounds of his opinion, and finds himself obliged to add, that this opinion is unalterably fixed in his mind. It must therefore ultimately guide his political conduct, if it should be your majesty’s pleasure that, after thus presuming to open himself fully to your majesty, he should remain in that responsible situation, in which your majesty has so long condescended graciously and favourably to accept his services. It will afford him, indeed, a great relief and satisfaction, if he may be allowed to hope that your majesty will deign maturely to weigh what he has now humbly submitted, and to call for any explanation which any parts of it may appear to require.

“In the interval which your majesty may wish for consideration, he will not, on his part, importune your majesty with any unnecessary reference to the subject; and will feel it his duty to abstain himself from all agitation of this subject in parliament, and to prevent it, as far as depends on him, on the part of others. If, on the result of such consideration, your majesty’s objections to the measure proposed should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with your majesty’s full concurrence, and with the whole weight of government, it must be personally Mr Pitt’s first wish to be released from a situation which he is conscious that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage.

“At the same time, after the gracious intimation which has been recently conveyed to him, of your majesty’s sentiments on this point, he will be acquitted of presumption in

adding, that if the chief difficulties of the present crisis should not then be surmounted, or very materially diminished, and if your majesty should continue to think that his humble exertions could, in any degree, contribute to conducting them to a favourable issue, there is no personal difficulty to which he will not rather submit than withdraw himself at such a moment from your majesty's service. He would even, in such a case, continue for such a short further interval as might be necessary, to oppose agitation or discussion of the question, as far as he can consistently with the line to which he feels bound uniformly to adhere, of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment. But he must entreat that, on this supposition, it may be distinctly understood that he can remain in office no longer than till the issue (which he trusts on every account will be a speedy one) of the crisis now depending, shall admit of your majesty's more easily forming a new arrangement; and that he will then receive your majesty's permission to carry with him into a private situation that affectionate and grateful attachment, which your majesty's goodness, for a long course of years, has impressed on his mind—and that unabated zeal for the ease and honour of your majesty's government, and for the public service, which he trusts will always govern his conduct.

“He has only to entreat your majesty's pardon for troubling you on one other point, and taking the liberty of most respectfully, but explicitly, submitting to your majesty the indispensable necessity of effectually discountenancing, in the whole of the interval, all attempts to make use of your majesty's name, to influence the opinion of any individuals, or descriptions of men, on any part of this subject.”

To this statement the king returned the following answer :—

“QUEEN'S HOUSE, *February 1, 1801.*

“I should not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart, if I entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind, without first expressing that the cordial affection that I have for Mr Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a sense of religious as well as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, consider the oath that the wisdom of our forefathers has enjoined the kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony, with taking the sacrament, as so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is

placed, namely, the church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the state must be members of it, and consequently obliged not only to take oaths against popery, but to receive the holy communion agreeably to the rites of the church of England.

"This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy this groundwork of our happy constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr Pitt, which is no less than the complete overthrow of the whole fabric.

"When the Irish propositions were transmitted to me by a joint message from both houses of the British parliament, I told the lords and gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure, and without delay, forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust that the uniting the established churches of the two kingdoms would for ever shut the door to any farther measures with respect to the Roman Catholics.

"These two instances must shew Mr Pitt that my opinions are not those formed on the moment, but such as I have imbibed for forty years, and from which I never can depart; but, Mr Pitt once acquainted with my sentiments, his assuring me that he will stave off the only question whereon I fear, from his letter, we can never agree,—for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have his advice and exertions in public affairs, I will certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which is the one nearest my heart. I cannot help if others pretend to guess at my opinions, which I have never disguised; but if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest, I will, on my part, be silent also; but this restraint I shall put on myself from affection for Mr Pitt, but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration.

"Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr Pitt's opinion, when thus unfortunately fixed, yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life, for I can with great truth assert, that I shall, from public and private considerations, feel great regret, if I shall ever find myself obliged, at any time, from a sense of religious and political duty, to yield to his entreaties of retiring from his seat at the board of treasury."

This answer left the minister no resource but retirement. On the 3d of February he intimated that it was "his wish to

be released as soon as possible from his present situation." His majesty continuing inflexible, a new ministry was called into office, in which the appointments of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer were conferred upon Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The secretaryship for foreign affairs, hitherto held by Lord Grenville, was given to Lord Hawkesbury. Earl St Vincent was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the place of Earl Spencer; Lord Eldon, chief justice of the common pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded Lord Loughborough in the court of chancery; Lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state, in the room of Dundas and the Duke of Portland; Yorke succeeded Windham as secretary-at-war; his brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, was destined to the vice-regal office in Ireland; and Lord Lewisham was placed at the head of the board of control. In this general change the Duke of Portland and Lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet,—the former as president of the council, and the latter as lord-privy-seal. The agitation of the king's mind had, however, so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices, until the recovery of the king, when the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed form, and on the 17th of March Addington was sworn into the two offices which Pitt had so long enjoyed. The ex-minister, however, supported most of the measures of his successor in office, until the renewal of the war in 1803, when he added his influence to the opposition maintained by Fox, and accused the admiralty board of imbecility. Mr Addington upon this retired, and Pitt resumed his former seat on the treasury-bench.

On the meeting of parliament, January 15th, 1805, Mr Pitt strenuously defended the war with Spain, and carried the motion for an address by a majority of 207. The next objects that engaged his attention were the Irish Habeas Corpus suspension bill, and the budget for 1805, two articles of which were contested with no common degree of warmth. One of these, the Salt Duty bill, was carried by a majority of 38; but the other, the Horse Duty bill, was combated with equal spirit and success on the part of its opponents, and at length lost on a division, by a majority of three. During the recess, the premier was surrounded with difficulties. But he employed his time and talents in forming a third coalition against France; which, in consequence of the capitulation of

Ulm, and the Battle of Austerlitz, proved more fatal and inauspicious than the two former. From that period the necessity of a change in the cabinet seemed to be generally allowed. In the meantime a gouty habit assailed a constitution never very strong. In addition to this, the total miscarriage of all his schemes, and the melancholy aspect of continental affairs, are said to have preyed upon his mind. He tried the Bath waters in December 1805, but without effect. On the 10th of January 1806 he returned to his seat at Putney, where his illness rapidly gained upon him. On the 19th he was able to give some little attention to public business, but he soon became so lethargic, that the awful intelligence of his approaching death had scarcely any effect upon him. On the return of consciousness he was solicited to join with Bishop Tomline in devotion. "I fear," replied the expiring statesman, "that I have, like many other men, neglected my religious duties too much to have any ground for hope that they can be efficacious on a death-bed. But," added he, making an effort to rise as he spoke, "I throw myself entirely on the mercy of God !" His death took place on the 23d of January 1806. His last words, according to a statement made by Mr Rose, in the House of Commons, were, "Save my country, Heaven !"

Mr Pitt was the ablest debater that ever appeared in the British senate, though inferior to more than one of his contemporaries in mere oratory. "His eloquence was of a kind peculiarly adapted to the situation which he filled so long :— he was stately and dignified in manner ; clear and distinct in unravelling the details of the most complicated subject ; declamatory at once and argumentative, so as to furnish the best pretexts to those who wished to follow him, while he cheered and encouraged those who might be in dread of his adversaries ; but, above all, he excelled in the use of both topics and language with a view to produce the effect he desired, and never commit himself.

Whatever exceptions may be taken to his foreign policy, and above all to his devices of taxation and finance, we must confess, in viewing his career of statesmanship as a whole— his efforts for reform and economy, his legislative assaults upon commercial prohibitions, his efforts to emancipate trade, to emancipate the Catholics, and protect the consciences of dissenters ; thwarted as he was in everything he did, or attempted to do, by a parliamentary opposition, which for debating talent and unstable principles is without record in this or any nation, in that or any time—viewing the circumstances and the performances of his statesmanship as a

whole, all liberal minds, if they do not revere, must at least respect the name and memory of William Pitt.

SECT. XV.—CHARLES JAMES FOX, EDMUND BURKE, AND THE
WHIGS OF THEIR TIME.

It is suggested by Lord Brougham, and somewhat forcibly argued in his *Lives of the Statesmen of the reign of George III.* that the opposition of the whigs to the war with France, was only an opposition to a ministry which was in office, and which, being in, kept them out. This is a question now past all solution. But, in searching parliamentary and historical records, we find nothing said or done by Mr Fox and his followers but what might have been said or done solely from hostility to a party which held office and held them out: while in most of the reports of the debates we see that narrow spirit of personal and party opposition characterising all the conduct of the Fox politicians, as to make us doubt their genuine liberality in anything. When they could not carry liberal measures they proposed them. When Mr Pitt who, with their assistance, had they been in earnest, could have carried liberal measures, and proposed them, they opposed him. That Mr Fox was an accomplished debater all testimony proves. Had the great national court of parliament been a debating club, and that only, Mr Fox would have been its most illustrious member. Burke, Sheridan, Francis, and their party would have also made the club famous. But in the business parliament of a business people, what were they, the best of them? the wasters of time, and the hinderers of business.

A writer in the *Eclectic Review* asks of Fox, "How came it to pass that a man of such overwhelming powers after all effected so little for the good of his country? Why did he seem so emphatically 'to labour in vain, and spend his strength for nought?'"

"Fox's name stands conspicuous on the list of those who have failed to accomplish the commission on which their wonderful endowments would seem to tell that they had been sent to the world, by the Master of human and all other spirits. It is thus that mankind are doomed to see a succession of individuals rising among them, with capacities for rendering them the most inestimable services, but faithless, for the most part, to their high vocation, and either never attempting the generous labours which invite their talents, or combining with those labours the vices which frustrate their efficacy. Our late distinguished statesman's exertions for the

public welfare were really so great, and in many instances, we have no doubt, so well-intended, that it is peculiarly painful to behold him defrauding such admirable powers and efforts of their effect, by means of those parts of his conduct in which he sunk to a level with the least respectable of mankind; and we think no man within our memory has given so melancholy an example of this self-counteraction. It is impossible for the friends of our constitution and of human nature not to feel a warm admiration for Fox's exertions, whatever their partial motives and whatever their occasional excesses might be, in vindication of the great principles of liberty, in hostility to the rage for war, and in extirpation of the slave-trade. This last abomination, which had gradually lost, even on the basest part of the nation, that hold which it had for a while maintained by a delusive notion of policy, and was fast sinking under the hatred of all that could pretend to humanity or decency, was destined ultimately to fall by his hand, at a period so nearly contemporary with the end of his career, as to give the remembrance of his death somewhat of a similar advantage of association to that by which the death of the Hebrew champion is always recollected in connexion with the fall of Dagon's temple. A great object was accomplished, and it is fair to attribute the event, in no small degree, to his persevering support of that most estimable individual who was the leader of the design: but as to his immense display of talent on the wide ground of general politics, on the theory of true freedom and popular rights; on the great and increasing influence of the crown; on the corruption and reform of public institutions; on severe investigation of public expenditure; on the national vigilance proper to be exercised over the conduct of government; and on the right of any nation to change, when it judges necessary, both the persons and the form of its government, we have observed with the deepest mortification, times without number, the very slight and transient effect on the public mind of a more argumentative and luminous eloquence, that probably we are ever again to see irradiating those subjects, and urging their importance. Both principles and practices, tending toward arbitrary power and national degradation, were progressively gaining ground during the much greater part of the time that he was assailing them with intellectual fire and sword; and the people, notwithstanding it was their own cause he was maintaining by this persevering warfare, though they were amused indeed with his exploits, could hardly be induced to regard him otherwise than as a capital prize-fighter, and scarcely thanked him for the fortitude and energy which he devoted to their service.

He was allowed to be a most admirable man for a leader of opposition, but not a mortal could be persuaded to regard that opposition, even in his hands, as bearing any resemblance to that which we have been accustomed to ascribe to Cato, an opposition of which pure virtue was the motive, and all corruptions whatever the object.

"How then did it come to pass that Fox had no such influence on the national mind or on the government? The answer is perfectly obvious, and it forms a very serious admonition to all patriots who really wish to promote the welfare of the people by an opposition to corruptions of the state. The talents, and the long and animated exertions of the most eloquent of all our countrymen failed, plainly because the people placed no confidence in his virtue, or, in other words, because they would never be persuaded to attribute virtue to his character.

"On the whole, we shall always regard Fox as a memorable and mournful example of a gigantic agent, at once determined to labour for the public, and dooming himself to labour almost in vain. Our estimate of his talents precludes all hope or fear of any second example of such powerful labours, or such humiliating failure of effect. We wish the greatest genius on earth, whoever he may be, might write an inscription for our eminent statesman's monument, to express, in the most strenuous of all possible modes of thought and phrase, the truth and the warning, that no man will ever be accepted to serve mankind in the highest departments of utility, without an eminence of virtue that can sustain him in the noble defiance, 'Which of you convicts me of sin?'"

We omit the most forcibly written passages of this critique, as they refer somewhat harshly, and we believe unjustly, to the alleged personal vices of Mr Fox. We attribute his failure as a statesman who was speaking always and doing no good, or but little, to the fact that he was not a practical business man; to that other fact that his notions of political liberality were governed by accidents; and to this third and graver fact, that he, like almost all statesmen of that period, was ignorant of the true principles and nature of the progress of society, and the Wealth of Nations; Mr Pitt, and one or two of his followers being the only exceptions.

Of Edmund Burke it may be remarked that some of his pamphlets on subjects involving economical principles were better than any of his speeches. In all there was unsoundness; in all there was something that deserved a better fate than that which befalls the sentiments of a party politician. He was a party debater; but he was more; he occasionally

addressed himself to mankind. We give a specimen of his economic tracts from his *Thoughts on Scarcity*. He is objecting to the proposal of national granaries :—

“The construction of such granaries throughout the kingdom would be at an expense beyond all calculation. The keeping them up would be at a great charge. The management and attendance would require an army of agents, store-keepers, clerks, and servants. The capital to be employed in the purchase of grain would be enormous. The waste, decay, and corruption, would be a dreadful drawback on the whole dealing ; and the dissatisfaction of the people, at having decayed, tainted, or corrupted corn sold to them, as must be the case, would be serious.

“The climate (whatever others may be) is not favourable to granaries, where wheat is to be kept for any time. The best, and indeed the only good granary, is the rick-yard of the farmer, where the corn is preserved in its own straw—sweet, clean, wholesome, free from vermin and from insects—and comparatively at a trifle of expense. This, with the barn, enjoying many of the same advantages, have been the sole granaries of England from the foundation of its agriculture to this day. All this is done at the expense of the undertaker, and at his sole risk. He contributes to government ; *he receives nothing from it but protection ; and to this he has a claim.*

“The moment that government appears at market, all the principles of market will be subverted. I don't know whether the farmer will suffer by it as long as there is a tolerable market of competition, but I am sure that, in the first place, the trading government will speedily become a bankrupt, and the consumer in the end will suffer. If government makes all its purchases at once, it will instantly raise the market upon itself. If it makes them by degrees, it must follow the course of the market ; if it follows the course of the market, it will produce no effect, and the consumer may as well buy as he wants : therefore all the expense is incurred gratis.

“But if the object of this scheme should be, what I suspect it is, to destroy the dealer, commonly called the middleman, and, by incurring a voluntary loss, to carry the baker to deal with government, I am to tell them that they must set up another trade, that of a miller or a mealman, attended with a new train of expenses and risks. If in both these trades they should succeed, so as to exclude those who trade on natural and private capitals, then they will have a monopoly in their hands, which, under the appearance of a monopoly of capital, will, in reality, be a monopoly of authority, and will

ruin whatever it touches. The agriculture of the kingdom cannot stand before it.

"A little place like Geneva, of not more than from twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants, which has no territory, or next to none; which depends for its existence on the goodwill of three neighbouring powers, and is of course continually in the state of something like a *siege*, or in the speculation of it, might find some resource in state granaries, and some revenue from the monopoly of what was sold to the keepers of public houses. This is a policy for a state too small for agriculture. It is not (for instance) fit for so great a country as the Pope possesses, where, however, it is adopted and pursued in a greater extent, and with more strictness. Certain of the Pope's territories, from whence the city of Rome is supplied, being obliged to furnish Rome and the granaries of his holiness with corn at a certain price, that part of the papal territories is utterly ruined. That ruin may be traced with certainty to this sole cause, and it appears indubitably by a comparison of their state and condition with that of the other part of the ecclesiastical dominions not subjected to the same regulations, which are in circumstances highly flourishing

"The reformation of this evil system is in a manner impracticable; for, first, it does keep bread and all other provisions equally subject to the chamber of supply, at a pretty reasonable and regular price in the city of Rome. This preserves quiet among the numerous poor, idle, and naturally mutinous people of every great capital. But the quiet of the town is purchased by the ruin of the country, and the ultimate wretchedness of both. The next cause which renders this evil incurable, is the jobs which have grown out of it, and which, in spite of all precautions, would grow out of such things, even under governments far more potent than the feeble authority of the Pope.

"This example of Rome, which has been derived from the most ancient times, and the most flourishing period of the Roman empire, (but not of the Roman agriculture,) may serve as a great caution to all governments, not to attempt to feed the people out of the hands of the magistrates. If once they are habituated to it, though but for one half-year, they will never be satisfied to have it otherwise. And having looked to government for bread, on the very first scarcity they will turn and bite the hand that fed them. To avoid that evil, government will redouble the causes of it, and then it will become inveterate and incurable."

A memorable and unfortunate instance of supplying food, and also of wages, to buy it to the people of Ireland, occurred

in the winter of 1846, and spring and summer of 1847; in consequence of the potato disease in the first year. The regular culture of the soil was to a great extent abandoned by the small farmers, and scarcity prevailed again, though 1847 was a year of plenty and fruitfulness.

SECT. XVI.—THE CORN-LAWS FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS OF HISTORY TO 1815.

Before noticing Lord Grenville and some others who agreed in principle with the liberal views of Mr Pitt on commercial politics, and who did not agree with him solely from the accident of being seated on or behind the treasury benches, we shall look over the history of the corn-laws. Lord Grenville's name is associated with a firm and conscientious opposition to the worst of those laws, that of 1815.

"The subject of the corn-laws divides itself into two periods," says Mr Platt, in the *Store of Knowledge*. "First, when England exported a considerable quantity of grain, and second, when she ceased to be an exporting, and became solely an importing country.

"First Period.—From Early Times to 1688.

"In a statute of the thirteenth century we find the average prices of wheat and other grain had become an object of attention. The following directions are given to the municipal authorities of towns in the statute entitled *Judicium Pillorie*, supposed to be of the date of 51 Henry III. (1266-7):—"First, they shall inquire the price of wheat, that is, to wit how a quarter of the best wheat was sold the last market-day, and how the second wheat, and how the third; and how a quarter of barley and oats." In 1360 the exportation of corn was prohibited by statute.* In 1393 corn might be exported by the king's subjects "to what parts that please them," except to the king's enemies. "Nevertheless," it is added, "the king wills that his council may restrain the said passage when they shall think best for the profit of the realm."† This act was confirmed in 1425.‡

Thus it appears in those early times sufficient grain was raised in England to admit of exportation. It was, however, the policy of that age to endeavour, as much as possible, to retain within the kingdom all those things which were indispensable to its wants, rather than by permitting freedom of export and import to trust to the operation of the commercial

* 34 Edw. III. c. 20.

† 17 Ric. II. c. 7.

‡ 4 Hen. VI. c. 5.

principle for an adequate supply. The excess of grain must have been very considerable to have allowed any deviation from the ordinary practice of restriction. In the fourteenth century it seems to have been no unusual practice for the different countries of Europe to export corn ;* and it must have been exported from England previous to the statute of 1360, as that act was intended to put a stop to it. Thirty-three years afterwards, as already stated, the export of corn was expressly encouraged.

In 1436 there is another statute indicative of the progress of agriculture, and of the existence of a surplus supply of corn in this country: the exportation of wheat being allowed without the king's license when the price per quarter at the place of shipment was 6s. 8d. In the preamble of the statute the restrictions on exportation are loudly complained of:—"for cause whereof, farmers and other men, which use manurement of their land, may not sell their corn but of a bare price, to the great damage of all the realm ;" and the remedy provided is a freer permission to export the surplus—a regulation which is intended for the profit of the whole realm, but "especially for the counties adjoining to the sea."† In 1441 this statute was continued,‡ and in 1444-5 it was rendered perpetual.§

Nearly thirty years after the statute of 1436, occurs the first symptom of a corn law, for the protection of the home-grower from the effects of a supply of foreign grain. From this we may conclude that the balance of prices had turned ; and that, at least for a time, prices were higher in England than in the neighbouring countries. This might be the result of abundant seasons on the Continent ; but, at all events, the importation from other countries gave rise to complaints, which were followed by a statute passed in 1463, in the preamble of which it is remarked that, "Whereas the labourers and occupiers of husbandry within this realm be daily grievously endamaged by bringing of corn out of other lands and parts into this realm, when corn of the growing of this realm is at a low price:"|| in remedy of which it was enacted that wheat should not be imported unless the price at the place of import exceeded 6s. 8d. per quarter. Up to this time there is no reason to believe that the importation of corn from abroad had been either prohibited or subjected to restriction. Such a prohibition would have been opposed to the spirit of our old commercial policy, which was anxiously directed to the object of

* Account of the Spasmodic Cholera of the Fourteenth Century; App. to Rickman's Summary of Population Returns of 1831, 8vo. edit.

† 15 Hen. VI. c. 2.

‡ 20 Hen. VI. c. 6.

§ 23 Hen. VI. c. 5

|| 3 Edw. IV. c. 2.

attracting to the country, and preserving within it as much food as possible. The agricultural interest had already succeeded in carrying one modification of the old principle, by which they obtained the liberty of sending corn abroad, and their ascendancy was still further indicated by the restriction on the importation of corn imposed by the statute of 1463. So long as the price of wheat was below 6s. 8d. per quarter, exportation was free, and importation was prohibited. The price, therefore, was intended to be sustained at that height, so far as it was possible, so as to sustain it by legislative contrivance, and the benefit of the corn-grower was the sole object of the statute. In 1417 (eleven years after the statute 3d Edw. IV. c. 2, was passed) we have the authority of the Paston Letters in proof of the suffering experienced from the want of a market for the superabundant supply of grain. Margaret Paston, writing to her son on the 29th of Jan. 1474, after quoting the very low price of corn and grain, says—"There is none outload suffered to go out of this country as yet; the king hath commanded that there should none go out of this land. I fear me we shall have a right strange world; God amend it when his will is."* In a letter written in the following year she makes the same complaints about low prices and the scarcity of money.† The gentry and farmers of this period were in much the same condition in regard to money matters as the landowners of Poland and other parts of northern and eastern Europe at the present time, after abundant harvests, with the ports of the best markets temporarily or permanently closed against the admission of their surplus produce. The protective statute of 1463 had possibly stimulated tillage beyond the demand of the home market, and the abundance of the harvest in other countries caused the ports to be closed against them, or, as in the instance alluded to by Margaret Paston, exportation was prohibited from some motives of state policy.

In 1533-4 an end was put to the system of free exportation which had been established in 1463, and, with some few occasional exceptions, had continued from that time; and thenceforth it was forbidden to export corn and provisions without the king's license. The statute enacted for this purpose‡ was intended to keep down prices, though the preamble sets out with the rational observation that, "forasmuch as dearth, scarcity, good cheap, (good market,) and plenty, (of victual,) happeneth, riseth, and chanceth, of so many and divers reasons

* Paston Letters, vol. ii. p. 91. Edit. by A. Ramsay
‡ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2

† Ibid. p. 93.

that it is very hard and difficult to put any certain prices to any such things." It, however, ended by enacting that, on complaint being made of high prices, they shall be regulated by the lords of the council, and made known by proclamation; and that farmers and others shall sell their commodities at the prices thus fixed.

During the greater part of the sixteenth century a struggle was maintained by the makers of the laws against the rise of prices, which characterised nearly the whole of that period. The discouragement of tillage and the increase of sheep-pastures were supposed to be the main causes of this rise. In 1533 a statute was passed which enacted that no man should keep more than two thousand sheep, except on his own land, and that no tenant should rent more than two farms.* The statute entitled "An Act for the Maintenance and Increase of Tillage and Corn" attempted to force cultivation by enacting that, for the future, at least as much land should be tilled in every parish as had been under the plough at any time since the accession of Henry VIII., under a penalty, to be exacted from the parish, of 5s. for every acre that should be deficient.

This remarkable period in the history of agriculture, and in the social condition of the people, was marked by other singular regulations respecting the supply of the necessaries of life and their price. In September 1549, a proclamation was issued, directed against dealers in the principal articles of food. According to it, no man was to buy and sell the self same thing again, except brokers, and they were not to have more than ten quarters of grain in their possession at one time. This proclamation directed "that all justices should divide themselves into the hundreds, and look what superfluous corn was in every barn, and appoint it to be sold at a reasonable price; also, that one must be in every market-town to see the corn brought. Whoso brought no corn to market, as he was appointed, was to forfeit L.10, unless the purveyors took it up, or it was sold to the neighbours."† Obedience to these regulations was not confined to the temporary provisions of a proclamation; but in 1551-2 they were, with some modifications, embodied in a statute.‡ By this enactment, engrossers (persons buying corn to sell again) were subjected to heavy penalties. For the third offence they were to be set in the pillory, to forfeit their personal effects, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Farmers buying corn for seed were compelled to sell at the same time an equal quantity of their corn in store, under penalty of

* Paston's Letters, vol. ii. c. 13.
Turner's Hist. Eng., vol. i. p. 172.

† King Edw. VI.'s Journal; Sharon
‡ 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 14.

forfeiting double the value of what they had bought. Persons might engross corn, not forestalling it—that is, enhancing the price or preventing the supply—when wheat was under 6s. 8d. per quarter.

In 1562–3 a further attempt was made to restrict the operations of buying and selling in articles of food, as well as many other commodities. The 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 14, already quoted, contained a proviso that corn-badgers, allowed to that office by three justices of the peace of the county where the said badger dwelt, could buy provisions in open fair or market for towns and cities, and sell them, without being guilty of the offence of forestalling; but this relaxation of the statute was corrected by another statute passed in 1562–3,* in the preamble of which the former enactment is thus alluded to:—“Since the making of which act, such a great number of persons, seeking only to live easily and to leave their honest labour, have and do daily seek to be allowed to the said office, being most unfit and unmeet for those purposes, and also very hurtful to the commonwealth of this realm, as well as by enhancing the price of corn and grain, as also by the diminishing of good and necessary husbandmen,” it was then enacted that the licenses to corn-badgers should only be granted once a-year by the justices at quarter-sessions, instead of at any period by three justices; and that none were to obtain a license but resident householders of three years’ standing, who are or have been married, and of the age of thirty, and are not servants or retainers to another person. Those who received a license were to have it renewed at the end of every year. Licensed persons were also required to find security not to forestall or engross in their dealings, and not to buy out of open fair or market, except under express license. The statute did not apply to the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancaster, Chester, and York.

It was scarcely possible for the legislature to do more towards the discouragement of a most useful class of men, whose operations are of such service to society in general, and to the poor in particular. But enactments of this description were loudly demanded by the people, who could scarcely get bread sometimes in consequence of the high price of provisions, which they attributed to the intervention of the corn-dealer between the producer and consumer.

The system introduced in 1534, under which exportation was interdicted, lasted about twenty years, and even during that period was most probably in a great degree inoperative.

* 5 Elizabeth, c. 12.

In 1554, a new act was passed,* which restored the freedom of export so long as the price of wheat should not exceed 6s. 8d., that of rye 4s., and that of barley 3s. per quarter. The preamble complains that former acts against the exportation of grain and provisions had been evaded, by reason whereof they had grown unto a "wonderful dearth and extreme prices." Under the present act, when prices exceeded 6s. 8d. per quarter for wheat, exportation was to cease; and when it was under that price it could not be exported to any foreign country, or to Scotland, without a license, under penalty of forfeiting double the value of the cargo as well as the vessel, besides imprisonment of the master and mariners of the vessel for one year. The penalty for exporting a greater quantity than was warranted by the license was treble the value of the cargo, and imprisonment; and a cargo could be taken only to the port mentioned in the license. The object of the act was in effect to prevent exportation when there was not a sufficient supply in the home market, and to permit it to be sent abroad so long as it was below a certain price at home.

In 1562, only eight years after the above act had been passed, the liberty of exportation was extended, and wheat might be carried out of the country when the average price was 10s. per quarter, that of rye, peas, and beans, 8s., and that of barley or malt 6s. 8d., per quarter.† The better to prevent evasion of the law, it was at the same time enacted that the commodity should only be exported from such ports as her majesty might by proclamation appoint.

In 1571 a statute was passed,‡ which contains provisions for settling once a-year the average prices by which exportation should be governed. The Lord President and Council in the North, also the Lord President and Council in Wales, and the Justices of Assize, within their respective jurisdictions, "yearly, shall, upon conference had with the inhabitants of the country, of the cheapness and dearth of any kinds of grain," determine "whether it shall be meet at any time to permit any grain to be carried out of any port within the said several jurisdictions or limits; and so shall, in writing, under their hands and seal, cause and make a determination either for permission or prohibition, and the same cause to be, by the sheriff of the counties, published and affixed in as many accustomed market-towns and ports within the said shire as they shall think convenient." The averages, when once struck, were to continue in force until the same authorities

* 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 5.

† 5 Eliz. c. 5.

‡ 13 Eliz. c. 13.

ordered otherwise; and if their regulations should "be hurtful to the country by means of dearth, or be a great hindrance to tillage by means of too much cheapness," they could make the necessary alterations. All proceedings under this act were to be notified to the queen or privy council. The statute enacted that, "for the better increase of tillage and for maintenance and increase of the navy and mariners of this realm," corn might be exported at all times to friendly countries, when proclamation was not made to the contrary. A poundage or customs duty of 1s. per quarter was charged on all wheat exported; but if exported under a special license, and not under the act, the customs duty was 2s. per quarter.

The law of 1463, which prohibited importation so long as the price of wheat was under 6s. 8d., that of rye under 4s., and that of barley under 3s. the quarter, appears not to have been repealed, but it must have remained inoperative, from the prices seldom or probably never descending below these rates. The importation of corn, therefore, we may reckon to have been practically free at this time, so far as the law could render it so.

In 1592-3, the price at which exportation was permitted was raised to 20s. per quarter, and the customs duty was fixed at 2s.* In 1603-4, the importation price was raised to 26s. 8d. per quarter;† and in 1623, to 32s.‡—having risen, in the course of sixty-five years, from 6s. 8d. By the 21 Jac. I. c. 28, unless wheat was under 32s. per quarter, and other grain in proportion, buying corn and selling it again was not permitted. The king could restrain the liberty of exportation by proclamation. In 1627-8 another statute§ relative to the corn trade was passed, which, however, made no alteration in the previous statute of James I. In 1660 a new scale of duties was introduced. When the price of wheat per quarter was under 44s. the export duty was 5s. 6d., and when the price was above 44s. the duty rose to 6s. 8d. Exportation was permitted free whenever the price of wheat did not exceed 40s. per quarter.||

In 1663 the corn-trade again became the subject of legislation, and an act was passed¶ which favoured the corn-grower, or at any rate that portion of the community connected with and dependant upon agriculture, to a greater extent than any previous statute. The preamble of this act commenced by asserting that "the surest and effectualest means of promoting and advancing any trade, occupation, or mystery, being

* 35 Eliz. c. 7. † 1 Jac. I. c. 25. ‡ 21 Jac. I. c. 28. § 3 Car. I. c. 5.

|| 12 Car. II. c. 4.

¶ 15 Car. II. c. 7.

by rendering it profitable to the users thereof," and that, large quantities of land being waste, which might be profitably cultivated if sufficient encouragement were given for the cost and labour on the same, it should be enacted, with a view of encouraging the application of capital and labour to waste lands, that, after September 1663, when wheat did not exceed 48s. per quarter at the places and havens of shipment, the export duty should be only 5s. 4d. per quarter. The demand of the home market was not sufficient to take off the surplus produce of the corn-growers, and the reduction of the duty was intended to encourage exportation. By the same act, when wheat did not exceed 48s. per quarter, "then it shall be lawful for all and every person (not forestalling nor selling the same in the open market within three months after the buying thereof) to buy in open market, and to keep in his or their granaries or houses, and to sell again, such corn and grain," any statute to the contrary notwithstanding. The latter part of this statute may be regarded as indicating a juster view than others passed since the 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 14.

In 1670 a further important change was made in the same direction, exportation being permitted as long as wheat should be under 53s. 4d. the quarter, the customs duty being only 1s. per quarter. Corn imported from foreign countries was at the same time loaded with duties so heavy as effectually to exclude it, being 16s. when the price in this country was at or under 53s. 4d. per quarter, and 8s. when above that price and under 80s. at which latter price importation became free.* The object of this act was to relieve the agricultural interests from the depression under which they were labouring from the low prices of produce which had existed for twenty years, more particularly from 1646 to 1665, and also more or less during the greater part of the century. Between 1617 and 1621 wheat fell from 43s. 3d. the quarter to 27s., in consequence of which farmers were unable to pay their rents. The low price was occasioned by abundant harvests; "for remedy whereof the council have written letters into every shire, and some say to every market-town, to provide a granary or store-house, with a stock to buy corn, and keep it for a dear year."† The cheapness of wheat was attended with the good effect of raising the standard of diet amongst the poorer classes, who are described as "traversing the markets to find out the finest wheats, for none else would now serve their use, though before they were glad of the coarser rye-bread."‡ The act of

* 22 Car. II. c. 13.
"Hist. of Prices."

† Contemporary writers quoted by Mr Tooke in his
‡ Ibid.

1670 does not appear to have answered its object. Roger Coke, writing in 1671, says—"The ends designed by the acts against the importation of Irish cattle, of raising the rents of the lands of England, are so far from being attained, that the contrary hath ensued;"* and he speaks of a great diminution of cultivation.

The harvests of 1673-4-5 proved defective, and the same result occurred in 1677-8, so that the average price of the seven years ending 1672, during which wheat ranged at 36s. the quarter, was followed in the seven subsequent years, ending 1679, by an average of 46s. being a rise of nearly 30 per cent. Under this encouragement there was a considerable extension of tillage, and the years of scarcity being followed by twelve abundant seasons in succession, (with the exception of 1684, which was somewhat deficient,) the price of corn and grain again sunk very low. In the six years ending 1691 the average price of wheat was 29s. 5d. the quarter, and if the four years ending 1691 be taken, the average price was only 27s. 7d. being lower than at any period during the whole of the century. There was no competition in the English market with the foreign grower during the above-mentioned years of low prices; exportation was freely permitted on payment of a nominal duty; but scarcely ever had the agriculturists been in so depressed a state. The means which they took to relieve themselves will be noticed in the next period.

Before closing this section we may notice the alteration which took place in 1670 in the mode of striking the average prices of corn and grain. The old system established in 1570 (13 Eliz. c. 13) was acted upon until 1685, the Corn Act of 1670 having neglected the necessary directions for an alteration. These were made by a statute which enacted that justices of the peace, in counties wherein foreign corn might be imported, may, at quarter-sessions, by the oaths of two persons duly qualified, that is, possessed of freehold estates of the annual value of L.20, or leasehold estates of L.50, and not being corn-dealers, and by such other means as they shall see fit, determine the market price of middling English corn, which is to be certified on oath, hung up in some public place, and sent to the chief officer at the custom-house in each district.

Second Period.—From 1689 to 1773.

In 1689, immediately after the revolution, the landowners succeeded in carrying a very important measure. The high prices of the seven years ending 1679 had doubtless encour-

* Contemporary writers quoted by Mr Tooke in his "Hist. of Prices."

aged tillage, and a succession of favourable seasons had, under these circumstances, led to a great depreciation in the value of agricultural produce. Exportation of corn therefore was not only to be permitted as heretofore, but actually encouraged by bounties. The statute for granting bounties is entitled "An Act for Encouraging the Exportation of Corn."* The preamble stated that it had been "found by experience that the exportation of corn and grain into foreign countries, when the price thereof is at a low rate in this kingdom, hath been a great advantage, not only to the owners of land, but to the traders of this kingdom in general;" and clauses were enacted granting 5s. the quarter on the exportation of wheat, so long as the home price did not exceed 48s.; with other bounties of smaller amount upon the exportation of barley, malt, and rye. It was supposed that the farmers and landholders would thus be relieved from the distress arising from low prices. They were in possession of a market, the sole supply of which they had secured to themselves by the act of 1670, and by the Bounty Act they endeavoured to prevent that market being overstocked by their own commodity.

The seven years immediately succeeding 1693 were remarkable for a succession of unfavourable seasons. In the four years ending 1691, the price of wheat averaged 27s. 7d. the quarter, but in the four years preceding and including 1699 it reached 56s. 6d. The bounty was inoperative during this period, and was suspended by an act of Parliament from the 9th of February 1699 to the 29th of September 1700. Nevertheless, in order that no fears might be excited by this temporary suspension, the preamble contained an acknowledgment that the statute granting the bounty "was grounded upon the highest wisdom and prudence, and has succeeded, to the greatest benefit and advantage to the nation by the greatest encouragement of tillage."† Before this temporary act had expired, another act was passed,‡ in 1700, by which the encouragement of the home corn-grower was carried still further by the abolition of all the then existing duties on the export of corn. "From 1697 to 1773 the total excess of exports was 30,968,366 quarters, upon which export bounties, amounting to L.6,237,176 were paid out of the public revenue."§ In 1750 the sum of L.324,176 was paid in bounties on corn. The exports of 1748-9-50 (during which, moreover, the price of wheat fell from 32s. 10½d. to 28s. 10¾d. the quarter) amounted to 2,120,000

* 1 Wm. & Mary, c. 12. † 12 Wm. III. c. 1. ‡ 11 & 12 Wm. III. c. 20.
§ Report of Commons on Agric. Distress, 1821.

quarters of wheat, and of all kinds of corn and grain to 3,825,000 quarters. This was the result of a cycle of abundant years. In the twenty-three years from 1692 to 1715, says Mr Tooke, in his elaborate "History of Prices," there were eleven bad seasons, during which the average price of wheat was 45s. 8d. the quarter; in the fifty years ending 1765 there were only five deficient harvests, and the average price for the whole half-century ranged at 34s. 11d.; or, taking the ten years ending 1751, during which the crops were above an average, the price of wheat was only 29s. 2½d. the quarter.

These years of plenty seem to have been a very happy period to the bulk of the population. Adam Smith refers to "the peculiarly happy circumstances" of the country during these times of plenty; and Mr Hallam describes the reign of George II. as "the most prosperous period that England had ever experienced." The effect was similar to that which took place during the plentiful seasons of the preceding century, and the improved condition of the people was marked by the enjoyment of greater comforts and the resort to a superior diet, which their command over the necessities of life enabled them to obtain. "Bread made of wheat is become more generally the food of the labouring people," observes the author of the "Corn Tracts," writing in 1765. Referring to the same period, Mr Malthus remarks:—"It is well known that during this period the price of corn fell considerably, while the wages of labour are stated to have risen. During the last forty years of the seventeenth century, and the first twenty of the eighteenth, the average price of corn was such as, compared with the wages of labour, would enable the labourer to purchase with a day's earnings two-thirds of a peck of wheat. From 1720 to 1750 the price of wheat had so fallen, while wages had risen, that, instead of two-thirds, the labourer could purchase the whole of a peck of wheat with a day's labour." Mr Malthus adds that the result of this increased command over the necessities of life was not attended with an increase of population exclusively—"a considerable portion of their increased net wages was expended in a marked improvement of the quality of the food consumed, and a decided elevation in the standard of their comforts and conveniences." Trade was flourishing and the exports and imports progressively increasing during this period of abundance.

The cycle of good seasons which the country had for so long a period fortunately enjoyed (for twenty-six years, from 1730 to 1755, there had been only one unfavourable season) was followed by a succession of bad years, in which the harvests proved as deficient as they had before been abundant. From

1765 to 1775 there was a very frequent recurrence of unfavourable years, and the last five years of this period were all of this character. In 1766 the quartern loaf was selling in London at 1s. 6d.; addresses were sent up from various parts of the country complaining of general distress; and a proclamation was issued suspending exportation, and for enforcing the laws against forestallers and regraters. Exportation was suspended also in the following year, as was the case also in 1770 and 1771. In 1772 importation was allowed duty free to the 1st of May 1773; and in this latter year the city of London offered a bounty of 4s. per quarter for 20,000 quarters of wheat, to be imported between March and June. The average prices of wheat had risen from 29s. 2½d. in the ten years ending 1751 to 51s. for the ten years ending 1774, being an advance of 75 per cent. The excess of exports from 1742 to 1751 had been 4,700,509 quarters of wheat, and, including all kinds of grain, had amounted to 8,869,190 quarters, but from 1766 to 1775 there was an excess of exports to the extent of 1,363,149 quarters of wheat and 3,782,734 of corn and grain of all kinds. The old corn-law of 1689, under which a bounty on exportation had been granted, was now become a dead letter, in consequence of the high range of prices in the home market. The right to export had been frequently suspended, though only for short periods, in the hope that more plentiful harvests or the greater extension of tillage would again bring back the old state of things. These suspensions of the bounty excited the dissatisfaction of the agriculturists. "From the year 1776 to the present time (1773) we have had a perpetual shifting policy, in which nothing has been permanent. . . Every year has produced a temporary act suspending the operation of those laws which had proved of such excellent utility.*

The increase of population after the peace of 1763 was rapidly advancing with the growth of trade and manufactures. In the reign of George I. there had only been sixteen inclosure acts passed; in the succeeding reign there were 226; but, stimulated by the high prices resulting from deficient harvests, the number of such acts from 1760 to 1772 inclusive amounted to 585. The population of England and Wales had increased upwards of two millions during the century, being, according to the best estimates, 5,134,000 at its commencement, and in 1770 about 7,227,000. In the first *fifty* years of the century the increase of population amounted only to 17 per cent., but in the *twenty* years ending 1770 the rate of acceleration was more than doubled, being 19 per cent.

* Arthur Young's "Political Arithmetic," 1774.

Before passing to the next epoch in the history of the corn-trade we shall notice the alterations which took place in the mode of ascertaining the average prices of corn and grain. Several acts for this purpose were made, in one of which, passed in 1729, the preamble states that the justices of the peace had "neglected to settle the price of corn at their quarter-sessions after Michaelmas last, and to return certificates thereof to the chief officer and collector of the customs residing in the respective ports where the said corn or grain has been or may be imported, by means whereof the said officers were at a loss how to charge the customs and duty due for such corn; which has been, and may be, a great loss to the revenue, and a detriment to the farmers and fair traders." To remedy the negligence of the gentry, the collectors of customs were empowered to settle the averages.

In 1732 an attempt was again made "for the better ascertaining the common prices of middling English corn and grain, and for preventing the fraudulent importation of corn and grain." After 1st June 1732, the justices of the peace, in counties which contained ports of importation, were to charge the grand jury at quarter-sessions to make inquiry and presentment upon oath of the common market prices, which were to be certified to the officers at the ports specified. The averages were, however, only to be taken four times a-year.

In 1766 the authorities of the city of London were empowered to settle the price of middling English corn and grain in January and July, in addition to the former periods of April and October.

It was not until 1770 that returns of prices were directed to be made weekly. In that year an act was passed, on the ground that a "register of the prices at which corn is sold in the several counties of Great Britain will be of public and general advantage." The justices of the peace were to order returns to be made weekly of the prices of British corn and grain from such towns in each county as they thought proper; the number of towns selected in each county not being more than six nor less than two. The Treasury was to appoint a receiver of corn returns, who was to publish an abstract of the weekly returns in the "London Gazette," and four times a-year certify to the clerks of the peace the prices which were respectively prevalent in each county. The publication of the averages weekly was a most beneficial innovation.

In 1772 an important act* was passed relating to the internal corn-trade, and several ancient restrictions in old statutes

* 12 Geo. III. c. 71.

were removed on the ground that, "by preventing a free trade in the said commodities, [corn, flour, cattle, &c.] they have a tendency to discourage the growth and enhance the price of the same, which statutes, put into execution, would bring great distress on the inhabitants of many parts of the kingdom."

Third Period.—From 1773 to 1791.

In the preamble of the Corn Act of 1773* it is acknowledged that previous laws had greatly tended to the advancement of tillage and navigation. It added that, on account of the small supplies on hand and scanty crops, it had been frequently necessary to suspend the operation of the laws, and that a permanent law on the corn-trade "would afford encouragement to the farmer, be the means of increasing the growth of that necessary commodity, and of affording a cheaper and more constant supply to the poor." And the act then fixes the following scale of duties, to come into operation on the 1st of January 1774:—Whenever the price of middling British wheat, at ports of importation, was at or above 48s. per quarter, a duty of only 6d. per quarter was to be taken on all foreign wheat imported during the continuance of that price. When the price was at or above 44s., exportation and the bounty together were to cease; and the carrying of British grain coastwise ceased also. Under this act, corn and grain might be shipped to Ireland when exportation was prohibited from that country. Foreign corn warehoused under bond in twenty-five ports of Great Britain mentioned in the act might be re-exported duty free. Adam Smith's opinion of this act was, that, "though not the best in itself, it is the best which the interests, prejudices, and temper of the times would admit of; it may perhaps (he adds) in due time prepare the way for a better."† This expectation has not as yet been fulfilled.

The home market was now opened to foreign supplies of corn under much more advantageous terms than before. Importation was constant and considerable, and prices were steadier on the whole, during the eighteen years from 1775 to 1792, notwithstanding the occurrence of five seasons in which the harvests were more or less deficient than they had been in the ten years preceding 1773. The balance of imports of wheat was now decidedly against this country. In the ten years ending 1769 the excess of exports had amounted to 1,384,561 quarters; but in the next ten years, ending 1779, the excess was on the side of the imports to the extent of

* 13 Geo. III. c. 43.

† Wealth of Nations, book iv. chap. 5.

431,566 quarters; and in the ten years ending 1789 there was an excess on the same side amounting to 233,502 quarters. The extension of tillage which took place was certainly more likely to be permanent than when it had been caused by the artificial stimulus that had previously been maintained. From 1760 to 1780 the number of acres enclosed under local acts was 1,912,350; in the ten years ending 1789 the proportion had fallen off, the number of acres enclosed being 450,180. The average price of wheat was 45s. the quarter in the ten years ending 1779, and 45s. 9d. in the ten years ending 1789.

The extension of cultivation in the twenty years from 1760 to 1780, together with the improvement of agriculture, sufficed for the increased demands of the country, without breaking up so much fresh land.

The landed interest, however, alleged that the act of 1773 had rendered England dependent upon other countries for the supply of corn. The bounty by which the corn-growers had formerly profited, and which they were led to anticipate would still be secured to them, had never come into operation under this act; and hence a general dissatisfaction prevailed amongst them against the existing corn-law, which they had sufficient interest in the legislature to get altered in 1791.

At the commencement of the present period the average prices of corn were struck four times a-year, at the quarter-sessions, and they could not be altered between the interval of one quarter-session and another. In 1774, however, an act was passed,* and came into operation on the 1st of June, by which exportation was regulated by the price on the market-day preceding the shipment; thus adopting the real average price at the time, instead of acting upon the average which existed three months before.

Six years afterwards, in the session 1780-1,† it was enacted that the prices of English corn for the port of London and the ports of Kent and Essex should be determined by the averages taken at the London Corn Exchange. The weekly average was to regulate the exportation; but the importation of foreign corn and grain was regulated by averages struck only once a quarter.

In the session of 1788-9 new regulations were framed,‡ applying to all parts of the kingdom, which was divided into twelve districts, and in each a number of the principal market towns was selected, in which, and at the seaports, the price of corn was to be ascertained for each district. Weekly returns were to be made to the receiver in London, who, on the 1st of

* 14 Geo. III. c. 64.

† 21 Geo. III. c. 50.

‡ 29 Geo. III. c. 58.

February, May, August, and November, was to compute from the returns of the six preceding weeks the average price of each description of British corn and grain, (with the exception of oats, the averages of which were to be computed on the return of the twelve preceding weeks.) The aggregate average of the six weeks (and for oats of the twelve weeks) to be transmitted to the principal officer of the customs in each district, and to regulate the importation at each port of the said district. The export trade was still regulated by the weekly averages. Under this act each of the twelve maritime districts was treated as distinct in itself, and counties on one side of the kingdom might be exporting their surplus produce to a foreign market, while those on the other side were under the necessity of importing.

Fourth Period.—From 1791 to 1804.

The new corn-law of 1791 was founded upon stricter principles than that of 1773. It enacted that after November 15, 1791, the bounty of 5s. per quarter should be paid when wheat was under 44s., and that, when wheat was at or above 46s., exportation was to cease. The new scale of import duties was as follows:—For wheat under 50s. per quarter the “high duty” of 24s. 3d. was payable; at 50s. but under 54s., the “first low duty” of 2s. 6d.; at or above 54s. the “second low duty” of 6d. was payable. The protecting price was thus raised from 48s. to 54s. the quarter; and this main feature of the act was intended to shut out supplies from abroad, and of course to raise prices at home. The duty of 24s. 3d., so long as the price of wheat was under 50s. the quarter, was equivalent to a prohibition.

The thirteen years from 1791 to 1804 form a very eventful period in the history of the Corn Laws. Under the comparatively free system established by the Corn Act of 1773, the excess of imports had been comparatively trifling; but under an act expressly constructed to prevent importation as far as possible, the excess of imports in the thirteen years from 1791 to 1803 amounted to 6,458,901 quarters of wheat and wheat-flour, and enormous sacrifices were made to obtain this quantity. The seasons in their courses fought against the enactments of the legislature; and the dependence on foreign supplies was never so complete as at the very period when hopes had been entertained that the produce of the home grower would prove sufficiently ample for the wants of the country.

The effects of the different years of scarcity just at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century

cannot be passed over without a cursory notice. The harvest of 1793 had been below an average, and those of the two following years were decidedly deficient. The average price of wheat rose from 55s. 7d., in January 1795, to 108s. 4d. in August. Parliament met in October, when the King's speech alluded to the "very high price of grain" as a subject of "the greatest anxiety." In the following month the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the circumstances of the scarcity and the means of removing it. Monopoly, forestalling, and regrating were alleged to be among the causes of the dearth, and Lord Kenyon, at the Salop assizes, threatened to inflict the "full vengeance of the law" upon those parties who should be found guilty of these practices. The deficiency in the crops was variously estimated at from one-fifth to one-seventh; and, to provide an adequate supply, an act was passed, granting a bounty of from 16s. to 20s. the quarter, according to the quality, on wheat from the south of Europe, till the quantity should amount to 400,000 quarters; and from America till it should amount to 500,000 quarters; and 12s. to 15s. from any other part of Europe till it should amount to the same quantity; the bounty to be 8s. and 10s. after that quantity was exceeded. Neutral vessels laden with grain were forcibly seized on the high seas, and the masters compelled to sell their cargoes to the government agents. The members of both houses of parliament bound themselves by a written pledge to observe the utmost frugality in the use of bread in their respective households; and engaged to reduce the consumption of wheat by at least one-third of the usual quantity consumed in ordinary times, unless the average price of wheat should be reduced to 8s. the bushel. The hair-powder tax was imposed at this period, as a means of diminishing the consumption of wheat.

The high price of wheat produced severe distress. The agricultural districts were disturbed by riots, and that fatal measure—the allowance system—was introduced. For the next two or three years the harvests were more favourable, until the disastrous season of 1799. The average price of wheat at the commencement of that year was 49s. 6d. the quarter, but in December it had risen to 94s. 2d.; and soon after the commencement of the following year the prospects of scarcity had become so formidable, that a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the deficiency in the last crop. In pursuance of the recommendation of this committee, recourse was again had to a bounty; and an act was passed, offering to the importer the difference between the

average price of English wheat, in the second week after importation, and 90s. on wheat from the south of Europe, Africa, and America; 85s. from the Baltic and Germany; and 90s. from Archangel, if imported before the 1st of October 1800. Lord Hawkesbury also brought in a bill, which was passed through its various stages on the following day, prohibiting the sale of bread until twenty-four hours after it had been baked. Notwithstanding these prospective remedies, the average price of wheat continued to advance, and, in June 1800, was 134s. 5d. the quarter. Considerable importations brought down the price to 96s. 2d. in August; but in December it had again advanced to 133s. in consequence of the deficiency of the harvest of 1800.

Parliament was assembled in November 1800 at an earlier period than had been intended, for the purpose of devising measures to remedy the severe distress of the times, arising from the high prices of provisions. The speech from the throne alluded to the supposition of combination and fraudulent practices for the purpose of raising the price of grain, which a committee of the House of Lords denied. A select committee of the commons was again appointed to take into consideration the existing high prices, and by the end of December this committee had presented six reports to the house, in the first of which the deficiency of the crops was stated to be one-fourth, and that the old supplies were exhausted before harvest. The committee suggested a variety of remedies to meet the emergency. Among other things they recommended the encouragement of the fisheries, the stoppage of the distilleries, a bounty on importation, also from a recommendation from persons in authority, pointing out the necessity of the general practice of economy and frugality in all articles of food; and it was proposed to call upon the other house of parliament to join in an address to the throne, requesting his majesty to issue a proclamation in recommendation of this suggestion. A royal proclamation was issued accordingly, and was widely circulated by the clergy and magistrates throughout the kingdom. An act was also passed, guaranteeing the difference between the average price of foreign wheat in the third week after importation and 100s. to the importer of *all* wheat weighing 53lbs. per bushel, if imported within the time limited by the act. The advance of prices continued unchecked in spite of the various plans adopted to lower them; and, in March 1801, wheat averaged 156s. 2d. the quarter, or, taking the imperial measure now in use, 20s. the bushel; barley averaged 90s. 7d. the quarter, and oats 47s. 2d. The importations of the year were, wheat, 1,424,766 quarters; barley,

113,966; oats, 583,043. For four weeks the quartern loaf in London was as high as 1s. 10½d.

The agricultural districts were again disturbed by riots, and the allowance system, introduced as a mode of relieving the distress of the poorest class, was becoming firmly established. They must otherwise have actually perished; and even the classes above them would have shared the same fate, but for the rise of wages and the contributions of parishes, and the aids afforded by friends and by private charity. All these artificial modes of adjustment were miserable expedients, and necessarily fell far short of placing those whom it was designed to benefit in the condition of comfort which they enjoyed when the price of food was low from the effects of abundance. The money wages of the agricultural labourer, in order to have been equal to those which he received in the reign of George II., should have risen to about 30s. per week. Arthur Young gives a list of articles which, when the labourer was paid 5s. per week, he could have purchased with that 5s., namely, a bushel of malt, a bushel of wheat, a pound of butter, a pound of cheese, and a pennyworth of tobacco; and he states that in 1801 these articles would have cost him 26s. 5d. while, wages having risen only to 9s., and the allowance from the parish being estimated at 6s. his real wages were still 11s. 5d. less than under the former period. Thus even the parish allowance, which equalled two-thirds of his wages, left him in a state of distress. There is a table in the Appendix to one of the Parliamentary Reports on the subject of the high price of provisions, which shews that the most indispensable necessities of life had risen 200 per cent. in 1800 as compared with 1773. Both in 1795 and 1800 Mr Whitbread had proposed a bill for regulating the wages of labour by the price of provisions, and fixing a minimum of wages, but such an expedient was wisely rejected. The rise of wages, without which actual starvation would have ensued, inadequate as it proved, was better than such a plan. Several trades succeeded in obtaining an advance; and from the statements of the tailors and printers of London, in support of their claims, we take the following particulars:—The wages of the former class of workmen, from 1777 to 1795, had averaged 21s. 9d. per week, and the price of the quartern loaf being 7½d., they could purchase thirty-six loaves with a week's wages. During the scarcity of 1795 their wages had been advanced to 25s., and in 1801 to 27s., in which latter year a week's wages would purchase only 18½ quartern loaves. The wages of compositors had been advanced from 24s. to 27s. in 1795, and to 30s. in 1801. The advance in the wages of carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and artisans of a similar

stamp was inconsiderable. The salaries of persons holding official situations under the government were also increased. The misery of the bulk of the people during the years of scarcity is shewn by the diminished number of marriages, which, from 79,477 in 1798, were reduced to 67,288 in 1801.

The fallacy that wages advance with the price of food was never more glaringly displayed than at this period ; and it is still a prevalent notion that there is a connexion between high prices of provisions and high wages, though, seventy years ago, Adam Smith had shewn (and his doctrine on this subject has never been controverted)—1. That the real wages of labour rise in a year of plenty and diminish in a season of scarcity. In the former, the funds in the hands of the employers of industry are sufficient to maintain a greater number of industrious people, and, as masters wanting workmen bid against each other, money wages may also rise. 2. That a year of scarcity and high prices diminishes the funds for the employment of labour ; persons are thrown out of employment who bid against one another in order to get it, and wages fall. 3. That, in the *ordinary* variations of the price of provisions, these two opposite causes are counter-balanced, which is one reason why the wages of labour are more steady and permanent than the price of provisions.* In the evidence before the Lords' Committee on the Corn Laws in 1814 there is a remarkable illustration of the effect of the scarcity of 1812 on wages. Mr Milne, a landowner, stated that a certain description of farm-labour, which, twenty-five years before, had cost him 3s., and which a neighbour of his had paid 5s. for two or three years before, was executed during a period of scarcity and high prices for 2s. 6d., the cause of this difference being, as he alleged, "that a great many labourers were idle from having little work, in consequence of those employed doing double work."

There was one class to whom the period of this memorable dearth was a season of great prosperity, that is, as Mr Tooke states, "to the landlords, who were raising, or had the prospect of soon raising, their rents ; and to the farmers, who were realizing enormous gains pending the currency of their leases." Arthur Young estimated the additional sum received by the corn-growers in 1795-6, as compared with the average of the twelve years ending 1794, at L.19,533,849, allowing one-fifth for the deficiency of the wheat-crop. This large sum in the first instance found its way into the pockets of the farmers, and the landlords next advanced their claims to a portion of the advantage, and raised their rents.

* Wealth of Nations, book i. chap. viii.

A tolerably abundant harvest in 1801 happily put an end to the great dearth. In March the average price of wheat was 155s. the quarter; in June, with the prospect of a favourable harvest, it was 129s. 8d., and at the end of the year the price had fallen to 75s. 6d. In the two following years the harvests, though not very abundant, were favourable, and a further depression of prices took place. At the close of 1802 the average price of wheat was 57s. 1d. the quarter; early in 1803, 52s. 3d.; and at a corresponding period in 1804 the average price was as low as 49s. 6d. Meetings were now held in the agricultural counties for the purpose of petitioning parliament for additional protection to agriculture, the act of 1790-1, which had raised the free import price* from 48s. to 54s., having been unsuccessful. This brings us to the termination of the fourth period.

The act of 1790-1 consolidated, amended, and repealed a number of old statutes relating to the corn-trade; amongst the latter, the 15 Charles II. c. 7, which prohibited buying corn to sell again, and laying up corn in warehouses. It also permitted foreign corn and grain to be bonded in the King's warehouses, the duty to be payable only when taken out for home consumption. The object of this beneficial clause is stated as follows:—"To promote and extend the commerce of the merchants of this kingdom in foreign corn, and to provide stores which may always be ready for the relief of his Majesty's subjects in times of dearth."

Many of the provisions of the act, however, interfered with trade to a vexatious and injurious extent. When foreign exportation was not allowed at any particular port, not even home produce could be carried thence coastwise, even to a port at which exportation was at the time taking place. Foreign vessels might, however, change their destination to any port where importation was permitted, if, on their arrival at that for which their cargo had been shipped, importation had ceased to be allowed. The country was still divided into so many independent sections, and this regulation was introduced into Scotland, which was divided into four districts. For the purposes of exportation, the weekly averages of each district were cited, and for importation, the average of the six weeks preceding the 15th of February, May, August, and November. Thus the one varied from week to week, and the latter was only changed four times a-year.

Fifth Period.—From 1804 to 1815.

On the 13th of April 1804, the Chancellor of the Exche-

* There was a nominal duty of 6d.

quer moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the principle and operation of the Corn Regulation Act of 1791, and to determine whether the scale which it fixed for the regulation of imports and exports was now applicable. On the 14th of the ensuing month, the committee presented their report, in which they stated that the act alluded to required "very material alteration." On the 14th of June the committee presented a second report, in which their convictions as to the necessity of some new legislative measure on the trade in corn are thus stated:—"It appears to your committee that the price of corn from 1791 to the harvest of 1803 has been very irregular; but, upon an average, increased in a great degree by the years of scarcity, has in general yielded a fair profit to the grower. The casual high prices, however, have had the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into culture large tracts of waste land, which, combined with the two last productive seasons, has occasioned such a depression in the value of grain, as, it is feared, will greatly tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless maintained by the support of parliament." The committee founded their recommendations for protection on "a comparative view of the price of labour, and of the unavoidable expenses incident to the farmer in the year 1791, and to the farmer at the present time." Their views prevailed also in the legislature, where a bill to give effect to them was introduced on the 20th of June.

The scale for the admission of foreign corn established by the act of 1804 was as follows:—Wheat under 63s. per quarter, the "high duty" of 24s. 3d. payable; at 63s. and under 66s., the "first low duty;" and at or above 66s., the "second low duty," which amounted only to 6d. The free import, or nominal duty price, was thus raised from 54s., at which it stood in the act of 1790-1, to 66s.—an increase of 12s. The bounty of 5s. on exportation was to be paid when the average price of wheat was at or under 48s.; and when the average rose to 54s. exportation to be prohibited. The two latter enactments proved totally inoperative.

Immediately after the passing of this act, the price of wheat and other grain rose, a circumstance which was at first attributed by many to that measure. Between March and December, the average price had increased from 49s. 6d. the quarter to 86s. 2d.; and in the spring of the following year, petitions were presented to parliament expressing dissatisfaction with the new act on account of its alleged operation on prices. The crops in 1804, however, proved very deficient; and it is therefore more correct to attribute the rise to this

cause. In the three following seasons the harvests were not abundant, and, in the five years from 1808 to 1812, they were very deficient. In the month of August, in the latter year, the average prices were—for wheat, 155s.; barley, 79s. 10d. and oats, 56s. 2d.; and Mr Tooke says,* that in Mark Lane the finest Dantzic wheat fetched 180s., and oats, in one or two instances, were sold at the enormous price of 84s. the quarter.

Coincident with the unfavourable seasons during this period, there was the effect of the great war in which we were then engaged, which in various ways increased the cost of production, and, by impeding commercial intercourse, rendered it difficult and expensive to obtain supplies from abroad at a time when our own harvests were inadequate. These obstacles were at one time so serious, from the effect of the Berlin and Milan Decrees and the American Non-intercourse Act, as to threaten us with total exclusion from the continental ports. But, notwithstanding the anti-commercial spirit which the war had assumed, and at a period when this influence was relied upon as a most powerful means of distressing this country, licenses were granted by the French government, in consequence of which about 400,000 quarters of wheat, besides other grain, were imported to supply the deficiency of the harvest of 1809 in this country. The harvest, both in France and the Netherlands, had been very abundant, and the export of a part of their surplus produce was a great relief to the corn-growers of those countries. In 1810 we imported 1,500,000 quarters of wheat and flour, and 600,000 quarters of other grain and meal. The expenses of freight, insurance, and licenses, amounted to from 30s. to 50s. per quarter on wheat. From 1809 to 1812, the freight and insurance on wheat from the Baltic was 50s. the quarter. Prices necessarily rose to a great height in the home market before the obstacles to commercial intercourse arising from the war could be overcome, and an average price of 80s. the quarter for wheat was, at times, insufficient to lead to any considerable importation. The enormous charges on importation were, of course, added to the natural price of British corn; and thus we have easily explained the cause of the "war prices" of this memorable period, and of the extraordinary profits of farmers and landowners.

The high prices stimulated cultivation, and, from 1804 to 1814 inclusively, the number of enclosure bills which received the royal assent was 1084, being considerably more than for

* History of Prices, i. p. 323.

any other corresponding period. The state of the agricultural interest at this time has been impartially described by Mr Tooke:—A great amount of gain had been distributed among the agricultural classes; and as the range of high prices (with an interval of depression between the harvests of 1810 and 1811, so short as not to have been felt at all by the landlord, and very little by the farmer) had been of an unusually long continuance, it was concluded that the causes of that high range were permanent. From 1809 to 1813 was, accordingly, the period in which rents experienced their greatest rise; that is, upon the expiration of leases, they were advanced in full proportion to the high range of the prices of produce; and in several instances they were raised threefold or upwards of what they had been in 1792.* In an ensuing period we shall see the disasters which the farmers experienced under other circumstances in consequence of the dangerous state of artificial prosperity in which they were placed during the war.

The effect of another cycle of bad seasons, to which is to be added increasing taxation, was not favourable to the interests of the working classes. In 1812 and 1813, the poor-rates amounted to about L.3,300,000 more than they had been in 1803, a year of low prices and agricultural distress. Still, further attempts had been made to adjust wages to the high price of provisions, and the demand of men for the navy and army offered a resource which frequently rendered the strikes of workmen for advanced wages successful. The wages of artisans and labourers were nearly doubled—that is, the money value of their wages; but their real value—the command of a week's earnings over the necessities of life—was diminished. The rise of money wages had reached its maximum in 1812. The workmen employed in manufactures experienced severe distress during this period; the advance of wages was less in their case than that of any other class; in some branches of manufacture there had been no change; in others it was accompanied by longer hours of work; and the stagnation of the export trade occasioned nearly a total cessation of employment in several branches of manufacturing industry. Many parts of the country were disturbed by riots in consequence of the inability of the poorer classes to purchase an adequate share of food during these seasons of agricultural prosperity and high prices, arising from defective harvests, and other causes to which allusion has been made.

A year or two of low prices of agricultural produce again brought to a close another period in the history of the Corn Laws. Wheat, which had been sold as high as 180s. the

* History of Prices, i., 323–6.

quarter (for select parcels) in 1812, fell to 73s. 6d. after the abundant harvest of 1813; and after that of 1814, which was rather favourable than otherwise, the average price was reduced to 53s. 7d. the quarter. This fall in prices and the cessation of hostilities led to the reconsideration of the whole question of the Corn Law.

During the present period an important change was made in the mode of striking the average prices of corn and grain. The twelve maritime districts of England, and the four similar districts of Scotland, ceased to be regarded as sixteen separate sections, each of which was regulated by the prices prevalent within its separate limits; but for England, the averages, taken as before, were computed for the whole of the twelve districts at once, and the average price obtained from the computation regulated importation and exportation at sea-ports situate in any part of the country; and for Scotland the same plan was pursued. The six weeks' averages, struck quarterly, regulated the import-duty, and the weekly average the exports.

In 1806 was passed "An Act to permit the free Interchange of every species of Grain between Great Britain and Ireland."* Ireland had been previously treated as a colony, but this act placed her on an equality with other parts of the kingdom, and, for oats, has rendered Ireland the granary of England. In 1838 nearly two million quarters (1,948,380) of oats and oat-meal were imported into Great Britain from Ireland, and the supply is yearly increasing; the imports of wheat from the sister kingdom have been gradually diminishing since 1832, when the quantity was 552,741 quarters.

SECT. XVII.—CORN-LAW OF 1815.

The corn-law of 1815 originated in the desire to preserve, during a state of peace, the high rents and prices which had existed during the war. The war had been a period of scarcity, arising from various causes, and the real effect of this measure was to perpetuate the high prices and high rents by an artificial scarcity. On the 10th of June 1814, a committee of the House of Lords on the corn-trade was appointed, which made a brief report on the 27th, when the committee was instructed to examine witnesses in support of allegations contained in petitions presented to the house on the subject. The principal feature of the second report was the recommendation of the committee that, so long as the average price of wheat

* 46 Geo. III. c. 97.

was under 80s. the ports should be completely closed against supplies from other countries. The prohibitive price suggested by the agricultural witnesses examined by the committee varied from 72s. to 96s. Out of sixteen witnesses belonging to this class, only four were in favour of the free importation price being below 80s. per quarter. This second report was presented on the 25th of July ; but the attempt to give so complete a monopoly as would have been established by carrying out the recommendations of the Lords' committee was so resolutely opposed by the country that the bill which had been brought in for the purpose was abandoned. An act was however passed, repealing the bounty on exportation,* which had been allowed under various circumstances since 1688, though, from 1792, the high prices which prevailed in the home market rendered it inoperative. By the new act exportation might take place at any time without reference to prevailing prices.

The average price of wheat for the year 1814 was about 34s. per quarter lower than the average of the preceding year, though the harvest had not been an abundant one. In the month of February 1815, the average price was under 60s., and before harvest it might rise to 66s., when the ports would be open and prices again be depressed, and it was brought to a very low point, in consequence of the obstacles to free intercourse with the continent being removed. Early in the session of 1815, therefore, a bill was brought in, giving effect to the recommendation of the committee of the previous year, and fixing 80s. as the lowest point at which importation could take place. The measure produced great excitement throughout the country, particularly in the manufacturing districts and in all the large towns. In the House of Commons, at an early period, a division took place in favour of 72s. being substituted for 80s., with the following result:—For the motion 35 ; against it 154—majority 119. On the 3d of March an attempt was made to throw out the bill:—For the motion 56 ; against it 218 ; majority 162. On the 6th of March the vicinity of the House of Commons was thronged by an excited multitude, and several members were stopped, some of them roughly handled, and they were questioned by the mob as to the vote which they intended to give. Ultimately the military were called out, and, with the civil force, kept the streets clear. This evening the gallery of the House of Commons was closed. An attempt was made to render the bill more favourable by substituting 74s. instead of 80s. as the pivot price ; and the motion was supported by 77 against 208, being

* 54 Geo. III. c. 69.

a majority of 131. On the 8th of May, on bringing up the report, an amendment was moved, that the bill be read that day six months, when there voted 50 in its favour and 168 against it; majority 118. A final attempt was made to substitute a lower rate than 80s., leaving it to the house to determine the exact price at which prohibition ceased; but only 78 voted for the motion, and 184 in favour of the measure as originally proposed. On the 10th of March, on the third reading, an amendment was moved that the bill be thrown out, but it was only supported by 77 against 245; majority 168. On the 20th of March the bill passed the Lords by a majority of 107:—128 contents and 21 non-contents. The measure was opposed with great force and acuteness by several of the most eminent statesmen of the day; and Lord Grenville drew up a protest embodying the views of the leaders of the minority.

SECT. XVIII.—LORD GRENVILLE'S PROTEST.

“1. Because we are adverse in principle to all new restraints on commerce. We think it certain that public prosperity is best promoted by leaving uncontrolled the free current of national industry; and we wish, rather, by well-considered steps, to bring back our commercial legislation to the straight and simple line of wisdom than to increase the deviation by subjecting additional and extensive branches of the public interest to fresh systems of artificial and injurious restriction.

“2. Because we think that the great practical rule of leaving our commerce unfettered applies more peculiarly, and on still stronger grounds of justice, as well as of policy, to the corn trade than to any other. Irresistible, indeed, must be the necessity which could, in our judgment, authorize the legislature to tamper with the sustenance of the people, and to impede the free purchase and sale of that article on which depends the existence of so large a portion of the community.

“3. Because we think that the expectations of ultimate benefit from this measure are founded on a delusive theory. We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all, its effects must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country is to refuse to ourselves the

benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalizing to man the variations of season and of climate.

"4. But, whatever may be the future consequences of this law, at some distant and uncertain period, we see, with pain, that those hopes must be purchased at the expense of a great and present evil. To compel the consumer to purchase corn dearer at home than it might be imported from abroad is the immediate practical effect of this law. In this way alone can it operate. Its present protection, its promised extension of agriculture, must result (if at all) from the profits which it creates by keeping up the price of corn to an artificial level. These future benefits are the consequences expected, but, as we confidently believe, erroneously expected, from giving a bounty to the grower of corn, by a tax levied on its consumer.

"5. Because we think that the adoption of any permanent law for such a purpose requires the fullest and most laborious investigation. Nor would it have been sufficient for our satisfaction could we have been convinced of the general policy of so hazardous an experiment. A still further inquiry would have been necessary to persuade us that the present moment was fit for its adoption. In such an inquiry we must have had the means of satisfying ourselves what its immediate operation will be, as connected with the various and pressing circumstances of public difficulty and distress with which the country is now surrounded; with the state of circulation and currency; of our agriculture and manufactures; of our internal and external commerce; and, above all, with the condition and reward of the industrious labouring classes of our community. On all these particulars, as they respect this question, we think that parliament is almost wholly uninformed; on all, we see reason for the utmost anxiety and alarm from the operation of this law.

"Lastly, Because, if we could approve of the principle and purpose of this law, we think that no sufficient foundation has been laid for its details. The evidence before us, unsatisfactory and imperfect as it is, seems to us rather to disprove than to support the propriety of the high price adopted as the standard of importation, and the fallacious mode by which that price is to be ascertained.

"And on all these grounds we are anxious to record our dissent from a measure so precipitate in its course, and, as we fear, so injurious in its consequences.

" AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,	GRENVILLE.
(Duke of Sussex.)	WELLESLEY.
WILLIAM FREDERICK,	ESSEX.
(Duke of Gloucester.)	TORRINGTON.

DUTTON, (Marquis of Douglas.) KING.
 CHANDOS BUCKINGHAM. CARLISLE."
 MONTFORT.

On the 23d of March the bill received the Royal assent.

Until the average price of wheat rose to 80s. the ports were to be effectually closed. Colonial wheat was admitted when the average prices reached 67s. per quarter. Such was the leading feature of the new act.* But the mode in which the average prices were determined greatly increased its stringency. A new average was to be struck quarterly, on the 15th of February, May, August, and November, from the aggregate prices of the six preceding weeks; but it was provided that, if during the six weeks subsequent to any of these dates, the average prices, which might be at 80s., fell below that price, no supplies should be admitted for home consumption from any ports between the rivers Eyder and the Bidassoa—that is, from Denmark to Spain.

THIRD DIVISION.

FROM 1815 TO THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

SECT. I.—RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM HUSKISSON.

Before proceeding to the next changes in the Corn-Laws, we must introduce the statesman who became the leader in the political reformation of commerce.

William Huskisson was born on the 11th March 1770, at Birch Moreton Court, in the county of Worcester, which place, with a large farm attached to it, his father rented from the Earl of Belmont, on separating from the paternal roof at Oxley, near Wolverhampton, at the time of his marriage. At Oxley, the Huskisson family had inherited and occupied a small landed estate for several generations.

The father and mother of William Huskisson had three other sons, Richard, who died in the West Indies, Samuel, a major-general in the army, who served many years with distinction in the East Indies, and Charles, who continued to reside on his own property in Worcestershire. On the death of his wife, which occurred in 1774, soon after giving birth to the youngest of these sons, Mr Huskisson, having lost his

* 55 Geo. III. c. 26.

older brother, returned to his father's house at Oxley, where, having succeeded to the property, he continued to reside until his own death in 1790.

"These minute particulars," says a biographer of the William Huskisson whose memoirs we are about to trace, respecting his birth and family, have been considered necessary, because attempts have been made to represent him as an illegitimate child—a stigma on the memory of his parents which he indignantly refuted in a speech made from the hustings at his first election for Liverpool, where placards had been circulated by some of his opponents, warning the electors not to waste their votes on a candidate who was ineligible as being an "illegitimate alien." "Gentlemen," said Mr Huskisson, "I scorn to disprove, however indignantly I repel, that part of this false accusation which applies to my parents."

The long and intimate friendship which subsisted uninterruptedly for so many years between Mr Huskisson and Mr Canning, and the striking coincidences in the lives and fortunes of these two great men, may recall to the recollection of many, that a similar charge of illegitimacy was propagated by falsehood and malignity, in order to cast a slur upon the birth of the latter. "To such base and contemptible expedients will some natures descend, to wound the feelings or to excite a prejudice against those whose well-earned fame and popularity they are unable to overturn, by assailing either their public or private character."

William Huskisson being only five years old on his mother's death, was then removed to an infant school at Brewood, in Staffordshire, more for the purpose of being taken care of than for that of education. He was afterwards removed to Albrighton, and lastly to Appleby, in Leicestershire, where, young as he was, he gave evident promise of those talents by which in after life he acquired for himself so much distinction. It is not singular, it is what might have been supposed, that the statesman who was great by his easy mastery of numerical calculations in after life, must have been, as a boy, possessed of a natural talent for the science of arithmetic. He possessed that talent in his school days, and improved it as he grew to manhood.

In his youth, his education was promoted by his maternal uncle, Dr Gem, a physician who had accompanied the British Embassy to Paris in 1763, and who resided there many years after. The family biographer is at some pains to disprove the allegation that young Huskisson was a medical student, or that he was in his youth anything more than a gentleman who

lived in the "best society," wore the best clothes, lived on the best food, and did nothing for his living. We can understand the motive which elicits this anxiety to prove gentility and idleness. The motive is to make peace with the unfortunate predilection of the British aristocracy, with whom he was subsequently allied in politics, for wealthy ease and no work: the case seems made out. William Huskisson, with good natural abilities, was educated to idleness. Without a suitable provision from family resources to maintain him in idleness, he was early accustomed to the society of those who performed no useful labour, was early accustomed to look upon enjoyment without earning it as true dignity; and with his good natural talents, and this bad education, was thrown on society to push his fortune as a politician. He toiled on, clinging to the skirts of the aristocracy for many years, smiled upon sometimes, buffeted more than once; a man superior to most of them by nature, meaner than all by his position; he would have been used by them to the end of his days, they riding high handed through the political world, and he their footman, trudging and drudging at their side, and would have died unknown to biographic history, but for the commercial politics of the last dozen years of his life. The politics of those years have saved his memory alive: they detached from him the aristocratic connection, though they did not detach him from it.

His uncle, Dr Gem, was intimate with Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson of America, who had both represented the United States at the French Court; and he seems to have been one of the philosophic reformers of that time, of whom there were many in England and France, dreaming of some kind of sentimental legislation making all men politically free and happy; but not dreaming that all political freedom is barren without universal and persevering industry among all classes of people; not dreaming that happiness in a community as in an individual must be dependant on the act of doing something to deserve it.

Partaking, to some extent, of those well-meant, ill-directed opinions of the philosophic dreamers, Mr Huskisson became a member of the "Club of 1789" in Paris, after having been present at the taking and destruction of the Bastille in July 1789. During the two or three years of that revolution, as during other revolutions in that country, the clubs, composed of the least practical of the people, the scholastic idlers, and the least educated of the workers, led the multitudes, and made turmoil of opinion. The "Club of '89" was, said Mr Huskisson, in a speech at Liverpool in 1823, in denial of an

accusation that he had been a French Jacobin and republican, "the Club of '89 was to support the monarchy, as settled and limited by the king's acceptance of the constitution in that year. That club was set up in opposition to the anarchical doctrines and daring endeavours of the Jacobins to destroy the monarchy, and in the hope of proving a rallying point to those who, whilst they were anxious on the one hand to counteract such criminal projects, were not less desirous on the other to prevent the return of the absolute power and abuses of the former system."

Some record has been preserved of a speech delivered at this club in which he controverts the practicability of carrying on the government by an issue of incontrovertible paper money called assignats. "You had better exchange your land for your existing government securities which do not circulate, so that your acres may extinguish your debt. Whereas, if you put this enormous amount of paper money into circulation, all the effect of it will be that your prices in *paper* will go to any amount, your gold and silver will rise in *paper* price like all other things, and you will have to pay a thousand livres in paper for as much wheat as you now have in silver."

So far this was economically sound. But Mr Huskisson did not tell them, because he did not then see it, perhaps he did not see it to the end of his life, that the only practicable method of raising funds to carry on the government and of enriching France was to let France work; to make every French man and French woman do something to give France more food, clothing, houses, furniture, fuel, and implements of work. "When he delivered his speech," it is said, "the Anglo mania was at its height in Paris, and the young Englishman soon found himself an object of general interest and admiration in all the most distinguished liberal circles of that metropolis. His discourse was loudly extolled, his talents became the theme of general conversation, and his society was eagerly courted by people of the highest consideration and fashion of both sexes."

In 1790 Mr Huskisson, through these circumstances, was introduced to Lord Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford and Duke of Sutherland, then British ambassador at Paris, and was appointed private secretary to the embassy. His political life was begun. After a time he and the Sutherland family parted friendship politically, Huskisson adhering to the Tory aristocracy who were in office, in preference to the Whigs who were out, who remained for many long years out, and whose alliance seemed fatal to all aspiring gentlemen that desired to get in. When, after many years, he made his ap-

pearance as a commercial reformer, on the silk trade, Lord Gower, by that time Marquis of Stafford, congratulated him on his services, and also reminded him of his former liberalism. "I cannot conclude," says the Marquis, "without doing justice to Lady Stafford, by saying that she enters into all my sentiments upon the occasion most sincerely." Then his Lordship proceeds to say what, after a quarter of a century of Tory drudgery, as a man of all work, must have seemed a doubtful compliment, "You must have great inward satisfaction in tracing your progress, from the period of your first display at the 'Club de '89' to the present time. Believe me to be, with all feelings of old friendship, sincerely yours. STAFFORD."

In the earlier stages of the French revolution Mr Huskisson was compelled by circumstances to be more than a mere witness. On the 10th of August 1792, a day standing eminent among the most accursed of Parisian anarchy, in the evening, when (says our authority) slaughter had stayed its weary arm, and it became possible for a foreigner to venture forth into the streets of Paris, Mr Huskisson went out to view the field of conflict, and to endeavour to obtain some more accurate information of the transactions which had taken place in the last twenty-four hours. When he returned to his apartments at the British embassy, he found that, during his absence, Monsieur de Champcenetz, the then governor of the Tuileries, had taken refuge there. This nobleman had, when the palace was assaulted and carried by the infuriated mob, either been thrown or had jumped from one of the windows, and that he had fallen amongst some of the unfortunate Swiss, whose bodies lay in heaps around the palace which they had so gallantly attempted to defend. After remaining in this perilous situation for some hours, and happily eluding the murderous search of the wretches who were engaged in giving the finishing stroke to any of the victims who still breathed, he had contrived, with much difficulty, to make his way to the hotel of the British ambassador, where, by passing himself as an Englishman, he obtained access to the apartments of Mr Huskisson, with whom he was slightly acquainted. The situation was one of the utmost delicacy and of the greatest embarrassment. The fugitive threw himself on Mr Huskisson's honour, and appealed to his generosity and humanity to protect him from the assassins. To drive him from his refuge was virtually to become his murderer, and to deliver him up to a fate even more cruel than that from which he had escaped. To allow him to remain was to incur the deepest responsibility, to run the risk of compromising the ambassador, and to hazard the danger of provoking a war between France and England. It was as

imperative to keep the knowledge that a person so closely attached to the royal family had taken shelter in the hotel of the embassy from reaching Lord Gower as it was to prevent the circumstance from being discovered by the populace, already steeped in blood and mad for more. Mr Huskisson placed his unfortunate guest under the protection of a laundress on whom he could rely. He contrived to have him secretly conveyed to her dwelling, furnished him with money and whatever else he required, and at the expiration of a week of mutual alarm and anxiety, had the happiness of knowing that he had quitted Paris in safety. This nobleman died after having been restored to the government of the Tuileries by Louis XVIII.

After the catastrophe of the 10th of August, and the deposition of Louis XVII. the British government recalled its minister. Mr Huskisson accompanied Lord Gower and his family to England. From his knowledge of Paris and the French language, and through the favour of Lord Gower, he was appointed to an office by Mr Pitt, for adjusting the claims and affairs of the numerous bodies of French refugees.

He succeeded to the entailed estate of the family by the death of his father in 1790. But a considerable portion of it had been alienated to make provision for the younger children. He took measures for cutting off the remainder of the entail of the estate in Staffordshire, and settled in London landless. It was then he became acquainted with Mr Canning.

In 1795 Mr Huskisson was appointed under secretary to Mr Dundas in the office of war and colonies, much of the labour in which devolved on him; and from that period to his death in 1830 his life was strictly that of a politician.

Towards the close of the year 1796 he obtained a seat in parliament for the borough of Morpeth, through the nomination of the Earl of Carlisle, who at that time was an adherent of Mr Pitt's government. He did not soon become a speaker. His name first occurs as a member addressing the house in February 1798. This was on the subject of Sir Sidney Smith a prisoner in France, on which occasion he denied the reports, prevalent in that country, of French prisoners being subjected to ill-treatment in England.

When Mr Pitt retired from office in 1801, Mr Huskisson and Mr Canning retired also. But Lord Hobart, who succeeded to the war office, induced Mr Huskisson to remain a short time to initiate him into its duties.

In 1800, by the death of his uncle, Dr Gem of Paris, he succeeded to an estate in Worcestershire, and as residuary legatee to a mortgage on the estate of Eastham in Sussex.

Mr Hayley, the poet, the friend of Cowper, was the mortgagor, and being disposed to sell the property, did so to Mr Huskisson for the payment of a small sum over the mortgage. The following passage from the family memoir, written soon after his death, must stand as there written. It is the language of a widow who remembers she was once a bride and a wife.

“ In 1799, he had married the youngest daughter of Admiral Milbanke, an union in every respect most gratifying to his friends, and which proved to himself a source of unchequered and increasing happiness, till it was torn asunder by the dreadful catastrophe which has left her no other worldly consolation than the remembrance of the virtues which adorned him, and that which may be gathered from the universal sympathy of the world, which deplores and participates in her loss.”

Mr Huskisson seems to have been singularly unfortunate in regard of accidents. As a child, he fractured his arm ; a few days before his marriage, his horse fell with him, and he was severely hurt ; soon after, he was knocked down by the pole of a carriage, just at the entrance to the Horse Guards ; in the autumn of 1801, being then in Scotland at the Duke of Atholl's, he missed his distance in attempting to leap the moat, and gave himself a most violent sprain of the ankle, accompanied with a considerable laceration of some of the tendons and ligaments of his foot, and it was many weeks before he recovered sufficiently to leave Scotland. Indeed, the effects of this accident were visible in his gait during the remainder of his life. He afterwards fractured his arm by a fall from his horse at Petworth ; and again, in 1817, by his carriage being overturned. On this occasion, none of his surgeons could discover the precise nature of the mischief, but Sir Astley Cooper was of opinion that the bone was split from the fracture up to the joint. The recovery was slow, and his sufferings very severe, as all kinds of experiments were employed to prevent the joint from stiffening. In spite of every exertion, he never recovered the full use of his arm, and a visible alteration in the spirit and elasticity of his carriage resulted from the injury. He was constantly encountering accidents of minor importance, and the frequency of them, joined to a frame enfeebled from the severe illnesses under which he suffered during his latter years, had given rise to a certain hesitation in his movements, wherever any crowd or obstacle impeded him, which may, perhaps, in some degree have led to that last misfortune, which, to his friends and to the country, may well be termed irreparable.

At the general election in 1802, he offered himself as a

candidate for Dover; but, though supported by the good wishes and influence of the Lord Warden, he was defeated by Mr Spencer Smith, the government candidate, whose brother, Sir Sydney, got possession of the church (in which the election was then held) with his boat's crew, and effectually blockaded all approach to the voters in the opposite interest. After this defeat, he did not come into parliament till 1804.

In the month of February in that year a vacancy occurred in the representation of Liskeard, Mr Eliot, the sitting member, having succeeded to the peerage on the death of his brother, Lord Eliot. Mr Huskisson was induced to offer himself, and was opposed by Mr Thomas Sheridan. Owing to some mismanagement in forwarding the writ, the contest proved more severe than had been anticipated, and a double return was made. A petition was presented by Mr Huskisson, which had to pass through three committees before a final decision was obtained in his favour. During the interval, Mr Addington had been driven from the helm by the united attacks of Mr Pitt and Mr Fox, and an attempt was made to give to the country a powerful and efficient ministry, which should embrace the friends of both those statesmen. But difficulties arising which were deemed insurmountable, Mr Pitt undertook to form an administration, excluding as well Mr Fox and the Whigs, as Lord Grenville and his adherents. Under this arrangement Mr Huskisson was appointed one of the secretaries of the Treasury.

The second administration of Mr Pitt was clouded abroad by the disastrous overthrow of the third coalition, whilst at home the impeachment of Lord Melville, and his own declining strength, cast a shade of weakness and discomfiture over his government, in strong and mortifying contrast with the days of his former power. On his death in January 1806, the feeble remains of the cabinet gave way before the mere anticipation of the formidable phalanx opposed to them, and "all the talents" assumed the reins of government.

Mr Huskisson now became an active member of the opposition, and shewed himself a shrewd and vigilant observer of the proceedings of ministers. His attention was particularly directed to their financial measures; and, in the month of July, he moved a string of resolutions relating to public accounts, which were approved of, and agreed to, by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty.

Parliament having been dissolved in the autumn of this year, Mr Huskisson was again returned for Liskeard. On the formation of the Duke of Portland's government in the

April following, he resumed his situation as Secretary of the Treasury, and the new administration having deemed it advisable to appeal to the sense of the country, and to call a fresh parliament, he became member for Harwich, which place he continued to represent till the general election in 1812.

Notwithstanding that fourteen years had elapsed since the commencement of his public career—during the far greater portion of which he had been a member of the House of Commons, and held active important official situations—Mr Huskisson had hitherto almost invariably refrained from entering the lists as a general debater, and had been contented to owe his reputation to his clear and intimate knowledge and skill in the transaction of business. He may be supposed to have been so long restrained from the exhibition of his great and varied attainments, upon questions well calculated for their successful display, by that constitutional diffidence which was one of the most marked characteristics of his boyhood, and which never abandoned him through life; for it has been remarked, by those well capable of forming an unprejudiced judgment, that even in the most elaborate and powerful speeches of his later years, when in full possession of the attention of the house, and cheered on by their admiration, he always seemed reluctant to give the reins to his imagination, and studiously to draw back, as though trenching on forbidden ground, whenever he became aware that he was departing from that close and argumentative style of oratory, which was based upon the most profound calculations, and upon the most extensive, curious, and accurate information and research. Yet in spite of this rigid self-control, it would be easy to point out in his speeches many passages worthy of the greatest orators, and conveyed in the purest spirit of eloquence.

The committee appointed in 1807 to inquire into the means of reducing the public expenditure, had suggested that a new arrangement should be made between the public and the Bank of England. Upon the change of government, the task of carrying this recommendation into effect devolved, of course, upon Mr Perceval, who, early in the session of 1808, brought the whole transaction under the consideration of parliament, and proposed some resolutions founded upon it, which were agreed to without a division. The letters which passed between the treasury and the bank upon this occasion, and which gave evident signs of superior talent, and of a most perfect acquaintance with the subject, necessarily bore the signature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the reputation of Mr Huskisson as a financier and statesman received an im-

mense addition from the important share which he was universally understood to have had in preparing the correspondence on the part of the government, and in conducting the negotiation to a satisfactory termination.

In the long debates which took place respecting the charges brought against the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, he bore little or no share; but when Colonel Wardle, a day or two before the close of the session of 1809, came forward with a sweeping motion relative to public economy, Mr Huskisson appears, for the first time, as a principal in an important general debate, and on a subject embracing the widest field for discussion. The deep attention with which his reply to Colonel Wardle was heard, demonstrated at once the intrinsic merits of the speech, and the high rank to which the speaker had won his way in the estimation of the house.

In the spring of this year, a very strong wish was expressed by the Duke of Richmond—then Viceroy of Ireland—that Mr Huskisson should succeed Sir Arthur Wellesely as secretary to that government, and the offer was accordingly made by the minister; but it was accompanied with such a forcible explanation of the detriment which must ensue to the interests and well carrying-on of the government, from any arrangement which should remove him from the office which he actually held, and any such change was so strongly deprecated, that Mr Huskisson reluctantly acquiesced in the objections, and relinquished the rank and importance of the Irish secretaryship to the wishes and accommodation of the English government.

He might now be said to have surmounted those appalling difficulties which beset the course of a public man who is resolved to win for himself fame and distinction, unassisted by the adventitious concomitants of rank and fortune, and to have vindicated his claim to aspire, at no distant time, to the highest offices of the state.

In recurring to the history of this period, and in reflecting upon the serious influence which it may reasonably be expected the continuance in office of two such men as Mr Canning and Mr Huskisson would have had, amid the extraordinary events which followed in such rapid succession, during the years which elapsed before they returned to power, the dissensions between Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, which, in the month of September, led to the resignation of these two ministers, is still a matter of historical interest, to their friends a matter of regret.

On the retirement of Mr Canning, Mr Huskisson steadily resisted the earnest entreaties of Mr Perceval to continue in

the government, and rejecting, without a moment's hesitation, all the flattering offers which were made to him, followed the fortunes of his friend. A greater or more disinterested proof of attachment was never, perhaps, given than was manifested in this decision. From the very nature of his office, Mr Huskisson was far removed from all participation in the causes or progress of the disagreement which ended in such an unfortunate result; and, however closely connected by the ties of private friendship with one of the parties, his continuance in office with Mr Perceval could not, in the remotest degree, have compromised either his public or private character. By postponing the suggestions of legitimate ambition to the dictates of friendship, he was perfectly aware that he was opening to younger competitors an opportunity of passing him in that arduous career in which he had for so many years and with such indefatigable exertions been advancing, and this too at the critical moment when the object of his labours was almost within his view, while it was evident that the opportunity now rejected might, and probably would, be long ere it could be recalled. Uninfluenced by all these considerations, Mr Huskisson, at the age of forty, gave to the world this convincing proof of the strength and purity of that regard for Mr Canning, both as a friend and as a minister, which ended only in death, a proof which was subsequently renewed, on more than one occasion and with a similar sacrifice of all personal ambition.

After a fruitless attempt to obtain the assistance of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, in forming a combined and extended government, the administration was partially remodelled.

In the session of 1810, Mr Huskisson's parliamentary exertions were principally limited to some strong observations on the army estimates, in which he strenuously argued the necessity of economy, and of any practicable reduction—points which he again pressed on the consideration of government in the discussions which ensued on the budget. This conduct drew down some sharp comments from Mr Whitbread, who, after complimenting his abilities, and regretting the loss which the public had sustained by the manner in which "his place was then occupied rather than supplied," reproached him for the inconsistency of his present language with that which he had held while in office the preceding year, a reproach which Mr Huskisson ably repelled, and which he would probably have altogether escaped, at least from that quarter, had he not, with Mr Canning, declined to join in a general opposition to the measures of a government of which they had so recently formed part.

But the most important event, as relating to the fame and character of Mr Huskisson, which occurred in the course of this year, was the appearance of his pamphlet on the Currency System.* This publication was eminently successful, and confirmed to him the reputation of being the first financier of the age.

In January 1811, overtures were made to him by a message from the Prince Regent to join the administration; he pronounced himself willing to do so, but only on condition of Mr Canning being admitted with him. During this session and the next he shared largely in the bullion debates, and discussed with great ability all subjects of a financial nature.

On the death of Mr Perceval and the change of ministry in 1812, Mr Huskisson was again left out of office by his adherence to Canning. He was offered the secretaryship for Ireland, which, not accepting, was taken by Mr Peel, who thus got a-head of him in the official advancement, and retained his advanced position.

Upon the dissolution of parliament in the autumn of this year, he received an invitation from many of the most respectable inhabitants of Chichester, as representative for that city, on what is there called the blue or independent interest. Nothing could be more gratifying than this invitation, nothing more flattering than the reception which he met with, both on his canvas and at the hustings, where he was returned without opposition. Having resided for several years in the vicinity of his new constituents, he could not but be sensible that the selection of him conveyed the strongest proof of the estimation in which he was held, both in public and private life; and the circumstance of his being at the time out of office, and the little prospect which was visible of his return to it, enhanced the value of the compliment, in a way alike honourable to the electors of Chichester and to himself.

Parliament assembled in November, when Mr Huskisson once more exposed and controverted the notorious resolution of Mr Vansittart, declaring that a pound note and a shilling were equivalent to a guinea, which the latter pertinaciously maintained, in the face of the flagrant proofs to the contrary which daily occurred.

In the month of March following, he took a luminous and scrutinizing view of the finances of the country and of the resolutions proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and stated the nature of the alterations which he wished to see introduced. For this speech he received the highest compliments from Mr Baring, Mr Henry Thornton, Mr Tierney,

* See vol. i. p. 50.

and other members of the house most conversant with the subject. It is full of those peculiar excellences which mark all what, in order to avoid periphrasis, may be familiarly termed the professional speeches of Mr Huskisson.

When the question of the Corn Laws was brought under the notice of the house in this session, he distinguished himself in the debate which arose on certain resolutions moved by Sir Henry Parnell; and it was on this occasion that he first proposed a scale of graduated prohibitory duties, which, in after years, gave rise to so much discussion. In August 1814 Mr Huskisson was appointed to the office of Woods and Forests, and was sworn of the privy council. Mr Canning was appointed ambassador to Lisbon.

Before Mr Canning sailed for Portugal, he thought it proper to pay a visit to his friends and constituents at Liverpool; and as he had prevailed upon Mr Huskisson to become his substitute, and to transact his part of the parliamentary business of that town during his absence, it was determined that they should proceed thither together, in order that Mr Huskisson might have an opportunity of making acquaintance with the principal inhabitants. They were received with the most flattering demonstrations of respect and admiration, and their visit was marked with a succession of festivities. Could the dark veil which mercifully shadows our feeble vision have been then withdrawn, how would Mr Canning have shuddered at the fatal scene which was destined to perpetuate, even beyond this life, that connection, the foundations of which he was then laying amid gay hopes and bright anticipations! What would have been his feelings, could he have foreseen that he was then assisting to prepare a tomb for his unfortunate friend!

In the course of 1815, the subject of the Corn Laws, which had been partially discussed, and then postponed, in the preceding year, was brought forward by the government, and long debates arose.

The Corn Laws were not the only difficult question of domestic policy which occupied the attention of government in 1815 and 1816. The bank restriction, which had been continued until July in the latter year, was brought under the consideration of parliament in the month of May; when Mr Horner moved that a select committee should be appointed for inquiring into the expediency of restoring the cash payments of the Bank of England, and the safest and most advantageous means of effecting such restoration. In the debate which ensued, Mr Huskisson declared that he still retained the opinions which he had formerly expressed, when the bullion committee had terminated its labours. No inquiry, he said, was

necessary on the first point embraced by the motion. All agreed that there was no security for property, no stability in public credit, no confidence in trade, no mode of adjusting the rights and consulting the interests of all classes of society, without a circulation rendered steady by possessing a permanent and universal value; but he thought that the task of restoring the precious metals should be left to the discretion of the bank, with a declaration that the parliament expected the resumption of cash payments should not be delayed beyond two years; and a clause declaratory of such an expectation was accordingly adopted. The truth appears to have been, that, in the interval since the former discussions on the subject, the bank had not only neglected preparations for resuming their payments in cash, but had actually extended their issues, so that the government found itself compelled to prolong the restriction till July 1818.

Mr Huskisson took every opportunity of expressing the satisfaction with which he looked forward to the arrival of the period fixed for the resumption of cash payments, and his sanguine hope that it would not be delayed beyond the time contemplated by parliament. His penetration, however, was at no loss to discover, and his candour did not allow him to disguise, that the interval which must elapse between the withdrawing, or absorbing, of a large portion of the excessive circulation of the country, and the return to another state of currency, must be a time of severe pressure, not only in this country, but all over Europe. To this period, when the state of the currency and of the country banks was to be placed on a more secure footing, he again alluded, when arguing in favour of the set of finance resolutions moved by Mr Charles Grant, and carried in opposition to those of Mr Tierney, at the close of the session of 1817; and he expressed his earnest hope that everything would be done to prepare the country for the reception of more liberal commercial arrangements, in order to afford some counterpoise to the pressure which he foresaw impending, and to disarm the jealousy of foreign countries.

In the debate which followed Lord Althorp's attempt, in 1818, for a repeal of the leather tax, which was defeated by a very small majority, we find Mr Huskisson opposing the bill, and enforcing his opposition, on the ground that no tax could be repealed with full benefit to the public except direct taxes; and that if any reduction could possibly be made, these ought to be the first to attract consideration—(a serious error.)

When, in this year, Mr Tierney moved a resolution, in-

volving the much agitated question of an immediate resumption of cash payments, Mr Huskisson successfully advocated a further delay. He shewed that such a measure was then incompatible with the existing state of affairs, and that the house could do nothing more than declare the time for resuming such payments, leaving the care of providing the necessary means to the bank itself. But while he maintained that the present was not the season for removing the restriction, he avowed that a difference existed between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on certain points. This led him to defend and eulogize the report made by the bullion committee, which he characterized as containing a perspicuous statement of facts and well connected inferences still unanswered, and he expressed his regret that the distinguished individual who had prepared it—Mr Horner—was not living to assist the present deliberations with the force of his reasoning and the accuracy of his judgment.

In the autumn of this year parliament was dissolved, and Mr Huskisson re-elected for Chichester without any opposition.

On the appointment of the finance committee, at the commencement of the session of 1819, Mr Huskisson's abilities, and his knowledge of all the intricacies of the subject, were too conspicuous not to ensure his name being included in the list; and it has been supposed that the influence which his great talents and intimate acquaintance with finance secured to him, proved of the utmost importance to ministers in surmounting the difficulties which opposed them.

The death of George III. having rendered it necessary to summon a new parliament, Mr Huskisson was again returned for Chichester, with the same marks of attachment and approbation which had been bestowed upon him on the three preceding occasions. The session opened in April, and early in May, Mr Baring, on presenting a petition from the merchants of London, respecting the restrictions which impeded commercial enterprise, made the celebrated speech to which Mr Huskisson so successfully referred, when he vindicated the measures of government on a subsequent occasion.

In the course of this year, agricultural distress again occupied much of the attention of the house, and a committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr Holme Sumner, to consider the various petitions connected with this subject; but an instruction was afterwards moved and carried by Mr Robinson, "confining the inquiry to the mode of ascertaining, returning, and calculating the average prices of corn in the

twelve maritime districts, under the provisions of the existing Corn Laws, and to any frauds which might be committed in violation of any of the provisions of the said laws;" which restriction, of course, rendered the labours of this committee of comparatively little importance. In the following year, ministers having withdrawn their opposition to such a measure, a committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr Gooch, for a more extended inquiry. Of this committee Mr Huskisson was the most active ministerial member; and the long and elaborate report which was the result of their labours, has been understood to have emanated principally from him. It has been often supposed, too, that in the prominent part which he took in this committee, and the steadiness with which he urged and defended a more liberal system in respect to the Corn Laws, may be discovered the explanation of that mingled feeling of suspicion and fear with which that party, which denominates itself the landed interest, subsequently appears to have watched all his measures.

When, towards the end of this year, Mr Canning, from circumstances and considerations wholly distinct from general policy, and indeed purely personal, retired from the administration, Mr Huskisson did not follow his example; not from any attachment to his own office, but because he saw that to resign at that moment would have been to act most unfairly by Mr Canning, in giving to his retirement a character which did not belong to it, and might prove embarrassing to the government.

Although not a member of the cabinet, and consequently not involved in whatever responsibility attached to the proceedings of the ministers against the queen, Mr Huskisson did not fear to incur his share of the unpopularity which those proceedings entailed upon them; nor did he shrink from their defence, when, early in the session of 1821, Lord Tavistock moved a resolution strongly condemnatory of their conduct: he, however, declared that he had deprecated the inquiry from the outset, feeling that the result of it must be to lower the general tone of moral and religious feeling in the country, but that to assent now to the motion of the noble Lord would be to declare that, in the eyes of the Commons of England, her majesty's conduct had been, if not praise-worthy, at least blameless. Upon this occasion, he prefaced his speech by stating his reasons for breaking through the practice, which he had observed during a long parliamentary life, of declining questions of this general nature, and commented largely upon this difficult and delicate subject.

In the progress of the session, the government encountered

much opposition, and was exposed to several severe shocks from the united attacks of the old Whig party, strengthened by the country interest. Several proposals were made to repeal various taxes which pressed heavily upon the country, and the house and the window duties were the first selected. Their repeal was resisted by the government; but Mr Huskisson, while he argued against it, admitted, in pointed terms, the propriety of further economy in preparing the estimates, if it could be shewn where further economy was practicable. Notwithstanding this conciliatory admission, and in spite of all the efforts of government, the resolution was only lost by a majority of 26. Another and more successful attack was then made, and ministers were out-voted in an endeavour to continue the additional duties upon malt—a defeat which they retaliated a few nights after, when they succeeded in throwing out the bill for their repeal by a large majority. But in June they were once in a minority respecting the duty on horses employed in husbandry, which was repealed by a bill brought in by Mr Curwen. On all these occasions Mr Huskisson spoke forcibly against these proposals; and as they were considered to be more especially calculated for the relief of the agricultural interest, and were introduced and advocated by those who regarded themselves as more peculiarly the representatives of that body, this active opposition, perhaps, may be thought to have contributed to indispose that powerful party still further towards the principles and policy of Mr Huskisson.

The events which had occurred in the House of Commons created a very general impression that something must be done before the re-assembling of parliament, towards repairing the weakness which had been occasioned to the government by the loss of Mr Canning; and it was soon understood that this impression was not unfounded. The indifference with which Mr Huskisson regarded his own situation has been already touched on. To his active mind, indeed, its comparative ease did anything but compensate the—to him—irksome character of the duties belonging to it. Accordingly, in the course of this year several communications seem to have taken place, with a view to a change. Among other suggestions, the secretaryship of Ireland was once more named, but rejected without hesitation on the part of Mr Huskisson, who, having already, in 1809, consented to decline that office, in compliance with the urgent representations of the ministers of that day—having been designated for it, united with the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in 1812, (an arrangement which failed it is true, but from no fault of his,) and which

had been once more tendered and once more declined on Mr Peel's resignation in 1818—felt that he should be unmindful of what he owed to himself and his own character, if he submitted to become the successor of those who, though his juniors both in years and in the public service, were now, from circumstances not within his control, placed, or to be placed, in higher situations at home. Other arrangements were then proposed; but to these either the same objection applied, or the still greater one of their pointing to offices which had too much the appearance of sinecures, and the acceptance of which might have been construed into an exchange of a place of some business for one without any, from the unworthy motive of adding a thousand a-year to his official income. Fresh difficulties arising to any alteration satisfactory to himself, Mr Huskisson determined to sacrifice his own fair pretensions for the desirable object of attaining an increase of strength to the government, and abandoned his intention of immediate resignation; but he did not do so without having recorded his strong sense of the injustice which had postponed for a time the reward to which he was so well entitled, both from his long and zealous exertions in support of the government, and from his acknowledged efficiency as a man of business; or without making it known to the minister that, in consenting to retain his appointment, he had unwillingly deferred to the judgment of his friends, and to the fear that an invidious and unfair construction—a construction possibly injurious to others—might, and probably would, be put upon his resignation.

All these ministerial discussions and negotiations terminated, as is well known, in the appointment of Mr Peel to the Home-office in the room of Lord Sidmouth, and in that of Mr Wynn to the Board of Control, which latter, with some minor changes, secured the support of the Grenville party; and the new arrangement was announced about Christmas 1821.

The debates on the distress which pressed upon the agricultural interest, and which, in its consequences, affected the whole country, were renewed, shortly after the re-assembling of parliament in February 1822, when Lord Londonderry moved the revival of the committee of the preceding year, and gave notice that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would, without loss of time, bring forward a proposal for enabling the bank to issue four millions of Exchequer bills in loans to different parishes, and also a reduction of the malt tax.

In the debate which followed upon this notice of the noble Marquis, Mr Huskisson's speech must be deemed one of the most important; embracing as it does a variety of those topics

with which he was, perhaps, more conversant than any other statesman of his time. In consequence of what passed on this occasion, and, subsequently, on the motion for the appointment of the committee, it became necessary for him to explain the part which he had taken in preparing the agricultural report of the preceding year. Having done so, and vindicated himself from the charges of having mystified the members of that committee, he signified his intention to abstain from all attendance at the present one; in which determination Lord Londonderry declared that he regarded him as perfectly justified. On the 1st of April, the new committee made their report, and, on the 29th, Lord Londonderry proposed a string of resolutions, declaratory of the views which he, as the leading minister of the crown in the House of Commons, entertained for the purposes of relief. These having been read, Mr Ricardo brought forward another set, and late in the debate, Mr Huskisson laid before the house those which he had prepared on the same subject; giving notice at the same time, that it was his intention, on the next discussion, to state the cause of the difference which would appear between his resolutions and those of the noble Marquis. On the 6th of May, Lord Londonderry moved his first and most important resolution: it was combated by Mr Huskisson, and, after a short debate, withdrawn.

He now felt that, having, as an official servant of the crown, opposed, and successfully opposed, a proposition brought forward by the leading member of government in the House of Commons, it was due to the chief of that government to place his office at his disposal. Accordingly he waited upon Lord Liverpool, and after explaining to him what had passed, did that which he afterwards in 1828 repeated in respect to the Duke of Wellington, namely, placed in his hands the decision, whether the penalty of such an act of insubordination was to be enforced against him. The result was as different as the other circumstances of the case were similar; except, indeed, that Mr Huskisson's conduct in 1822 was marked with a character of official independence, or rather mutiny, infinitely stronger than anything which arose on the case of the East Retford disfranchisement in 1828.

Connected with this topic of Agricultural distress was the motion brought forward by Mr Western, in the month of June, for a committee to consider of the effects which had been produced by the act for the resumption of cash payments. Mr Huskisson undertook to reply to Mr Western; and, after a speech of singular power and effect—a speech which may be ranked among those of the first class for soundness of politi-

cal principle and conclusive reasoning—moved as an amendment the substitution of the famous resolution of 1696, “that this house will not alter the standard of gold or silver, in fineness, weight, or denomination,” an amendment which was carried by an overwhelming majority.

While Mr Huskisson invariably and firmly resisted all attempts at tampering with the currency, we discover, in almost all his speeches, the same anxiety for the reduction of the unfunded debt, the same admission of the necessity of adopting all practicable plans of economizing the expenditure, and the same doctrine constantly laid down that it was peculiarly incumbent upon this country not to set to foreigners the example of imposing any additional restrictions on trade, but, on the contrary, to convince them that it was the fixed determination of England to pursue that liberal system of commercial policy which had lately been so auspiciously commenced. These appear to be the great principles, the wisdom and urgency of which he laboured, on all occasions, to impress both upon parliament and the country, and in the defence of which he was ever found ready to contribute his powerful support.

The death of Lord Londonderry, in the summer of 1822, and Mr Canning's succession to his office, though they caused no immediate alteration in Mr Huskisson's official appointments, could not but give a great additional weight to the influence which he before possessed. Negotiations, indeed, were shortly after set on foot for a partial change in the administration, and at the end of January 1823, Mr Vansittart was raised to the peerage, and became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr Robinson succeeded him at the Exchequer, and Mr Huskisson was appointed President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy. As the offer had been at first unaccompanied with a seat in the cabinet, (which had been attached to these offices while held by Mr Robinson,) some demur arose on the part of Mr Huskisson, which was only overcome by an assurance that the sole obstacle to his immediate admission was not any objection to him individually, but the extreme inconvenience to public business resulting from too great an extension of the cabinet, and by a positive promise that the earliest possible opportunity should be seized to make an opening for him. On this assurance he agreed to waive, or rather to suspend, his objection; and, early in the following autumn, a vacancy was made in the cabinet, to which he was immediately called.

SECT. II.—LIFE OF MR HUSKISSON CONTINUED.
REPRESENTATION OF LIVERPOOL.

This difficulty having been surmounted, another arose of a nature particularly delicate and distressing to Mr Huskisson—the representation of Liverpool. Mr Canning found that the laborious duties which devolved upon him as one of the members for that important place, superadded to the direction of the Foreign Office, and to the lead of the House of Commons, were more than he could adequately discharge; and it was his earnest wish to retire from the representation. Even had he resolved to stand again, there was reason to apprehend that an opposition might have been excited, which would protract the election to the extreme limits allowed by law; and this delay would have proved excessively inconvenient to the progress of public business in the House of Commons. It was notorious that a party existed in Liverpool, considerable both in number and consequence, which was favourable to a Whig candidate, and Mr Brougham had been openly spoken of as the object of their choice. The government felt a strong and natural anxiety that the second great commercial port of the empire should continue to be represented by one of their friends, and Mr Huskisson was supposed to be the only person likely to unite the suffrages of all parties. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Lord Liverpool and Mr Canning should have made a point of his acquiescing in the only arrangement which seemed likely to give general satisfaction.

But, however flattering it might be to his vanity to be chosen to fill that post, which had been held for the last ten years by the most eloquent orator of the age, Mr Huskisson could not but be sensible that he owed a large debt of gratitude to the electors of Chichester. They had sought him when he was out of power, and had four times returned him without opposition. Even then they were impatiently waiting to bestow on him a fresh proof of their approbation and affection. His seat there was independent, and unattended with expense; it had been bestowed upon him by the free suffrages of a numerous body of electors, and it was probably secure to him for as long as he chose to retain it. The labours attached to it were light in comparison to those which awaited the representative of Liverpool. The struggle between his own wishes and a sense of public duty, strengthened by the urgent solicitations of his friends, was long and painful; but the latter ultimately prevailed, and he consented

to exchange the unostentatious security of Chichester for the dazzling but laborious splendour of Liverpool.

Mr Huskisson had now reached an elevation whence he could beneficially exert, and call into activity, his unrivalled knowledge of commercial policy. Lord Bacon says, and the new President of the Board of Trade seemed to coincide in the justice of the maxim, that “merchants *vena porta*, and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and flourish little: taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king’s revenue, for that which he wins in the hundred, he loseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.”*

Some preliminary steps had been already taken by Mr Robinson and Mr Wallace, for relaxing the restrictions which had formerly clogged our trade, and several new laws affecting it had been proposed by the government in the session of 1822. On Mr Huskisson’s appointment, he immediately proceeded, firmly but cautiously, to take steps towards further and more important alterations. In these he found himself opposed and thwarted by the prejudices of an active and powerful party, who viewed all innovations with a jealous and unfriendly eye; and the fate of the first bill for regulating the silk manufacture was an evident proof of the obstacles which he would have to encounter before his measures could be crowned with success. This bill, after it had passed the lower house, was returned from the Lords, so changed and mutilated, that Mr Huskisson preferred abandoning it for the session rather than to adopt the amendments. In the following year he was more successful, and the bill passed into a law without encountering any very formidable opposition.

The impediments which presented themselves at every step towards a more liberal policy are strikingly described in the following article extracted from the *Morning Chronicle*; which, though there applied to a later period of his career, is equally true at the moment of which we are treating:—

“The clamour raised against Mr Huskisson, by the Agriculturists on the one hand and the manufacturers on the other, affords a lesson from which future ministers will not fail to profit. It will be taken for granted that it is the wisest course for men in office, in all cases, to stick to whatever is established—“*stare super antiquas vias*”—to consent to a change only when it is loudly demanded by the great

* Lord Bacon’s Essay on Empire.

majority in parliament, but never to recommend any innovation which is not so demanded : this is the system on which all former ministers of this country have acted, and it is obvious that all ministers who wish to consult their own ease and advantage cannot do better than follow it. The liberal part of the present administration have erred in thinking too favourably of human nature—in thinking that, in departing from the old practice, and endeavouring to introduce substantial ameliorations into the commercial system of the country, they would receive such support from the people as the honesty of their intentions fairly entitled them to. We believe, in our conscience, that Mr Huskisson approaches nearer to the character of a virtuous minister—a minister to whom the welfare of the whole nation is more at heart than his own advantage—than any man who has ever been in office in this country ; but we question very much whether, in the difficulties in which he has involved himself, he will be adequately supported against the attacks of his selfish enemies. Our approbation of ourselves is generally fervent enough ; but our approbation of others is seldom so immoderate as to hurry us into any indiscretion in their support. We fear Mr Huskisson is doomed to experience, to his cost, the difference, in point of zeal, between his disinterested admirers and those who conceive their interests likely to be in any way affected by his measures.

“The head of a faction receives from the members the tribute of a clamorous admiration, because interest is the bond of union, and such admiration is supposed to be conducive to the ends in view ; but the man who endeavours to distinguish himself by promoting the good of a whole nation, necessarily provokes the hostility of many whose interests suffer from his measures, while he makes few warm partisans.

“It will give us sincere pleasure to find that we have taken too gloomy a view of human nature, and that, if the difficulty of Mr Huskisson’s position be great, he will find corresponding support from the friends of sound principles.”

In spite of this demonstration of hostility to the measures of the liberal portion of the administration, as evinced in the fate of the silk bill, some important commercial alterations were effected in the course of 1823. Mr Wallace’s warehousing bill was passed, and two resolutions agreed to which enabled the king in council to place the shipping of a foreign state on the same footing with that of Great Britain, provided similar advantages were experienced by British shipping in the ports of such foreign states ; and also to impose countervailing duties, in case such were rendered necessary by the conduct of other countries ; and an act founded upon

these resolutions—usually called the reciprocity of duties act—was carried through both houses.

In the course of this session Mr Huskisson introduced other measures, connected with the trade and manufactures of the country—the merchant vessels apprenticeship bill, and that for removing the various vexatious regulations with which the manufacture of Scotch linnen had hitherto been shackled and its prosperity impeded.

He also brought forward the registry bill, which had been prepared in the preceding year, but which he had found still lying at the board of trade when he succeeded to that office. This Bill was a consolidation of all the existing laws on the subject, with many improvements, and had been much called for by every one connected with the shipping interests of the country. It was a subject very complicated in its details, and difficult to understand; but Mr Huskisson felt its importance, and lost no time in making himself master of, and bringing it before parliament; and, after some protracted delays in the House of Lords, which drew from him a firm but temperate remonstrance, these bills ultimately passed before the close of the session.

It would be tedious, in a narrative like this, to endeavour to follow Mr Huskisson through all the different measures which he introduced and carried, while he directed the commercial department of the government, or to discuss the treaties which were, during that time, negotiated with Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, the Hans Towns, several of the new States of America, and finally with France. The best history of this brilliant period of his public life—the best exposition of that system—will be found in these speeches with which he introduced and defended his various measures, and which will be allowed, even by those who differed from him on some points, to comprise a mass of the most profound and valuable information on the subjects to which they refer. In 1824 several other measures of amelioration were accomplished, and the silk bill resumed and carried into operation. (See the speeches in Sections 4, 5, &c.)

In 1825 another most important undertaking was completed—the general revision of the revenue laws. This was a task* of vast magnitude and extraordinary labour, and

* Some idea may be formed of the laborious nature of this undertaking, when it is stated that these laws had accumulated from the reign of Edward I. up to the present time, to the enormous number of *fifteen hundred*. From the contradictions and confusion attendant on such a chaos of legislation, merchants were perplexed and harassed beyond measure. It was now, under the auspices of the Board of Trade and the Treasury, compressed by Mr Hume into *eleven* Acts, in so clear and comprehensive a manner, that the meaning or application of them can no longer be mistaken.

one which, as Mr Huskisson frequently declared, could never have been achieved, but for the able assistance and unwearied diligence of Mr James Deacon Hume, then of the Customs, and now of the Board of Trade, to whom the lasting gratitude of the country is owing, for his persevering exertions, and for the essential benefit which he thus conferred on the commercial world.

In this year he spoke for the first time at any length, in favour of the Catholic Relief Bill. Could he then have anticipated the fate of that question a few years later, how well and pointedly might he have remarked, as he had done in reference to the commercial concessions which had been, at different intervals, granted to Ireland, that if parliament rejected the bill before them, the time would come when "state necessity, acting under a sense of political danger, must yield, without grace, that which good sense and good feeling had before recommended in vain." It is surely impossible for language to pourtray more faithfully the ultimate settlement of the Catholic question.

It was in June in this year that, on the third reading of the bill on the law of principal and factor—(a measure for defining and amending which had been carried by him through the House of Commons in the preceding year, but had failed in the Lords)—Mr Huskisson particularly distinguished himself in a speech, of which, unfortunately, not even an outline exists. The house had been occupied all night with the case of Mr Kenrick and Canfor the butcher, and the debate on the law of merchant and factor bill did not come on till very late. Mr Scarlett made a long and learned speech against the measure. His arguments were combated by Mr Huskisson, who, in a speech of an hour and a half, gave his entire view of the commercial polity of this country, as the natural depot of the merchandise passing between the new and the old world, and urged the necessity of affording all possible security to advances on goods warehoused, in order to make it so. There are many and great authorities now living who pronounced that he did this in a way in which nobody else could have given it. Owing to the lateness of the hour at which he rose, this elaborate speech was despatched by the reporters in a few lines; while an admirable one delivered by Mr Baring, on the same subject, was left wholly unreported. (Reporting was less perfect at all times then than it has since become.)

In the progress of the spring, Mr Huskisson, as well as Lord Liverpool, had more than once pointed out the dangers attending phrenzy of speculation which raged as an epidemic, and endeavoured to open the eyes of the public to the folly and

iniquity of their proceedings. "Such speculation," he warned them, "was the offspring of unnatural excitement, and in the body mercantile, as well as the body physical, such excitement was generally followed by depression and exhaustion." He implored the country banks not to lend their money to the encouragement of crude and hasty speculations, and urged the spirit, then so prevalent, as a reason for not wishing at that moment to let loose the Corn Laws. But, whilst he warned the public that "their high raised hopes would in the end vanish into thin air, and leave those who entertained them nothing but regret and disappointment," he admitted that he did not see how parliament could interfere. The convulsion which shook the country at the close of 1825, and which is still remembered by the denomination of the "Panic," proved how wise, as well as how unavailing, were these wholesome admonitions.

With that injustice with which the world so often shifts the blame of evils resulting from its own folly upon other causes, those whose obstinate imprudence had involved them in ruin now joined the cry which was raised by the party which had perseveringly manifested their hostility to the recent changes in our commercial system, and imputed to those changes the late deplorable disasters. This charge, however clamorously advanced, may be safely asserted to have utterly failed, whenever it was tried by the test of reason and truth, and Mr Huskisson himself repelled it with the following flat contradiction, in one of the debates which arose on the subject; "On the one hand," he said, "there is the complaint that too much has been done for free trade; while on the other, there is an equally loud complaint, that nothing has been done. I shall not now stay to discriminate between such conflicting extremes of opinion. I cannot, however, but wonder that while gentlemen within this house assert that the principles of free trade have not been carried far enough, there should be others out of this house persevering in their attempts to direct the opposition of the misinformed towards those measures, which, I am bold to declare, have in no degree contributed to the distresses lately experienced in this country."

In the various projects which disgraced that period, and were attended with such fatal consequences, Mr Huskisson had no participation. He afterwards declared, in his place in parliament, that, "neither directly nor indirectly, had he had the least share or interest in any company which had been formed in the years 1824, 1825, or 1826:—he had, indeed, an interest in one of the oldest insurance companies in the country; but it had remained of the same amount for the

last twenty years." Nor was there the slightest reservation in the nature or extent of this declaration. Those who possess the best means of information can assert how scrupulously and rigidly he exacted the same forbearance from all about him.

Besides the other weighty and laborious questions which occupied Mr Huskisson, both in his official and parliamentary character, in 1825 and 1826, must be enumerated the complicated and delicate discussions with Mr Rush, afterwards continued with Mr Gallatin, on the various points in dispute between Great Britain and the United States of America, comprising the adjustment of the north-western boundary and that of the province of New Brunswick—the navigation of the river St Lawrence—the more effectual suppression of the African slave trade—and the intercourse with the West-India colonies. In the negotiations with the American ministers, Mr Huskisson was at first assisted by Mr Stratford Canning, and subsequently by Mr Addington. The protocols of the conferences were by them drawn up, and then submitted to Mr Canning, for his final revision and sanction. The state papers and correspondence of the British ministers on this occasion may be cited as models, for purity of style, clearness of argument, and soundness of views, whilst the moderation with which the negotiation was conducted, and the absence of all bitterness or sarcasm in the communications interchanged, were hailed as an indication that a more generous and conciliatory feeling was growing up between the two countries. Notwithstanding the friendly tone, however, in which the conferences were carried on, it was found impossible to make any impression on the American government, or to obtain a repeal or relaxation of the restrictions imposed by the act of congress of 1823. It was unhappily deemed necessary, therefore, to take steps for retaliation, and a British order in council was issued in July 1826, by which our colonial harbours in the West Indies were shut against all American vessels. After a long delay on the part of the American government, they yielded.

The following dialogue, in his own hand-writing, and bearing various marks of correction in the same, has been found among Mr Huskisson's MS. papers, and as there is every reason to believe it to have been his composition, it is inserted in this note, as a specimen of that easy playfulness, which has been mentioned as one of the charms of his private society, but in its conclusion it contains the usual error of reciprocity politicians.

Fraternal Dialogue between John Bull and his brother Jonathan,
(date, July 1825)

JONATHAN—"You are a very good and constant customer, John, at my shop, for flour, hoops, staves, and many other articles of my trade; you are good pay, and I am always glad to deal with you.

JOHN—"I believe all you say—I wish to continue a good customer; but I must say your mode of dealing with me is rather hard. Every time I travel to, or send to your shop, (Sunday or not,) I am obliged to pay double toll at the turn-pike-gate, which is close before it.

JONATHAN—"You need not take that trouble. I prefer sending my goods to my customers by my own porters, and as they are always ready and punctual in delivering the packages, I do not see why you should complain.

JOHN—"I complain because my own cart and horses have nothing to do, and my people are upon the poor-rate, whilst I am paying you for portorage. I will not go on in this way.

JONATHAN—"Well! we will consider of it next Christmas, when the partners in our firm meet to talk over the concern."

John remains patient for another year, when, finding the Sunday Toll still continued, he asks what brother Jonathan and his firm have decided. (July 1826.)

JONATHAN—"We have resolved to grant a new lease of the tolls, without making any alteration in the terms.

JOHN—"You have! then I withdraw my custom.

JONATHAN—"The devil you do! (*Aside.*) We mistook him for a more patient ass than he proves to be. How shall we contrive to bring him back to our shop?"

The error is in the assumption that there should be a reciprocity of "tolls" or duties. John Bull's necessities and interests send him to Jonathan, and the same causes bring Jonathan to John.

Superior to the pressure of the times, and disdaining to attribute it to false causes, the merchants of Liverpool, with that spirit of liberality which so nobly characterizes them, came forward to testify their sense of the advantages which had been derived from the alterations already carried into effect, and to mark their approbation of those yet in progress; and, early in 1826, Mr Huskisson received the following letter, which is too honourable to him in his public capacity, and to those from whom it proceeded, not to demand insertion here. It is scarcely necessary to add that the service of plate to which it alludes was worthy of the greatness of Liverpool, both in taste and magnificence.

“LIVERPOOL, 4th February, 1826.

“My dear Sir,

“As chairman of the committee, I have now the honour to request your acceptance of the service of plate presented to you by this commercial town. The motives which led to this proof of public feeling are set forth in the following inscription, and are also engraved on the centre ornament of the service; viz.—

The Service of Plate,
of which this Candelabrum is a part,
was presented to
The Right Hon. WILLIAM HUSKINSON,
by a numerous body
of the Merchants, Freemen, and Inhabitants of
Liverpool;
as a Testimony
of their sense of the Benefits
derived to the nation at large
from the enlightened system
of Commercial Policy
brought forward by him
as President of the Board of Trade;
and of their Gratitude
for the zeal and ability with which,
as member for Liverpool,
he has watched over the Interests of
his Constituents.

1825.

“Notwithstanding the embarrassment and distress which generally prevail in manufactures, I am desired by the committee to assure you that their conviction of the wisdom of the measures introduced by you, for the removal of commercial restrictions, remains undiminished, and that they confidently anticipate, from their matured operation, the most beneficial effects to the country at large.

“It is very gratifying to me to have been selected by my liberal fellow-townsmen as their organ on this occasion; and I have only to add, that

‘I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

“JOHN BOLTON.”

To this Mr Huskisson replied—

“SOMERSET PLACE, February 6, 1826.

“My dear Sir,

“I have this day had the honour to receive from a deputation of the Committee of the Merchants and Inhabitants of Liverpool, the letter with which you, as their chairman, have been desired to accompany the presentation to me of the service of plate, prepared under the direction of that committee, in compliance with the resolutions of the subscribers.

“I receive with just pride, and acknowledge with the most lively gratitude, this mark of their approbation.

“However splendid this munificent testimony of their sentiments, the record of those sentiments in the inscription upon the plate will ever be considered by me as constituting its highest value.

“In this free country, it is the best recompense of the services of any man, filling a high and responsible situation (be his station in life otherwise what it may) to find himself supported by the cordial concurrence of those who, by their intelligence, as well as by the habits of their lives, are most competent to form a correct judgment, and whose welfare is most immediately concerned in the result of any important measures which it may be his duty to bring forward in parliament.

“Valuable as the expression of such concurrence and support must be at any time, it is doubly grateful to me under the present circumstances; and I hope I may be allowed to add (without risking the imputation of vanity) that the renewed declaration, by the merchants and inhabitants of Liverpool, of their matured and confirmed opinion, is not, under these circumstances, altogether useless to the public interest. Partial as their kindness to myself might render that opinion in easier times, it will hardly be imagined that, in times of difficulty like the present, they would allow a disposition to employ the language of compliment to overbear their sound and sincere conviction.

“To such vicissitudes as those which have recently occurred, the commerce of this country has been at all times liable. They are, perhaps, the inevitable result of activity and enterprise, stimulated by unbounded credit; and by those perpetually increasing powers of machinery, which ingenuity has created in aid of the natural industry of our population.

“But, by whatever causes the present stagnation may have been occasioned, and however deeply I lament its pressure

(more especially that portion of it which falls upon my constituents,) I am fully convinced that it has in no degree been produced or aggravated by the relaxing of any of those restrictions which parliament deemed it no longer expedient to retain.

"In this conviction I am supported, not exclusively by those who generally approve the measures of the administration, but by others of the greatest talents and authority, who look to those measures with a less friendly eye. By this coincidence of opinion, our present commercial system is (fortunately, as I conceive) withdrawn from the range of those questions which divide the two great political parties of the state upon other points of general policy; and I cannot but hope that, when confidence shall be again restored (as I trust it soon will be) in pecuniary transactions, the like general sense will prevail, among persons practically engaged in commerce, of the increased facilities and encouragement which the late changes are calculated to afford to the manufacturing industry and wholesale trade of the country.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"W. HUSKISSON."

Parliament met on the 2d of February 1826, and the recent embarrassments and distress became the subject of immediate debate. In the various discussions which ensued on the bank charter and promissory notes acts, Mr Huskisson, as might be expected, took a prominent part; and in answer to the abuse which was now scattered with no unsparing hand against the measures, of which he was considered the great champion and adviser, referred for the solution of the present calamitous state of domestic affairs to the ineffectual warnings which he had given in the preceding year; while he challenged the most searching inquiry into the share which it was asserted the changes in our restrictive system had had in producing the convulsion which terminated in the ruin of so many.

It was not long before he had an opportunity of defending himself on one of his own measures. On the 24th of February, the silk question was selected as the object of attack, and Mr Ellice moved for a committee to consider of the petition from persons connected with that trade. For the issue of this night's debate we must refer to the speeches themselves; but as we have already, in an early part of this memoir, alluded to the kind and flattering notice which Mr Huskisson's exhibition on this occasion elicited from the Marquis of Stafford, we cannot here deny ourselves the gratifica-

tion of adding to that authority a short expression of Mr Canning's feelings on the same subject.

"F. O., 24th February 1826, 2 A.M.

"My dear Mrs Huskisson,

"Having written to the King, I cannot reconcile it to my sense of duty to go to bed without writing to you, to congratulate you on Huskisson's exhibition of to-night. I do assure you, without the smallest compliment or exaggeration, that he has made one of the very best speeches that I ever heard in the House of Commons—a speech decisive for ever of his character and reputation, both as a statesman and an orator. It was of the *very first rate*—and as such I wish you joy of it with all my heart.

"Most sincerely yours,

"GEORGE CANNING."

The advocates of the new system never enjoyed a more glorious triumph than on this night. Never was there a more powerful or more unanswerable defence of that system than may be found in the reply made by Mr Huskisson to the speeches of Mr Ellice and Mr Williams!—Seldom was a more generous or more statesmanlike support afforded to a colleague than the magnificent display of eloquence with which Mr Canning eulogized his friend and overwhelmed his opponents.

It is so pleasing to consider Mr Huskisson, when speaking in his own person, that we are tempted again to have recourse to private correspondence, to mark at once the estimation in which he was held by the greatest practical authorities, and the modesty with which he received the praise bestowed upon him.

His friend Mr Gladstone (now Sir John Gladstone) had transmitted to him the following extract of a letter addressed to himself by Mr Kirkman Finlay of Glasgow, dated

"23d March 1826.

* * * "I had indeed the pleasure and the advantage of a long, and, to me, most interesting conversation with Mr Huskisson.

"I do not think that history tells us of any minister in any state who ever brought into operation so fine a system of mercantile policy. The knowledge of theory and practice were never possessed by any one in so high a degree; and he not only at once sees ultimate benefit, but the time and the manner in which that benefit may be acquired, without ma-

terial injury to existing interests. His life is a most valuable one ; and I sincerely hope it may be long preserved as a blessing to the country."

Mr Huskisson's answer was in these words :—

Somerset Place, 25th March, 1826.

" My dear Sir,

" If I deserve any portion of Finlay's praise as a minister, it is only that in which he gives me the credit of uniting some practical knowledge to theory ; and if I have that knowledge in any degree, it is because I am always desirous and disposed to listen to him, and such as he, upon subjects which they understand so much better than myself.

" I had ample proof of this in the conversation to which Finlay alludes. However, it is a great comfort and satisfaction to me, to find myself supported against the clamour of some and the prejudices of others, by all that are most intelligent in that very class of the community who have the best means of forming a sound judgment on the measures which I have submitted to parliament.

" Ever yours, &c.

" W. HUSKISSON.

" J. Gladstone, Esq."

The disadvantages to the existing Corn Laws had become so apparent, and a fresh revision of them had been so strongly pressed upon government in the last session of parliament, that Mr Huskisson had been induced to give an implied promise to bring the whole subject under the consideration of the house in the course of the session of 1826. At the time when this engagement was supposed to have been incurred, it was understood that a dissolution would take place in the course of the following autumn. Contrary to expectation, this dissolution did not take place, and Mr Huskisson naturally relinquished his intention. Indeed ministers announced, on the very first day of the session, their determination not to propose any change in the existing laws during the present year, as they were unwilling to bring forward so important a subject in the then agitated condition of the country, and were still more indisposed to submit a question of such extreme intricacy and delicacy to be discussed by an expiring parliament, where it was impossible to hope it could be examined with that calm and unprejudiced consideration which it so peculiarly claimed. The subject, being thus declined by government, was introduced by Mr Whitmore, in a formal motion "for a committee to inquire

into the state of the Corn Laws," and several times afterwards became matter of discussion. On all these occasions, though advocating the necessity of delay, Mr Huskisson did not disguise his opinion that the system hitherto pursued was an erroneous one—that the change which, during ten years of peace, had been operating, both internally and externally, required a corresponding change in our legislation on this subject—or his hopes that he might see a free trade in corn established, under proper and due protection.* The business was ultimately postponed to the following year, with a full understanding that ministers should then be prepared to bring forward a new-modelling of these laws on their own responsibility.

Our parliamentary history presents no parallel in the effect produced by what, for the sake of brevity, we will again call his professional speeches, to that which Mr Huskisson was accustomed to excite, whenever he brought forward or vindicated his great plans of commercial reform. He may be said, indeed, to have formed a new era in parliamentary speaking, and to have raised his department to a consequence before unknown. Subjects which, from whatever cause, had hitherto failed in attracting that general attention which their importance might have justly demanded, were now listened to with the deepest interest; and his speeches—minute and unadorned as they were—on the unpromising topics of silk and shipping, raised an admiration and interest equal to those which attended the most eloquent expositions of his colleagues on foreign policy, or the financial statements which, year after year, announced to the public successive reductions of taxation. Nor was the effect produced by these speeches confined to this country alone. They were translated into French at Paris; and he received from France, Germany, and the United States of America, frequent congratulations on his convincing justification of the new system, and warm encouragement to pursue a course which, in its consequences, tended to the general advantage, not only of his countrymen, but of the whole civilized world.

SECT. III.—LIFE OF MR HUSKISSON CONTINUED.

The parliament was dissolved in June 1826, and Mr Huskisson was re-elected for Liverpool, after a feeble effort to raise an opposition, under the pretext that the liberal policy of the government, in respect to the relaxation of the

* Such were his views; but it could not be free while any "protection" lasted.

commercial system, had injured the native manufactures and trade of the country. No candidate could, however, be found, and the attempt fell to the ground.

As the autumn approached, the inconvenience attending the actual state of the Corn Laws became strongly apparent, and the complaints of the manufacturing classes grew louder and more frequent. The oat harvest had failed very generally, and the price had risen to that of famine. Under this pressure, the government determined to take upon itself the responsibility of permitting the importation of oats, beans, and rye, and an order in council was accordingly issued for that purpose. But as this order was in contravention of the existing laws, it became necessary to assemble the new parliament, in order to enable ministers to apply for an act of indemnity. The two houses accordingly met about the middle of November, and an indemnity bill was passed without opposition; ministers, at the same time, giving a pledge that, after the christmas recess, they would be prepared to bring forward a plan for a general revision of the Corn Laws. This plan had been matured and digested during the autumn by Lord Liverpool and Mr Huskisson, who had spared no labour to procure authentic information on this difficult subject, or pains to frame such a bill as might conciliate at once the conflicting interests both of the grower and consumer; and it had been decided in the cabinet that, in order to stamp the measure with greater authority, it should be brought forward, in the one house by Lord Liverpool, and in the other by Mr Canning, as the two leading ministers.

The close attention with which Mr Huskisson had applied himself to public business, during the last two years, and the deep anxiety which he naturally felt for the accomplishment and success of his new measures, had visibly shaken a constitution already impaired by the excitement he had undergone in the winter of 1822. His spirits, too, had certainly suffered; for however philosophically he outwardly bore himself, against the calumnies with which he was assailed, those who saw and watched him in his hours of retirement, could perceive that the shaft had not been shot altogether in vain, and that his generous nature sometimes sank* under the reiterated

* The following extract is taken from a MS. book found, after his death, in a private box.

"Whatever pains I have taken for the improvement and simplification of the laws which regulate our commerce and industry, I have taken it all for the sake of the public interest. So far from serving any interest of my own, I have gained the ill-will and enmity of many, partly secret, partly declared—painful to myself, but not useless, perhaps, to the country."

attacks of his malignant persecutors, who pursued him, as Mr Canning expressed it, "in the same doctrine and spirit which embittered the life of Turgot and consigned Galileo to the dungeons of the Inquisition."

The year 1827—so fruitful in melancholy occurrences—was ushered in by the death of the Duke of York. Mr Huskisson, who had before been slightly indisposed, suffered much from the severity of the cold during his attendance at the funeral, and he there laid the foundation of that complaint in the throat from the effects of which he never wholly recovered. He returned to Earham on the 21st of January, and on the 24th Mr Canning arrived there from Bath, where he had been to visit Lord Liverpool, and to make arrangements for the approaching session. His appearance bore evident signs of lurking malady, and the day after his arrival he had a sharp access of cold and fever; but finding himself better on the following morning, he proceeded to join his family at Brighton, and a few days afterwards Mr Huskisson removed to London. On the day when Lord Liverpool was struck with apoplexy, Mr Huskisson had been ordered not to leave the house, and the intelligence did not therefore reach him till about four o'clock in the afternoon. His anxiety to ascertain the particulars induced him to go immediately to Fife House, and this imprudence, and the excitement which ensued from the interruption of public business, produced in a few days a decided attack of inflammation on the trachea.

It has been supposed by many that, had the political life of Lord Liverpool not been thus suddenly terminated, it was the intention of that nobleman to have retired from his high office at the close of the present session. His Lordship, it has been said, felt that the time was fast approaching when the claims of the Catholics could no longer be resisted with prudence; and although he deemed it necessary for his own consistency that the concession should not be made while he remained chief minister of the crown, he had resolved, if not to give it his active support, at least to exert his powerful influence in mitigating the opposition which it had hitherto experienced in the House of Lords. With these feelings, his Lordship contemplated Mr Canning as his natural successor, and would not only have given him his cordial assistance, but would, probably, when the Catholic question had once been disposed of, have resumed his seat in the cabinet, in some office of a less laborious nature than that of first minister.

Whatever may have been the authority for these surmises, or the probability of these speculations, certain it is that never was there a more unfortunate or more perplexing state

of things than now commenced. The nature of Lord Liverpool's illness was such as to preclude all hopes of recovery. Mr Canning, to whom, as the leading minister in the House of Commons, the charge of introducing the corn bill had been delegated by his colleagues, had had a relapse, and was confined to his bed at Brighton; and Mr Huskisson was not permitted to quit his room in London. It was, nevertheless, extremely desirable, nay, almost absolutely necessary, that he should communicate personally with Mr Canning, before the corn bill was brought forward, as, although the latter had undertaken to open the discussion, in order to stamp the measure more authoritatively with the sanction of government, the subject was one as foreign to the natural bent of his genius, and to the usual duties of his department, as it was familiar to the pursuits and habits of the president of the Board of Trade. Mr Huskisson's medical advisers, however, peremptorily refused to allow him to leave London, and he was consequently necessitated to convey to Mr Canning, through the medium of a confidential friend, those explanations of detail and calculation which were so indispensable towards unfolding the scheme clearly and intelligibly in the House of Commons.

To increase the complicated embarrassments of the moment, the Catholic question was again to be discussed, and Mr Canning's anxiety to be present, and eagerness for the result, were known to be overwhelming. It came on in March, and the hopes of the Catholics were once more defeated. It was with considerable difficulty that Mr Huskisson could be detained from this debate; but a sure anti-Catholic voter having been procured to pair off with him, he reluctantly submitted to the commands of the physician.

By the beginning of April, Mr Huskisson's health was sufficiently re-established to allow him to go to Lord Stafford's, at Wimbeldon, for change of air; but he did not resume his place in the House of Commons till after the Easter recess. On the 7th of May, after several postponements, and a long and threatening note of preparation, General Gascoyne brought forward his motion for a committee to inquire into the distressed state of the shipping interest; when Mr Huskisson, for the last time as president of the Board of Trade, undertook the vindication of the recent changes in the commercial policy of the country, and in a speech characterized by the most statesman-like views and sentiments, and abounding in the most valuable commercial information, overthrew the allegations of his opponents, not only by the most convincing reasoning, but by the clearest arithmetical proofs.

The conclusion of his reply to an attack on him made in the House of Lords by the Earl of Lauderdale, may safely be recommended to the diligent study of all who have a share in the councils of the nation in these eventful times. Let them be assured that there never was a sounder truth advanced, than that "this country cannot stand still whilst others are advancing in science, in industry, in everything which contributes to increase the power of empires, and to multiply the means of enjoyment and comfort to civilized man; this country cannot stand still so long as there exists a free press out of doors to collect and embody, and a free discussion in parliament to guide and direct, the influence of public opinion." Let the opposers of improvement lay this to their hearts, and be assured that it is in vain they array their feeble powers against the irresistible march of improvement which now pervades the civilized world.

It is barely rendering justice to the press to acknowledge that, throughout the progress of these changes in our commercial policy, Mr Huskisson met with a steady disinterested support from some of the most able of the daily journals, a support the more honourable to them, as they were politically opposed to the administration of which he formed a part. It is from one of these, *The Times*, that we copy the following remarks on this speech:—

"We look upon Mr Huskisson to be the most useful minister that England has had to boast of for many years. It is not merely that he has reasoned upon experimental questions with more discrimination and acuteness than his neighbours, but that he has watched the relative play of the national interests upon each other, with more patient and steady vigilance; embracing gradually and leisurely within his view a wider field of facts by which to qualify his principles, as well as to support them; and thus coming to the executive duties of a statesman armed with that especial branch and order of knowledge, by which those who designate themselves as 'practical politicians' profess to require that the affairs of nations should be judged, and by which Mr Huskisson has abundantly proved that your men of 'practice' when they abuse their opportunities, can best be exposed and silenced.

"The right honourable gentleman has just published, after a careful revision, his recent speech upon the state of the shipping interest. In that speech he has done more for the cause of common sense and rectitude in legislation than we have often seen effected by more ponderous and presuming means. The great beauty of this discourse is its perfect

simplicity. The documents referred to are so decisive—the demonstration offered is so clear and absolute—that the mind of the reader seems almost passive in its reception of the important and triumphant truth contended for by the minister whose system of policy has been on trial. Instead of the decline of British Shipping, consequent, as was alleged, on the partial opening of the navigation laws, it comes out, as plain as figures can make it, that, with the single exception of the silk trade—which appears to have been saved, instead of sacrificed, by the liberal regulations of the right honourable gentleman—the trade in ships has suffered less from the general revulsion of commerce since 1825 than any other department of national industry in this empire.

“We shall not weaken the impression which a perusal of this pamphlet *must* infallibly produce upon the brain of any but a madman, by quoting particular sentences or tables, in testimony of the overthrow inflicted by Mr Huskisson on the very ignorant, or very little scrupulous, complaints brought against him, on behalf of those whose sentiments the other member for Liverpool was delegated, on the above occasion, to make known. But this much it is only fair to mention. The year 1825, being one so distinguished, or disgraced, by wild and immeasurable speculation, that no candid man would think of taking the forced importations of that disastrous year as a standard of comparison for any that preceded or may follow it—so is it obvious that, in relation to shipping no less than cotton, we must exclude the year 1825 from among the general bases of reasoning with regard to commercial prosperity or decay. With that exception, then, it is manifest from the tables that, in the year 1826, the British shipping inwards contained above 100,000 tons, and employed above 8,000 seamen more than 1824, while the shipping outwards not only exceeded every former year since 1814, but even that of 1825 itself, by upwards of 140,000 tons, and by more than 2,000 seamen. The speech ought, indeed, to be made the manual of every body who wishes for proof in matters of legislation, or who desires a sample of the dangers which might befall this country were implicit credit to be given by parliament to the assertions of interested men.”

In May, Mr Whitmore brought forward a motion for a select committee to inquire into the East-India trade. Mr Huskisson maintained the propriety of postponing the inquiry; and the statement which he made of his views on this important question proved so satisfactory to the house, that all parties joined in supporting his suggestion, and Mr Whitmore

not only consented to withdraw his motion, but expressed his readiness to leave the subject entirely in his hands. In the course of the same month, Mr Huskisson took occasion, on the presentation of a petition of the wool-growers of Dorsetshire, to explain the policy which had guided the alterations made in the duties and regulations affecting the wool-trade; and to exhibit the causes which had produced the immense increase in the growth of wool abroad, especially in Germany. He did not, unfortunately, live to hear how completely the soundness of his arguments and of his views, respecting this valuable branch of our manufactures, had been proved.

If the opposition in the House of Commons was not yet prepared for any great display of their forces, in the House of Lords it assumed a bolder front. When the new corn bill was sent up, the Duke of Wellington most unexpectedly appeared as the leader of the opposition to a measure which had been proposed and matured under the immediate superintendence of Lord Liverpool, and which had received the full approbation of the cabinet during the time that his Grace had belonged to it. In this opposition he was supported by Lord Bathurst, and an amendment, ruinous to the principle of the bill, was carried against all the efforts of ministers. The bill, thus vitiated, was abandoned altogether, but not without some sharp animadversions upon the conduct of those whose sudden change of opinion had proved fatal to it.

Certain resolutions respecting the corn trade were subsequently brought forward by Mr Western, to which Mr Canning moved and carried an amendment, which might, in some measure, palliate the inconveniences and disappointment arising from the loss of Lord Liverpool's bill. In the course of the discussions, he stated his "earnest wish that one of the first acts of the legislature, in the ensuing year, might be to reconsider the act of the present session, and his belief that, by the experience which the house should then have had, they would possess the best means of entering on that reconsideration."

The conduct of the Duke of Wellington upon this occasion was attempted to be justified, both by himself and his friends, upon the alleged misconception of a note of Mr Huskisson. This misconception, however, was no sooner known than it had been explained by a second note. The explanation, nevertheless, failed in quelling the opposition which was said to have been founded on the misconception, and the country, which had looked with so much natural anxiety to the passing of the corn bill, was doomed to disappointment.*

* Vide Speech of the 18th June 1827.

The session was closed on the 2d of July, and about the middle of the month Mr Huskisson who had been earnestly recommended by his physicians to try whether the air of the continent, and a total abstraction from business, might not have a beneficial effect on his debilitated frame, left England for Calais. On the day before his departure, he saw Mr Canning, who received him in bed. Struck with the alteration in his looks, Mr Huskisson remarked to him, that he seemed to be the person who stood most in need of change of air and of relaxation. Mr Canning answered in a cheerful tone, "Oh ! it is only the reflection of the yellow linings of the curtains." This was on the 18th of July. On the 19th Mr Huskisson embarked at the Tower, accompanied by Mrs Huskisson and his private secretary. On landing at Calais, with the ill-luck which constantly pursued him, he entangled his foot in a cable, and lacerated it so severely, that he was unable to walk for some days. The party rapidly crossed France to Strasburg, and, after a short visit to Baden, proceeded, by the route of Stuttgardt and Augsburg, to Munich. Here Mr Huskisson was induced to remain a few days in the society of Sir Brooke Taylor the English minister, and then passed on to Salzburg, intending to go to Bad Gestein, the mountainous and bracing air of which had been strongly recommended to him. At Salzburg he learnt that there would, probably, be much difficulty in procuring accommodations, and though provided with letters of introduction from the different ambassadors in England, and more particularly from the Prince Esterhazy, yet such was his dislike to anything that savoured of parade or ostentation, that instead of sending forward a courier to Gestein, or presenting his letters to the governor of Salzburg, he quietly relinquished his plan, and turned back to Innsbruck. On the 11th of August, he reached Innsbruck, and the 12th was the first day on which he appeared really to have derived benefit from his tour. He had recovered from his lameness, and was much pleased with a long walk to the Chateau d'Amras and its environs. Here, too, he had the satisfaction of receiving letters from London, mentioning Mr Canning's convalescence ; and on the 13th, the party set off for the Pass of the Monte Spluga, in better spirits and with brighter hopes than they had yet felt. On that night they slept at Landeck, and on the following afternoon reached Feldkirch, in the Vorarlberg.

Mr Huskisson's health was now decidedly improving. He had been much interested in the beautiful scenery of the Tyrol, and his mind was recovering its wonted elasticity and playfulness, too soon to be again painfully unstrung. Early

on the morning of the 15th instant, just as they were setting off for Coire, an estaffette from Sir Brooke Taylor came in, bearing a letter from Lord Granville at Paris, to announce the alarming turn which Mr Canning's illness had taken. The route was instantly changed, and on the 20th the party reached the hotel of the English embassy at Paris, having travelled as fast as his own strength and that of Mrs Huskisson would permit.

The fatal termination of Mr Canning's illness had become known to him on the road; but without any of the particulars, or any of the ministerial arrangements subsequently proposed; and Mr Huskisson's impression—more than once expressed to his companions on the road—was, that his own political career had closed for ever. The meeting with Lord Granville, the painful details which he had to learn, and the rapidity with which he had travelled, completely exhausted both his physical and moral strength, and rendered some repose absolutely necessary. Nor did the melancholy incitement to tax either beyond their power, in the hope of paying the last mark of public and private regard to his departed friend, then exist; for the funeral of Mr Canning had taken place on the 16th, the day after the estaffette reached Feldkirch.

But, beyond the considerations arising from the state of his own health, Mr Huskisson was decided to remain a few days in Paris, in order to receive some official and definite information respecting the proposed arrangements for supplying the loss of Mr Canning, and continuing the existing administration. The expresses which had been dispatched from England had taken a different route from that by which Mr Huskisson had returned; and it was very desirable that either the letters, of which they were the bearers, or fresh ones, should explain to him, before he pursued his journey to England, what were the intentions of the remaining members of the administration in regard to the re-modelling of the government, as, should he decide on declining any proposals made to him, his plan was to have tried the effect of a winter in the south of Europe; and it has already been stated that the inclination of his mind, from the first moment in which he heard of the death of his friend and colleague, was to listen to the warning voice of his medical friends, and to withdraw entirely from public life.

On the 23d, one of the expresses arrived. The letters from Lord Goderich communicated that he had accepted the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and conveyed an offer couched in the most friendly and handsome terms, of the colonial department, which he had vacated, to Mr Huskisson.

Further letters from England announced that Mr Grant was, in the event of these proposals being accepted, to succeed to the presidency of the Board of Trade, and that Lord Lansdowne and the remaining members of Mr Canning's government had declared their acquiescence in these arrangements. All the letters pressed Mr Huskisson's return without loss of time, and mentioned that the King had expressed his earnest wishes that no delay might take place in his assuming his new office.

It was not without considerable hesitation—not, it may safely be asserted, without considerable reluctance—that Mr Huskisson was persuaded to decide upon continuing in office. His secret inclinations certainly leant the other way, and he only yielded at last to the arguments and expostulations of his friends, who represented the dissolution of the government, and the consequent annihilation of Mr Canning's system of policy, as the too probable result of his refusal—arguments and expostulations, it is said, which were enforced by the special command of the King.

That a latent doubt whether his own physical energies were equal to the demands of the new department, over which he was destined to preside, joined to a state of great anxiety and mental depression, arising from the recent misfortune which had deprived him of the friend and colleague, to whose person and policy he was equally attached, and with whom all the recollections of his public life were so intimately and inseparably associated, contributed to foster his present reluctance, is certain; but it may be fairly presumed that this reluctance might be further increased by a natural fear whether any other hand than that of Mr Canning would be found strong enough to hold together the scarcely, as yet, well cemented elements of which the government was composed, in the face of all the difficulties which threatened it, and the various obstacles which were thrown in its way. It would almost seem that Mr Huskisson had felt a prophetic misgiving of those complicated and unexpected accidents, which, in a few months, overwhelmed this ill-fated administration; so unwillingly did he give his final assent.

He left Paris on the 25th, and on his road to Boulogne received other dispatches, which, in the announcement of the nomination of Mr Herries as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of the misunderstanding consequent upon it, proved the first confirmation of his apprehensions, and shewed how reasonable had been the doubts which had delayed his own determination. He reached London on the 28th, and on the following morning waited on the King at Windsor, who had

been impatiently expecting him. A long negotiation commenced, and after some explanations, and much difficulty, Lord Lansdowne, at his Majesty's special request, consented to withdraw the resignation which he had tendered; Mr Huskisson at the same time accepted the seals of the colonial department, and Mr Herries was sworn in as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He had now an opportunity of following up those important commercial regulations, with respect to our colonial policy, which had occupied so much of his attention at the board of trade, and of giving to the improvement, and careful revision of the colonial system, all the resources of his powerful mind. He did not long remain idle. Within less than a month after his appointment, an official dispatch was addressed by him to Sir John Keane, the lieutenant governor of Jamaica, which was dated the 22d of September, and filled seven columns of the Jamaica Gazette. This dispatch may safely be pronounced to be a document not less remarkable for the circumstances under which it was composed, than intrinsically valuable and important for the ability with which it was executed. The interval between Mr Huskisson's return and his entrance upon the duties of the colonial department, had been filled with anxious and unrelaxing exertions to consolidate the new ministry; yet, with all the distractions of an unpractised cabinet, in which he bore his full share, and under the pressure of severe affliction, and of impaired and precarious health, his indefatigable mind found time, in this short period, to master the almost endless details of those thorny and repulsive subjects, which had cost a year's labour to the house of assembly, and produced a dispatch, marked throughout with temper, discrimination, comprehensive sagacity, statesmanlike power, and a disregard of all selfish clamour—a dispatch which, whether it be regarded as an analysis of a vast mass of political questions, or as calculated for the correction of a series of legislative errors, and the guidance of a deliberative body, has seldom been surpassed. Mr Huskisson's purpose was to state the objections of the government at home to the very inefficacious manner in which the house of assembly of Jamaica attempted, or professed, to carry into execution the principles laid down by the British parliament, and to fulfil the instructions transmitted by Lord Bathurst. The task was a most ungracious one, but it was performed by a master-hand. So much compression of matter will seldom be found in an official paper of such voluminous dimensions. Full of all the distinguishing characteristics of his great speeches—of per-

fect courtesy, of admirable simplicity and clearness, of vigour of application, and decision of judgment,—it contains no phrase which is not fraught with some forcible and essential argument, and exhibits the writer possessed with his subject, but holding it under the easiest and most absolute control.

But the labours of Mr Huskisson in the colonial department of his office soon received a serious interruption. The intelligence which reached England in November of the Battle of Navarino, and the difficulties which shortly after arose in other quarters, paralyzed the proceedings of government, and threw everything into a state of doubt and confusion. At length, towards the close of the year, it became generally understood that Lord Goderich's administration had melted away like a snow-wreath, and that measures were in progress for forming a new one. An ineffectual attempt had been previously made to avert the entire dissolution of the existing government. By command of his Majesty, Mr Huskisson opened a communication with Lord Harrowby. His Lordship waited upon the King at Windsor, but no inducements could prevail upon him to accept the post of prime minister, to which he pleaded his want of health as an insurmountable objection, and this proposed arrangement fell to the ground. A yet further delay then ensued; and there are strong grounds for believing that, had Mr Huskisson listened to the voice of ambition, the situation of minister was within his grasp: but the recent fate of Mr Canning was a warning which might have deterred a mind more full of aspiring ambition than Mr Huskisson's from accepting, under parallel circumstances, that post, which the fiat of the aristocracy had declared should be held only by one of their own order. After another short interval of doubt, the commission to form a new administration was finally entrusted to the Duke of Wellington; and before January expired, the new arrangements were made public.

The accusations of Mr Canning's friends against Mr Huskisson for taking office with the Duke of Wellington and Mr Peel were bitter; and the arguments in justification lengthened and long continued.

On being appointed to the secretaryship of the colonies, he vacated his seat for Liverpool according to constitutional custom: but was re-elected without opposition, and took his seat in the House of Commons on 11th of February. In the interval, much notice had been attracted to the report of something which was said to have fallen from him during his election, when explaining the motives of his continuance in office, respecting certain guarantees received from the Duke

of Wellington; and some unpleasant and angry feelings were manifested, which augured ill for the cordiality of future proceedings. Several allusions were made to this expression in both houses, and the Duke of Wellington rather warmly repudiated the idea that he could have been guilty of giving any guarantee for his future conduct. The business was, however, satisfactorily explained by Mr Huskisson on the 18th of February, when Lord Normanby brought on a discussion respecting the dissolution of the last, and the conduct of Mr Huskisson in joining the present government, and the letter which was read from Mr Shepherd on that occasion set the question of the "guarantee" finally at rest.*

The high estimation in which Mr Huskisson was held was strikingly manifested when the appointment of the committee of finance was moved. He had declined being placed upon it, from a feeling that neither his official duties nor the state of his health would allow of his regular attendance on this arduous investigation. The list of names having been read, Mr Baring rose and observed that, "without any disrespect to the members composing the committee, I may be permitted to say that the whole aggregate amount of their financial knowledge bears no proportion to that possessed by the right honourable gentleman. His information and research have penetrated into every corner of our financial and commercial systems, and to except him from the committee is to shut out the greatest light that can be thrown upon the subjects to be therein discussed." To this high eulogium Mr Brougham added, that "the knowledge of all the other members combined was as nothing, as dust in the balance, compared with the resources of his mind." Proud and unimpeachable testimonies, extorted from the candour of political opponents, at a moment when party feelings were so strongly inflamed! Mr Huskisson was consequently induced to forego his objections, and his name was added to the committee.

He now again, to use his own words, "applied himself earnestly and indefatigably to the amelioration of the colonial system, to strengthen the bonds which attached our distant possessions to the mother country, and to bring forward, expound, improve, and perfect, measures connected with the foreign commerce and the internal industry of this country"—objects to which his attention had been long sedulously applied. Strong hopes were entertained that leisure would be afforded for following up and realizing the expectations which

* Mr Huskisson always expressed himself warmly sensible of the very handsome and liberal conduct of Mr Shepherd, at a moment when party animosities were so highly excited.

had been raised on his first appointment to his present important office, and that his administration of the colonial department would be signalized by reforms and improvements similar to those which had marked the period during which he presided at the Board of Trade. If the hopes and expectations of the public were not completely realized—if the benefits derived from his direction did not entirely reach the high character which his former services and achievements had established—it must be taken into consideration that, independently of those very delicate and complicated questions of colonial policy with which he had to deal—the condition of the slave population of our West India colonies, the discontent and dissensions which prevailed in Canada, and the state of the rapidly increasing population of our Australian possessions—he was obliged, at the same time, to keep up an active official correspondence with the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, the critical position of which, with regard to Greece, was of a nature to require the greatest precautions—while the embarrassments of our foreign policy, and the long discussions on the preparation of the corn bill, every figure of which gave rise to almost interminable alterations and endless expedients to reconcile the different opinions of the opposing parties, perpetually called him off from the business of his department to deliberations of a more general nature. To these interruptions may be added the proceedings which unsettled the latter part of Lord Goderich's administration, the interregnum which succeeded, the re-election for Liverpool, and, finally, a fatiguing attendance on the finance committee. It is not, then, to be wondered at, that the eight months during which Mr Huskisson held the seals of the colonial office, however indefatigable his labours, offered to the public rather the preparations for, and the earnest of, what a longer continuance there might have ripened and brought forth, than much that was actually accomplished.

But besides his correspondence with Sir John Keane, to which we have already adverted, the few months of Mr Huskisson's colonial administration were marked by other important measures—by the appointment of a committee to examine into the state of the Canadas, where strong dissatisfaction and growing discontent had long prevailed—by a bill to provide for the administration of justice in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and by the first step towards the accomplishment of an object which, in common with every friend of humanity, he had earnestly at heart—the gradual reduction of our establishments on the slave

coast of Africa—the withdrawing of our garrisons from the forts on the Gold Coast.*

His Correspondence with the governors of the West India colonies sufficiently proves how earnestly he endeavoured to impress on the colonial legislatures the necessity as well as wisdom of giving effect, without delay, to the resolutions of the British parliament, and how carefully and steadily he applied himself to devise means materially to improve the civil and moral condition of the slave population. The speeches which he delivered on moving the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the Canadas, and on the discussions of the bill for the regulation of the government of New South Wales, are not only full of the most liberal sentiments respecting the treatment by the mother country of those important colonies, but exhibit such an intimate knowledge of their present state and comprehensive views for their future prosperity, as could only have been acquired by the most patient research and impartial communication with every source of information which was open to him.

Mr Huskisson, with the other members of government in the House of Commons, opposed Lord John Russell's bill for the repeal of the test and corporation acts; but his opposition on this occasion did not impugn the sincerity of his principles in favour of religious toleration, and he thus explained and defended the grounds of it:—"I am not, abstractedly, unfriendly to the proposition, but I cannot assent to it, because I am sure that, with reference to the Catholic claims, it will make a bad impression. I am convinced that the present measure, so far from being a step in favour of the Catholic claims, would, if successful, be the means of arraying an additional power against them."†

* In the month of May 1830 a conversation arose in the House of Commons on the abuses of the colonial system, when Mr Marryatt paid the following honourable compliment to the exertions made by Mr Huskisson, and to the hopes derived from them, during the short period in which he held the seals of that department:—

"The task is truly Herculean; but I trust, as there exists the desire, so the means of reformation will not be wanting. I should state that, during the short period in which the right honourable member for Liverpool held the seals of the colonial office, a ray of light beamed upon this unfortunate colony, (the Cape of Good Hope.) The energetic measures of reformation which he had time only to commence, and which gave a promise of brighter days, ceased however with his removal from office. That event was much regretted by the colonists, who had begun to congratulate themselves on being under the control of a minister who was both willing and able to carry his beneficial plans into effect."

† He referred to the fact that many religions seeking toleration for themselves would only use the power to continue the exclusion of the Catholics.

On these impressions he founded his opposition to the bill, and though, fortunately, those impressions proved afterwards, to a certain extent, erroneous, yet were they not wholly visionary.

The months of March and April were principally consumed in debates upon the corn bill; and from the tone of the discussions, the public thought they could gather a confirmation of the reports which had very generally prevailed, of considerable dissensions among the ministers respecting the provisions of the bill. Neither Mr Grant nor Mr Huskisson professed to consider the scale of duties as without objection, and contented themselves with recommending the arrangement as the best which, under all circumstances, could be at present realized.

However strong the suspicions of disunion in the cabinet, no open proof appeared to confirm them, and with the passing of the corn bill, whatever differences of opinion might have occurred, were supposed to have subsided the cause which had provoked them. Without entering upon the Corn Laws here, we have Mr Huskisson's own authority, on a later occasion, for stating that, "however expedient to prevent other evils in the present state of the country, they are in themselves a burthen and a restraint upon its manufacturing and commercial industry."

Mr Huskisson knew that he was regarded with a suspicious and jealous eye by what is termed the agricultural interest, and in the course of the debates on the propriety of disfranchising East Retford, and transferring the right of election to one of the great manufacturing towns, he thus plainly alluded to the circumstance:—"It has sometimes been said, I know not on what grounds, that I am not a friend to the agricultural interest; but I feel the less uneasy under an imputation of that nature, as I am persuaded that an enlarged view of the policy which I have always recommended cannot fail to lead to the conclusion that I have uniformly supported those principles which are best calculated to promote the general interests of each class, and, as a consequence, the good of the whole community."

On the 19th of May 1828, on the question of transferring the representation from the corrupt borough of East Retford to Birmingham, Mr Huskisson opposed his colleagues and supported the measure. As a matter of official courtesy he placed his resignation in the hands of the Duke of Wellington, hardly thinking it would be acted upon. But the Duke, as prime minister, acted on it, took it to the King, and advised its acceptance.

The following session, 1829, was principally occupied with the all-engrossing subject of the Catholic relief bill. Nothing could have redounded more to the honour of those distinguished persons, who had so long been the zealous and consistent advocates of such a measure, than their conduct during the whole of the discussions. Far from taunting the ministers who initiated the bill with their former opinions, they were content to yield to them the glory of this great act of justice.

All other questions dwindled into insignificance before the importance of this. Our foreign policy was forgotten or placed in abeyance, and modern times scarcely afford an instance of a session in which the opposition to government—that only excepted which was offered to the Catholic bill by the zealous Protestant party—has been so completely suspended. But notwithstanding that all general and organized opposition to the ministers was stilled by this long-wished-for boon, many discussions arose of public interest, in which Mr Huskisson took a prominent part, and displayed his profound knowledge and liberal views. When the state of the silk trade was once more brought under the consideration of parliament by Mr Fyler, the member for Coventry, Mr Huskisson came forward to maintain and defend those principles of trade which he had so long advocated, and declared that experience only confirmed him in the conviction that a gradual relaxation of the restrictive system was invariably followed by a gradual improvement in manufactures, commerce, and revenue. Mr Baring having alluded to the vituperation, the endless obloquy and calumny, which had been heaped upon him, as the organ of the government by which the changes in our commercial system had been effected, Mr Huskisson avowed that all this he had foreseen and been prepared to encounter, at the time when he felt it his duty to recommend those alterations; but he had also received his reward. In defending the principles, and exposing the advantages, of the new system, he more particularly called the attention of the house “to the fact, unprecedented in our history, that for fifteen years this country had enjoyed a commercial peace with the world—that, for the first time during so many years, parliament had not been called upon by the crown to protect, with a naval and military force, some colonial or commercial right, or to resist some commercial outrage.”* Perhaps there will nowhere be

* This remark was repeated by Mr Huskisson on several occasions. It was one on which he felt particular satisfaction in dwelling; and his conviction in the wisdom of his system was strengthened by the consideration that three-fourths of the wars which have desolated Europe for the last two centuries had

found, in the numerous speeches of Mr Huskisson, a passage more exquisite than the peroration of this one presents. Its effect was conclusive, and the silk question, that fertile source of debate for the last four sessions, now received its quietus.

In all the discussions which arose with respect to the future arrangements to be made on the renewal of the East India Company's charter, Mr Huskisson took a warm interest, both as member for Liverpool and in reference to the great public commercial interests involved in it. But he did not confine his views to the limits of commercial considerations. His enlightened mind embraced topics of infinitely higher importance—topics which involved the tranquillity and happiness of millions of subjects, who looked to this country for protection—the improvement in civilization, the increase of comforts, and the exaltation of the moral character of the natives of India. All these formed cogent reasons for a full, fair, and deliberate inquiry into the condition of that vast empire, and into the manner in which its government was conducted and its intercourse with this country managed. Upon an understanding, however, that the government itself would move for the appointment of a committee to investigate the whole question in the following session, he acquiesced in the delay of a year. At the same time he frankly declared that his impressions were strongly in favour of further relaxations, and pointed to Sincapore as a glorious instance of the immense advantages derivable from free trade. With respect to China, he used this forcible expression:—"Seize the advantages which present themselves to your grasp, even now, while you yet may;" and added, as his opinion, "that the question of a more extended intercourse with that country might—if a committee were appointed—be arranged at an earlier period than the expiration of the charter in 1834.

Here, as on so many other occasions, he incurred the displeasure of the zealots of both extremes. While the directors of the East India Company regarded him as harbouring the wish to invade their chartered rights, the opposite party reproached him for recommending a postponement till the following year.

had their origin in the irritation caused by commercial prohibition, and that, if there were any human invention by which a state of universal and perpetual peace could be secured, the secret of it would be found in a free trade, the application of which might bind nations together by the strongest and most indissoluble ties of which mankind is susceptible—those of common interest and reciprocal advantage.

It is probable that Mr Huskisson felt an additional interest in the settlement of the India question, and that he had turned his mind more closely to the consideration of it, from the circumstance that it had more than once been proposed to him to proceed thither. The government of Madras had been offered to him previous to the appointment of Sir Thomas Monro, and it was principally from the opinions of his medical advisers, as well as from his own indifference to wealth, that he determined to decline it. At a later period there is little reason to doubt that the supreme government of India might have been his. It is true that a positive offer was not made to him, but it certainly was hinted at, and the hint rejected without a moment's hesitation, his constitution being then far too debilitated to allow him to entertain the idea of a residence in a hot climate.

So often as the opportunity presented itself did Mr Huskisson endeavour to impress upon the government the wisdom of reducing the amount of unfunded debt in the hands of the bank. Of the necessity of this he appears to have been long sensible; but in the latter years of his life he became even more alive to the importance of some arrangement by which the evil might be alleviated. Accordingly, in this, as in the preceding and following session, we find him thus referring to his recorded opinions on this subject.—“My right honourable friends know that I have long entertained and pressed, and I will continue to press, the expediency and importance—with a view to the best interests of the country and the ultimate safety of its credit—of the reduction of the amount of unfunded debt in the hands of the bank, in order to have our funds more at our own disposal.”

Two other valuable speeches were made this session. In one may be discovered, mixed up with many other important topics, the views which Mr Huskisson entertained of the benefits to be derived from an extended application of the principles of colonization and emigration; while in the other he urged the reduction of the duties on sugar, and the advantages which might result from rendering this country the entrepot of the sugar of the world, and thus giving employment to its capital and operatives in refining sugar for the markets of Europe.

One of the great and favourite objects of his commercial policy, and one which he never lost sight of, was the promotion of every measure which might be calculated to make England the great entrepot of the world. It was with this view that he had shewn himself so desirous that foreign cop-

per ores might be allowed to be smelted in England for the purposes of exportation—a permission which was vehemently opposed by the proprietors of mines in this country. The quantity and richness of the South American ores, with which ours could in nowise compete, and the facilities which were offered for their transport, in the convenient shape of ballast for our vessels employed in the cotton trade, had not escaped his observation; and he feared that if we neglected to avail ourselves of the present opening, capital might be found for forming establishments for the purpose of smelting these ores on the coast of South America, or that some more enterprising nation might rob us of the advantages which he foresaw might be drawn from their being brought as a raw commodity to this country, to be again exported in a more advanced stage of refinement.

In the month of August, Mr Huskisson paid a visit to his constituents at Liverpool. It was the first time he had met them as a private individual; and although no longer arrayed in the dignities and influence which high office confers—although the moment was one in which the industry and commerce of this country, in common with those of the whole world, were labouring under considerable depression—his reception was as honourable to the good taste and feeling of the commercial community of that great port as it was gratifying to himself. He also visited Manchester for the first time; but though much pressed, refused to accept a public dinner.

In the history of the session of 1830, his name is found frequently occurring in discussions of general interest and importance. It became obvious that his long experience and unrivalled abilities for business were giving to him a greater weight and importance in parliament than he had ever before possessed. Whilst, out of doors, his accession to office was regarded by a very large and enlightened part of the public as essential to the interests of the country.

Nominated a member of the East India committee, he devoted himself assiduously to acquire, from the best sources, a correct and intimate knowledge of the extent and regulations of the various branches of commercial intercourse included in the company's charter. The interest which he was known to feel on this important topic, and the reputation which he enjoyed as the great champion of all improvement and as the advocate for a liberal and comprehensive system of national and commercial policy, procured for him the most unreserved communications from all those who looked forward to a relaxation in our trade with the East; and these

advantages, joined to the clearness of his intellect and the aptitude of his interrogatories, enabled him to draw from witnesses, evidently reluctant, the most important admissions. It was in the management of an investigation like this that Mr Huskisson was, perhaps, unequalled, and vindicated the proud eulogium bestowed on him by Mr Canning. Quick-sighted and perspicuous in his views, his mind was never diverted from its object, and he speedily detected the fallacies, and swept away the web in which it was frequently attempted to entangle the question; whilst the temper and quietness with which he conducted his examinations, offered no grounds of complaint even to the most adverse witnesses.

Although the principal part of the inquiry of this session was directed to the particular consideration of the China trade, yet it was well understood that his views with regard to our Indian empire were of the most enlarged nature, and embraced not only improvements in the commercial, but such changes in the financial and agricultural systems, as well as in the administration of civil and criminal justice, as must ultimately tend to a material amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants of those distant possessions. He had long observed with regret the slow progress which was made in the cultivation of some of the great staple commodities of India. It was only very lately that any care or attention had been paid to the quality of their raw silk, and he was often known to point out and dwell upon a singular circumstance which had occurred in the course of this year, in the importation of a cargo of raw cotton from New South Wales, where the cultivation of that article had only been recently introduced, which was of a quality infinitely superior to any that had ever been brought from the East Indies, where it had long formed the principal, indeed nearly the only, manufacture of the country. When it is considered that about forty years ago the production of indigo in the East Indies was entirely in the hands of the natives; that the article then produced was inferior and the trade inconsiderable; and when it is known that, since British subjects have been allowed to cultivate it, its growth in other countries is nearly superseded, and that British India supplies the markets of the world; there is surely to be found, in this circumstance alone, sufficient reason to hope that, were British capital and skill permitted to be employed in the cultivation of the other productions of India, similar important result may be obtained.

Deaf to the admonitions of reason and experience, and obstinately blind to the change which had taken place in the feelings of the public since the East Retford question was

first discussed in 1828, as well as to the increasing interest with which the subject was now regarded by all descriptions of people, ministers determined to persevere in the course which they had so imprudently adopted, and to use the utmost influence of government in rejecting any alteration in their plan. But the signs of the times were not lost upon a mind like that of Mr Huskisson. Everything which had occurred since the question had been last agitated—everything which was passing around him—everything in the condition of the country—convinced him that the circumstances of the moment demanded a greater measure of severity towards this case of notorious and flagrant corruption than a mere extension of the franchise to the adjoining hundred.

Accordingly, when the disfranchisement bill was once more brought forward, Mr Huskisson again raised his warning voice, and emphatically urged the wisdom and justice of transferring the elective franchise to Birmingham. Again he pointed out the immense importance of this measure in reference to the general question of reform, and avowed his conviction that it was of the utmost consequence to deal with the present case, so as best to guard against the growing danger of sweeping reform on principles too abstract and general. This he declared to be his sincere and deliberate belief; and he, therefore, called upon those who thought with him to take up this defensive position against the difficulties and attacks which would soon press upon them from all quarters. If driven from it by the rejection of the present amendment, he must then, however reluctantly, retire upon another, also defensive. As to the plan of throwing the franchise into the hundred of Bassetlaw, he justly regarded it as a mere mockery of reform, and as utterly inadequate, either as a measure of punishment or as a demonstration of the readiness of parliament to meet the reasonable wishes of the people.

He then proceeded to instance the successive concessions which had latterly been wrung from government in favour of liberty, of intelligence, of commerce, and of general improvement; but, whilst he declared the satisfaction which he felt at these concessions, he asked "if it were creditable to, or consistent with, the character of the legislature of the country, that it should always appear to grant such concessions only at the moment when prudence and necessity compelled it to withhold them no longer." Notwithstanding all the exertions of government, the amendment for transferring the right of election to Birmingham was only defeated by a

very trifling majority. This effort to commence a moderate and reasonable reform having failed, Mr Huskisson, who was deeply sensible of the danger resulting from this continued resistance to the wishes of the public, next supported a motion of Lord John Russell's for giving representatives to Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham—a measure which he enforced by the most powerful arguments, and stated that the time was fast approaching when, if it were now rejected, ministers would be obliged themselves to propose such a step, as necessary for the safety and salvation of the country.

The support which Mr Huskisson gave to the motion of Lord John Russell, on this occasion, is of itself a convincing proof of the justice of this remark; and it may be that, had his life been spared, he too would have felt the wisdom and admitted the necessity of a more extensive alteration in our parliamentary representation, than, under different circumstances, he ever appears to have contemplated.

In pursuance of those opinions, which he had so often advocated, and in conformity with the whole tenor of his public life, Mr Huskisson gave a powerful and cordial support to the bill brought forward by Mr Robert Grant, for the removal of the various disabilities affecting persons of the Jewish persuasion. The charge of inconsistency having been alleged against him, for now recommending relief to the Jews, when, in 1828, he had objected to the repeal of the test and corporation acts, he recalled to the recollection of the house the motives which had influenced his conduct upon that occasion. He had not resisted that measure from any desire to exclude the dissenters from a full participation in all political privileges, and he had rested his arguments against it, at that immediate point of time, specially upon the apprehension which he entertained, in common with many others, that a partial concession to a particular class of people might have a tendency to injure and retard that greater and more urgent act of justice to the Catholics which had since been so happily accomplished. He instanced the conduct which France and the United Netherlands had wisely adopted towards the Jews, and expressed his earnest hope that, as their exclusion was the last exception remaining to the system of general toleration which was now the principle of English law, this bill might be allowed to pass, and thus form the consummation of that course of religious liberality which would immortalize the history of the present parliament.

Mr Huskisson's name will also be found in the list of the minority who voted for repealing the punishment of death in

cases of forgery. On this subject he was known to entertain considerable hesitation; but where so much doubt prevailed, even among those who had considered the question with the profoundest attention, he felt conscientiously that it became the duty of a legislator to give the benefit of that doubt to the side of mercy and humanity, and that the experiment of substituting a milder penalty deserved at least to be tried. He therefore supported the amendment moved by Sir James Mackintosh.

The weakness of the government was now every day becoming more evident. The forbearance of the whigs was rapidly vanishing before repeated disappointments, and, at the period at which we are now treating, a growing approximation was observable between them and Mr Huskisson and his adherents. These symptoms became still stronger after the decease of George IV.; and the storm of war, which had for some time threatened the ministry, burst forth in all its violence on the motion for an address to the new sovereign, the debate on which was characterized by a warmth of language almost amounting to acrimony.

Little more remains of the parliamentary history of Mr Huskisson. As a small but immediate measure of relief to the crying distresses of the West India proprietors, he proposed a reduction of the duties levied on rum in Scotland and Ireland; but, on an assurance that the government would be ready, at another time, to enter upon the question, and in consideration of the advanced state of the session, and the absence of many of the Irish members, he consented not to press his resolution to a division.

On the discussion on the labourer's wages bill, he thus expressed himself on the truck system:—"The system of paying in goods and not in money, has arisen from the exercise of power on the one side, over the necessity which existed on the other. The workman is obliged to submit, because he cannot obtain employment on any other terms. The difficulty of the master is not caused by the want of a sufficient quantity of the circulating medium; but the effect of this practice to the workman has been to lower his wages twenty, and in some instances twenty-five per cent. This is a system which ought not to be allowed to continue: it must lead to discontent and dissatisfaction throughout the country.

We will confine ourselves to one more extract from the speeches of this great statesman. It is from his speech on the regency question—the last of any importance—the last but one he ever made within the walls of that house, of which he was, for so many years, one of the brightest ornaments; and no person, we think, can read it without being

struck with its extraordinary application to the circumstances of his own approaching fate:—"My honourable and learned friend* has well observed that, of all men living, the present ministers, and the members of the present parliament, should be the last to overlook the precariousness of human life. In one session of that parliament, what solemn warnings did we not receive. Look at Lord Liverpool. On the 16th of February, discharging an important duty in the House of Lords, in the full enjoyment of health and spirits, and vigour of life, the *mens sana in corpore sano*—on the 17th, stricken to the earth, and lost for ever to his friends, to the administration of which he was the head, and to the country of which he enjoyed the confidence. * . * . * The session closed on the 2d of July. In the beginning of August Mr Canning was still transacting public business;—on the 8th of that month he was numbered with the illustrious dead."

Mr Huskisson never spoke again in parliament, except a few words, on the 13th of July, in answer to a complaint of Mr Wilmot Horton, that he had omitted, in his speech on the state of the country, to advert to emigration as one essential mode of relief; to which observation Mr Huskisson merely replied, that he had only addressed himself to measures of immediate relief, and that, though no enemy to emigration, it appeared to him to be a subject demanding great and serious consideration.

Such is a brief and hasty outline of Mr Huskisson's parliamentary history; and an outline is, unfortunately, all that can be offered of many even of his most important speeches. Indifferent to his display, speaking frequently without the slightest preparation, rising late in the debate, and addressing himself to subjects the least attractive to all but those whose interests were involved, it is not to be wondered at that many of his speeches should be imperfectly reported.

The speeches which he was prevailed upon to publish, were subjected to a most careful revision; but it was a task which he undertook with considerable reluctance. In composition, he was difficult in the selection of his words and in the arrangement of his sentences, and without, perhaps, carrying fastidiousness to the extent which Mr Canning is reported to have done, it may still be fairly said that he never spared the file. This, however, is only true as applied to official papers. In his common correspondence, his style was strongly indicative of his character—simple, easy, and natural.

For some time past, his physical system had evidently been

* Mr Robert Grant, who had moved the Address.

suffering under a degree of languor and debility which required care and rest, and shewed itself by no means equal to the heavy demands made upon it by the incessant activity of his mental powers. Influenced by the recollection of past favours, and by the feelings of gratitude which he always bore towards King George IV. for the kindness and confidence with which he had treated him whilst a servant of the crown, and unmindful of the inadequacy of his strength to any fatigue, Mr Huskisson determined, on the death of the Sovereign, to pay the last mark of respectful duty, by attending the funeral ceremony. For this purpose he left town on the 14th of July, for Sir George Warrender's, at Cliefden, and on the following evening proceeded from thence to Windsor. The procession had scarcely begun to move from St George's Hall when he felt himself ill; but, as it was then impossible to withdraw, he continued during the whole of the long ceremony in a state of great suffering. As soon as he could leave the chapel he returned to Cliefden, where he remained seriously ill the whole of the following day. On Saturday, he was sufficiently relieved to be removed to London, where he underwent an operation, which was most skilfully performed by Mr Copeland, but which confined him to his room for a fortnight, and greatly reduced him.

On the 12th of July he received a requisition from Liverpool to stand again at the election, combining the names of individuals of every political sentiment, and whose commercial interests were equally various and conflicting. Notwithstanding the laborious duties attending a popular election, Mr Huskisson looked forward with pride and exultation to the period when he was again to present himself as a candidate for the second commercial port in the kingdom—not invested with the dignity of a minister, or backed by the influence of the government, but relying on the recollection of the faithful zeal and attention with which he had discharged his duties towards his constituents. This high gratification was denied him, as his medical attendants pronounced him to be utterly incapable of undertaking so long a journey, or of encountering the fatigues of an election, and peremptorily forbade the attempt. Mr Huskisson was therefore constrained to yield, however reluctantly, to their commands. To all the former proofs of regard and admiration which the inhabitants of Liverpool had already at different times conferred upon him, they now added that of re-electing him without his appearing on the hustings.

Parliament was dissolved on the 23d of July, after a long and arduous session, in which nothing had been accomplished,

and in which the vacillating conduct of the ministers had exposed them to the bitterest reproaches. A great party in the country looked forward with earnest hope for a cordial junction between the whigs and Mr Huskisson; and it was known that, at a meeting of the former, such a step had been discussed, and, after some hesitation, postponed. The demonstrations of public opinion were most encouraging to the opponents of government. In almost every place where the election was popular, ministers either shrunk from a trial or were beaten.

But, beyond the excitement which he felt in the results of the new elections, Mr Huskisson's interest was warmly raised by the extraordinary events which, in the last days of July, precipitated from the throne the elder branch of the Bourbons. As a firm and consistent friend to civil and religious liberty, he could not but admit that this change was justified by the bigoted and unconstitutional conduct which had provoked it; and when his mind recurred to the scenes of his early youth, to the dreadful excesses which had then disgusted the friends of liberty, and cast a temporary cloud over the doctrines of reform, he found in the magnanimous moderation displayed by the French nation, even in the first ebullitions of victory—a moderation which wrung from those least disposed to view their conduct with a favourable eye, the admission that “the French deserve almost all the eulogiums which they have bestowed upon themselves”—reasonable grounds for hoping that the time was at length arrived when France was to enjoy all the advantages and all the blessings which spring from a free constitutional monarchy.

Although the operation which he had undergone had been pronounced completely successful, Mr Huskisson's convalescence was so exceedingly slow, that his medical advisers became anxious that he should try the effect of sea air towards the recovery of his strength; and an opportunity of doing so presented itself, which overcame the habitual dislike entertained by him towards a residence at a watering place. Lord Anglesey had pressed him warmly to visit him at Cowes, an invitation which Mr Huskisson accepted with pleasure, not only as affording him the means of enjoying the sea air without fatigue, by frequent excursions on the water, but because he entertained towards Lord Anglesey strong feelings of private and public attachment, for the many proofs of considerate regard and manly support received from him, from the first period of their political connexion down to the present moment.

After a week's stay with the noble marquis, Mr Huskisson

proceeded to Eartham, where he remained till the beginning of September, when he set out on his ill-fated journey to Liverpool, in order to be present at the opening of the new railway to Manchester, which was to be celebrated with great magnificence and rejoicings, and which ceremony he had long promised to attend.

SECT. IV.—THE LIFE OF MR HUSKISSON CONTINUED.
HIS LAST JOURNEY TO LIVERPOOL.

Those who saw Mr Huskisson after his return from the Isle of Wight, describe him as looking better than he had previously done, and he himself appeared sensible of some improvement in his health; but he was still very deficient in strength, and had gained but little ground in that respect. On the 1st of September he made an effort to go out with his gun, but came back in the course of an hour, complaining much of fatigue and languor, and oppressed with a nervous feeling that he should never again recover his wonted strength for the purposes of exertion and exercise. He was haunted, moreover, with the prepossession that he should prove unequal to all he wished and all he should be called upon to undertake at Liverpool. Yet he was so much indebted to the indulgence which had excused his absence at the late election, and to the kindness then manifested towards him, that nothing short of positive inability could be admitted to interfere with the performance of his present engagement.

Under these discouraging circumstances, he and Mrs Huskisson left Eartham on the 4th, and, after paying two short visits at Mr Sturges Bourne's and Mr Littleton's, merely as resting-places, they reached Lord Stafford's at Trentham on the 8th of September. Here they were received with undiminished kindness by his long-trying and valued friends; but the gratification which Mr Huskisson always felt in their society was interrupted by indisposition, which confined him to his room during the greater part of the only day which he was enabled to remain with them. On the 10th, he and Mrs Huskisson arrived at Sir John Tobin's, near Liverpool, where a large party of his friends was assembled to meet them.

As the period of his intended stay at Liverpool was limited by other arrangements, every day was fully occupied either by public business or in inspecting the various improvements which had been made in the docks, and other great establishments, since his last visit. To Mrs Huskisson, who had never been at Liverpool before, everything was new; and he was anxious that she should avail herself of this occasion

to see as much as possible of this great emporium of British enterprise. In pursuance of this object, the morning of Monday was partly occupied in viewing the magnificent docks and quays upon the Mersey. On landing from the steamboat, Mr Huskisson was called away to attend some engagements in the town, and could not, by this means, accompany Mrs Huskisson to the public Cemetery. It is remarkable that he should have been known, on several occasions, to express himself in terms of the strongest admiration of the taste and liberality which had planned and completed this spot, and that he should have pressed Mrs Huskisson (who was already fatigued with the previous excursion of the morning) to visit it, with unusual earnestness.

On the morning of the 14th he went to the Exchange, accompanied by Mr Bolton, Sir John Tobin, and many of his friends, where a vast multitude, in addition to the gentlemen who usually attend about that time, had assembled to hail his arrival once more, after the disappointment they had experienced by his non-attendance during the late election. The large room was crowded to excess.

He was never more warmly greeted; and there never was a period when his observations were listened to with a deeper interest.

After quitting the Exchange, he returned to Sir John Tobin's only in time to set out with Mrs Huskisson for Wavertree Hall, in order to be in readiness to accompany Mr and Mrs Lawrence to the grand ceremony of the following day, Mr Lawrence being chairman of the railway committee. In passing the few miles which separate the two houses, Mrs Huskisson found that Mr Huskisson, though highly gratified with his reception, was much exhausted by the exertion of meeting and replying to all the marks of friendly attachment which had been heaped upon him, and she would not, in consequence, suffer him to enter into any details of the occurrences of the morning, further than to express his pride and gratitude for the cordiality and affection which he had universally experienced.

They reached Mr Lawrence's to dinner. Every person was, of course, occupied with the all-engrossing subject of the next day's business, in satisfaction at the now no longer doubtful success of which Mr Huskisson warmly participated. He had, from the earliest period of this great mechanical undertaking, interested himself zealously in promoting its ultimate accomplishment; and though, as a minister of the crown, when the application had originally been made to parliament, in 1825, he found himself precluded, according to

parliamentary usage, from taking a part in what is considered the private business of the house, he had nevertheless felt that this application, though technically a private petition, involved great public interests—interests which it should be the especial duty of the Board of Trade, of which he was then president, to countenance and encourage. On this ground he had declared that, far from considering it as inconsistent with his character of a minister, he deemed it his bounden duty to give a strenuous support to the principle of the bill on its second reading, though it was impossible for him to attend to its details in the committee.

It was well known that he regarded the result of this spirited private undertaking as fraught with important consequences to the public, and the success of it as highly beneficial to the commerce of this country, in the struggle which it had to undergo in order to maintain a successful competition with foreign rivals. He was well aware that in this struggle all efforts must prove unavailing, without the greatest economy, not of money only, but of time; and it was in this point of view that he predicted incalculable advantages from the employment of railways.

Early the next morning, the party proceeded from Waver-tree to the point where they were to join the grand procession. Notwithstanding the exertions which he had been called upon to make since his arrival at Liverpool, Mr Huskisson's spirits had appeared to rise with the demand, and even the sense of fatigue and of bodily weakness yielded to the exhilarating effects of the anticipated triumph, and of the repeated marks of regard and approbation which he had met with from all ranks of his constituents. The just pride which he felt in having been sought out and selected to represent their interests in parliament, was confirmed and increased every time that he beheld the growing prosperity of Liverpool—a prosperity, as he himself would often observe, not ascribable to an indulgence in monopolies, to extensive charters, or to privileged companies, but to the sober industry, the persevering enterprise, and the steady good sense of individuals. When he reflected, to use his own expression, that "there is no town in the kingdom which contributes proportionately so much to the revenue of the state, and which requires so little of that revenue expended upon it;" when he considered that, with a population approaching (at that time) to 150,000, Liverpool is without a barrack, a guard-house, or a single company of soldiers; a mind like his could not but ask, whence arose this beautiful order and harmony? and discover the solution of that question in the active industry which creates and receives gene-

ral employment ; while in the lesson which this example inculcates he found a fresh proof of the necessity of giving expansion and growth to the industrious powers of the country. It was for this end that he laboured through his long public life.

From reflections such as these we must now return, and resume the course of a narrative too soon to be fatally closed.

It is scarcely necessary to say that nothing could exceed the success of the opening of the railway up to the moment of the arrival of the procession at Parkside, where the engine was stopped to take in a fresh supply of water. It has been said that it was not intended for any one to leave the carriages, and that a placard to this effect was issued by the directors. If such was the case, the advice was either little understood, or at any rate wholly neglected ; for many, indeed most, of the gentlemen in the Northumbrian, in which the directors and the most distinguished of the visitors were placed, took advantage of the interval during which the procession stopped, to leave it and to disperse in various groups on the railway. According to some of the accounts in the daily journals, two of the steam-engines, the *Phoenix* and the *North Star*, passed without causing any accident, and the parties were returning into the grand car, when an alarm was given, that the *Rocket* was rapidly approaching. This report caused considerable confusion, and every one hurried to resume his place. In the ordinary cars there were steps on each side, by which they could be easily entered ; but these had been removed from the Northumbrian, it having been considered that a flight of steps, in the manner of an accommodation ladder, suspended at the back, and which could be brought at will to any part of it, would afford greater convenience to the ladies. Owing to this arrangement, a main chance of escape was cut off from those who were on the railroad ; and this explains the difficulty and danger experienced by Prince Esterhazy and several others, when they hastily endeavoured to regain their seats.

Among those who had descended was Mr Huskisson. When about to return, he observed the Duke of Wellington in the front of the car, and not having seen him before, he went round to welcome him on his visit to Liverpool, and to congratulate him on the satisfactory results of the morning's experiment. To the short delay, arising from this act of courtesy, may be attributed the dreadful calamity which ensued. The cry arose that the *Rocket* was rapidly advancing ; Mr Huskisson hurried round to the side of the Northumbrian, and, grasping at the door, attempted to get in—the door swung back, and this sudden reaction threw him on

the ground, at the moment when the fatal engine was coming on with the utmost velocity ; and before its course could be arrested, he had received his mortal injury. He was himself convinced at once that the injury was fatal. Lord Wilton and several others were instantly at his side. They raised him a little, and a tourniquet, formed with a stick and a handkerchief, was applied without loss of time. He asked earnestly for Mrs Huskisson, kissed her, and then said, "God bless you all—now let me die at once." From the hasty judgment which could be formed, it appeared to the professional gentlemen present that there was a hope of saving his life by an amputation of the shattered limb. It was therefore agreed that the most expeditious and most practicable method of proceeding would be to go on to Manchester, where the best surgical assistance could be speedily procured. A car which had been occupied by the band was emptied, and he was placed in it, attended by Mrs Huskisson, Lords Wilton and Colville, Dr Brandreth of Liverpool, Dr Hunter of Edinburgh, and Mr Wainwright. The engine was then detached from the larger carriage, and the utmost dispatch used for providing for the conveyance of the sufferer. Notwithstanding the agonies which he endured, no complaint or groan escaped him. He asked for a little water, with which Mrs Huskisson moistened his lips, and he himself suggested the seeking the quiet of some private house if any could be found on the way, in preference to the crowd and confusion which must be encountered at Manchester. Lord Wilton named the vicarage at Eccles, the residence of the Rev. Mr Blackburne, through which village the procession passed. Mr Huskisson caught eagerly at the proposal, and said, "Oh, take me there ; I know they will be good to me." He spoke as if by inspiration. Kindness would, indeed, have been shewn by any under such circumstances ; but few could have been so capable as Mrs Blackburne to arrange with ready and affectionate attention, and to perform so quickly and with such perfect judgment, everything which it could be hoped might in any way minister to his assistance. After depositing him at Eccles, Lord Wilton, whose kindness and exertions never flagged throughout all the melancholy occurrences of the day, proceeded with the engine to Manchester, and returned with incredible expedition, bringing with him Mr Ransome, Mr Whatton, and some other professional gentlemen. Mr Huskisson himself had never doubted from the first that his injuries were mortal. But when the surgeons arrived, he expressed himself willing to undergo whatever might be judged satisfactory to the feelings or wishes of those who surrounded him. He only entreated that Mrs Huskisson, who had never

quitted him, would absent herself whilst Mr Ransome and his colleagues examined what it might be possible to attempt. After a careful consultation, they decided unanimously that, in the extreme state of exhaustion to which the sufferer was reduced, amputation, though indispensable in order to effect a recovery, could not be undertaken without the most imminent danger; and Mr Ransome candidly declared his conviction that, should he commence the operation under existing circumstances, the patient must inevitably expire under it.

Mrs Huskisson was now permitted to return, and attempts were made to create a reaction by administering powerful restoratives—but in vain. Violent spasmodic convulsions rendered him gradually weaker, and occasionally wrung from him an expression of hope that his sufferings might not be prolonged. But although his agonies were almost past endurance, there were no unnecessary ejaculations, no murmurings against the dispensations of Providence; on the contrary, he evinced throughout the most patient fortitude and resignation. The clearness of his mind continued perfect and unclouded. He made a codicil to his will, and gave directions on some minute points respecting the disposal of several of his private papers. It is also perfectly true that, having signed his name, he desired to have the paper brought back to him, in order to rectify an omission which he had made in the usual mode of his signature.

Soon after six o'clock, he desired to see Mr Blackburne, in order to perform the last duties of religion. Before the sacrament was administered, he used these words—"I can safely say that I bear no ill-will to any human being." It was at first feared that this ceremony would be attended with some difficulty, as he had been for some time unable to raise his head, or to swallow, and had only had his lips moistened occasionally with a feather. He, however, summoned up all his expiring strength, and with great exertion partook of the elements. This done, he again expressed his anxiety for a speedy release; and even those about him, when they beheld his hopeless sufferings, no longer dared to wish them prolonged. Still, the kindness of his nature rose superior to his own agonies. Observing that her wretchedness had deprived Mrs Huskisson of the power of utterance, and that she was incapable of replying even to the expression of some of his injunctions, he endeavoured to console her, and the last words which he addressed to her were an assurance that he felt they should meet again. He then recommended her to Lord Wilton. Speaking of himself, he said, "The public have had the best of me, and I trust they will do me justice." This was the only allusion which he made to his

public character. He appeared to receive much gratification from the presence of Lord Granville,* to whom he spoke several times in terms of the greatest affection. He continued, indeed, to be sensible of all that had been done for him, and grateful to all those around him, especially to Lord Wilton, upon whom he said he had no claim, as little previous acquaintance had subsisted between them. Soon after eight it became evident that he was sinking rapidly, and at five minutes after nine nature was completely exhausted, and he breathed his last, after nine hours of the most excruciating torture.†

Mrs Huskisson having been removed from the room by the care of her friends, the surgeons proceeded to a nearer investigation of the injuries which Mr Huskisson had sustained. It was then discovered that he must have fallen obliquely as regarded the line of the railroad, and that the thigh and leg must have been in such a position as to have formed with it a triangle, of which the angle at the apex would be presented by the bend of the knee. The wheel of the engine thus passed over the calf of the leg and the middle of the thigh, leaving the knee itself uninjured. There was a compound fracture in the upper part of the left leg, just above the calf. The wheel must have gone slantingly over the thigh, up to the middle of it, as the muscles were all laid bare in that direction in one immense flap, and the bone was severely fractured, and comminuted almost to a powder. No great effusion of blood took place, nor did any of the great arteries appear to have been wounded; but the laceration is described to have been terrible.

The death of Mr Huskisson was made known in Liverpool at an early hour on Thursday morning; and though it had been anticipated as certain by all who knew the nature of the accident, yet it took the bulk of the people by surprise. All

* Lord Granville was one of the oldest and most valued friends of Mr Huskisson, and the one whom, perhaps, he would most have desired to be with him at such an hour. Lord Granville had hurried to Eccles, as soon as he learnt that it was determined to deposit Mr Huskisson at the vicarage there; nor did he quit the house till the moment when Mrs Huskisson set out on her mournful return to Sussex. During the whole of the painful scene he evinced, by his considerate and unvarying tenderness towards her, the sincerity of his attachment to the friend whom through life he had loved and respected.

† It is due to the character of all parties to mention that, as soon as the extent of the frightful accident became known, a general wish was declared that the procession should return at once to Liverpool. It was only upon a representation of the confusion, and even danger, which might be feared from the disappointment of the public, that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel consented to proceed to Manchester, where, however, neither of them would leave the car. The Duke, moreover, postponed the ceremony of receiving the freedom, which was to have taken place on the 16th, to some future period, and all the other arrangements for the week were abandoned.

the shops and dwelling-houses were partially closed, from one end of the town to the other. The flags on the public buildings and on the shipping in the port were hoisted half-mast, and the inhabitants, without distinction of party, were plunged into the deepest sorrow. A very general wish was expressed that the remains of their lamented representative should be interred in the new cemetery, and that a public monument should be erected over them, recording the melancholy event, and rendering a well-deserved tribute to his memory. A meeting of gentlemen accordingly took place at the Town Hall on the Thursday, to consider the subject, and the following requisition to the mayor was unanimously agreed upon :—

“ We, the undersigned, respectfully request that you, as the official organ of the inhabitants of Liverpool, will make an immediate application to the friends of our late lamented representative, requesting that his remains may be interred within the precincts of this town, in which his distinguished public worth and private virtue secured for him the respect and esteem of the whole community.”

To this requisition the names of two hundred and sixty-four of the most influential gentlemen were almost immediately attached. The request was promptly acceded to, and the Rev. J. Brooks, the rector, was desired to proceed to Eccles, to see Mrs Huskisson or her friends on the subject. The idea of Mr Huskisson's interment at Liverpool had been already broken to Mrs Huskisson ; but she had expressed the strongest repugnance to the thought of such an arrangement. All her own wishes had naturally pointed to Earham, and it was only through the powerful arguments and strong representations of Lord Granville that she was at last prevailed upon to sacrifice her own feelings and to yield to the request of the inhabitants of Liverpool. Never was a sacrifice of private feelings more honourably and solemnly requited. It was forcibly remarked at the time, that if anything could supersede the necessity of endeavouring to draw a character of Mr Huskisson, it was to be found in the circumstance of his funeral. It spoke volumes. A community, composed entirely of active intelligent individuals, who, of all others, are best able to appreciate the merits of a man ruling and regulating the destinies of a commercial people, and that community consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand individuals, deploring his loss with a grief as intense and real as is occasioned by the severing of kindred ties. We quote from the “Times” newspaper the account of the last ceremony. It is given there with a force of description and a truth of detail which could be vainly

attempted by those whose melancholy duties absorbed all powers of observation.

“LIVERPOOL, Friday, September 24, 1830.

“The funeral of Mr Huskisson has just taken place, and with such marks of public respect, regard, and sorrow, as must soothe the grief of his surviving friends, and animate the exertions of future statesmen. Though the day came in with hail, and wet, and gloom, and storm, and every other disagreeable incident of bad weather, there was scarcely a single person of opulence, talent and respectability in Liverpool, who was deterred by it from attending the melancholy pageant, of which I have been anxiously watching the progress and termination.

“Had I not seen, I certainly could not have credited the deep feeling of regret which prevails amongst all classes in this place for the loss of their late able and active representative. The people seem to feel as if they had lost a friend and a brother; and though much of their attachment may be fairly attributed to their conviction of the private virtues of the man, it is impossible to deny that much is also owing to their admiration of the industry, sagacity, and wisdom of the minister. Perhaps, also, the lamentable and unexpected accident which deprived him of life, in the midst of a scene of general mirth and festivity, and upon an occasion so peculiarly interesting to the town of Liverpool, has contributed, in some degree, to increase the general sympathy created by his loss. But be that as it may, never did I see, at any of the public funerals which I have attended of late years, such sincere sorrow and such unaffected regret as I have witnessed this morning on the countenances of thousands, during the celebration of the funeral obsequies of Mr Huskisson.

“The bells of the different churches, which began to toll at an early hour this morning, and which continued to toll at intervals during the day, reminded the inhabitants of Liverpool, in very audible tones, of the melancholy duty which they had undertaken to perform that day. I was in the streets soon after eight o'clock; but though they were then much crowded, all the shops were closed, and all the private houses had their blinds down. The vessels in the docks and in the river had their flags half-mast high, but their crews had mostly deserted them to evince their sympathy with the melancholy feelings of their brother townsmen. On the line of streets through which the procession was to pass, strong bodies of special constables were patrolling, in order to prevent any interruption to its progress after it had once started. But the

excellent temper of the people, and the provident precautions of the committee in railing off the centre part of the street for the purposes of the procession, rendered their duty almost a sinecure. There was no fighting or struggling for places, nor anything but the utmost decorum of language and behaviour in the immense multitude which lined the way from the Town Hall to the cemetery.

"It was perfectly well known to be one of the arrangements of the committee, that the procession should start from the Town Hall as soon after ten o'clock as it could be conveniently marshalled into form. For the purpose of insuring regularity, the committee agreed to assemble at the Town Hall at eight o'clock this morning; and exactly at that hour, two mutes, on horseback, took their station in front of its doors, and six mutes on foot were placed in the vestibule, and on different parts of the great staircase. At nine o'clock the doors were thrown open for the reception of such gentlemen as had previously announced to the committee their intention of being present at Mr Huskisson's funeral. On reaching the vestibule, the first object which attracted their attention must have been the coffin in which the mortal remains of Mr Huskisson were enclosed, attended by mutes and numerous truncheon-bearers. It stood upon trestles, on the left side of the room, and was covered with a pall of black velvet edged with satin. Upon the pall the arms and crest of the deceased were emblazoned in all the empty and unavailing pride of heraldic ornament. After passing the coffin, the different groups of gentlemen were ushered, as they arrived, into the splendid suit of apartments which render the Town Hall of Liverpool so famous, and by ten o'clock the whole of them had made their appearance.

"Wishing to see the state of the streets through which it was designed to pass, I walked along them to the cemetery. In spite of the drizzling rain which had been falling for some time, they were crowded along the whole line. The children of the different charity-schools were assembled in the yard of St Peter's church, and upon its belfry and steeple, and in its windows, numbers of children of a larger growth were also stationed. The trees before the Lyceum and in St Mark's churchyard had their strength well tried by the number who, in every direction, were clinging to their branches. The ascent up Duke Street to the cemetery was made through one dense mass of men, women, and children; and it would have been impossible to have travelled along it otherwise than by walking through the space railed off from the street for the procession.

"On reaching the cemetery I found the whole outer area surrounded by an expecting multitude. Between Hope Street and Rodney Street, and also in Hope Street itself, there are several lofty houses not quite finished. The roofs and windows of these mansions were all occupied. Placards had been very generally circulated throughout the town, stating that the rails which surrounded the cemetery were not strong enough to support the pressure of a crowd, and requesting the people, as they wished to avoid accident, not to stand upon the stone wall, on the top of which the rails are fixed. The caution was not unattended to—a fact which speaks volumes as to the tractable spirit and chastened feeling of the crowd. Some idea of its numbers may be obtained from a knowledge of the fact, that the circuit of the rails amounts to nearly eleven hundred yards. The grass plot or lawn at the bottom of the cemetery was at this time nearly empty. There were only a few workmen in it, and these were near the vault. I had the curiosity to approach and examine it. It is twelve feet deep, and the six nearest the bottom are cased all round with iron. A heavy lid of the same material was reclining against one of the walls of the cemetery, and was to be placed over the body as soon as the funeral ceremony was finished.

"After I had gratified my curiosity, I looked up at the scene around and above, and nothing could be more imposing and magnificent than the *coup d'œil* then before me. I was at the bottom of a dell, about sixty feet below the ordinary level of the streets of Liverpool. On the east I saw a solid mass of masonry, with four different tiers of galleries diverging from a centre nearly opposite me, and running one above the other to the two extremities of the cemetery on that side. Each of these tiers was filled with respectable individuals habited in deep mourning. Above them were the people outside the railing; and above them again were houses and scaffolds covered with spectators. Turning to the south, I beheld a double gallery filled in a similar manner. On the west the scene was still more picturesque, as the bank rises gradually till it comes to a double tier of terraces, and is then surmounted by the beautiful cluster of trees which crown St James' Walk. Every accessible point in this direction was occupied by ladies and gentlemen of the first families in Liverpool. The north side was at this time unoccupied, and in that direction I could only catch a glimpse of the multitude peeping through the rails. To prevent the decorum of the ceremony from being interrupted by individuals passing and repassing to and from different sets of galleries, boards were erected at various places

to stop the usual communication between them. The whole mass of the people in the cemetery was therefore nearly immoveable. Their numbers must have been nearer twenty thousand than fifteen thousand persons. It is impossible for me to convey to you any adequate notion of the effect of the spectacle thus exhibited to my eyes, in a spot where art and nature have combined together to produce one of the most picturesque and imposing scenes that the imagination of man can possibly conceive.

“At a quarter past ten o’clock, the firing of a signal gun, which was stationed opposite the new Custom House, gave us notice in the cemetery that the procession had begun to move from the Town Hall. I am informed that twenty-five minutes elapsed from the time when the mutes started to the time when the last persons in the procession left the Town Hall. The distance which the procession traversed is about two thousand yards, and its own length was nearly half a mile.

“The head of the procession reached the cemetery at a quarter before twelve o’clock, and at that moment the view from the gateway down Duke Street was most striking. In the centre of the street, but not occupying its entire width, a long dark column of men, plumes, horses, and carriages, was seen advancing slowly through an immense crowd ranged in the most perfect order, and observing the deepest silence on each side of it. The turret of St James’ Church, the wall skirting its yard, the windows and roofs of all the houses, were almost groaning under the weight of the spectators seated upon them. As the hearse advanced, all this vast crowd uncovered, and the dark appearance of the moving procession, and the mottled appearance of the bareheaded and immoveable multitude, which was gazing intently upon it, formed a very marked contrast to each other. A small piece of cannon, which had been previously stationed on St James’ Mount, was fired as a signal to the town, as soon as the procession began to enter the cemetery.

“The mutes on horseback took their position one at each side of the entrance. The gentlemen of the town, instead of proceeding into the chapel, filed off to the right, breaking their lines of six into lines of three deep, and descended without delay into the cemetery. Part of their path ran through an arched passage or tunnel cut through the solid rock; and to a person standing on the neighbouring heights there was something very romantic and picturesque in the manner in which they alternately appeared and disappeared from view. They then proceeded to range themselves on the serpentine walks which skirt the centre grass plot, where the vault was

dug for Mr Huskisson's remains. At a distance they appeared to have grouped themselves in the shape of a diamond, a vacant space being left at the angle nearest the spectator for the bearers of the coffin to carry it to the grave.

"Whilst this arrangement was taking place in the cemetery, the committee and the clergy were employed in forming along the road between the entrance of the cemetery and the door of the chapel. The different pall-bearers then ranged themselves in order to receive the coffin and to take the pall, and as soon as they had done this, and the mourners had taken their place in the rear, the Rev. J. Brooks, who had previously met the coffin, began to read the funeral service and to move into the chapel. As the pall-bearers and mourners passed them, the clergy and the committee filed into the procession, and thus the funeral party entered the chapel. Immediately afterwards the gates of the cemetery were closed, and the gentlemen who had followed the hearse filed off to the gate at the top of Hope Street, where accommodation had been previously prepared for them.

"The chapel was arranged with the most simple and beautiful elegance for this melancholy occasion. There is on each side of it a single row of pews. These were hung with black cloth, both on the inside and on the out. So, too, was the reading-desk. It was likewise ornamented with Mr Huskisson's escutcheon, splendidly emblazoned. The coffin having been placed on trestles under the reading-desk, the mourners took their seats in the different pews previously assigned to them. The funeral service then proceeded. When the clergyman came to that portion of it which is usually read at the side of the grave, the parties left the chapel in nearly the same order in which they entered it. On quitting the chapel, which is only visible from a small part of the cemetery, you face the dell in which it is situate, and look down upon it from a precipitous and isolated projection of rocks several yards high. The cortège, having ranged itself on the brink of this rock, became an object of intense interest to such spectators as could command a view of it. After the pause of a few moments, it was again put in motion, and winded slowly down the serpentine tunnel through which the gentlemen of the town had previously 'wound in solemn march their long array.' At the same moment the gentlemen who had followed the hearse obtained admission into the north side of the cemetery, and thus all its four sides were crowned with a living mass of anxious spectators.

"As the body was proceeding from the chapel to the grave, the weather, which had been most unfavourable during the

whole of the morning, suddenly changed, and a bright gleam of sunshine flung its radiance over the moving train. In a few minutes it reached the vault. As the bearers left the walks and entered upon the turf of the grass plots, the gentlemen extended their line and filled up the space in the walks which they had previously left vacant. At that moment the head of every man in the immense assemblage collected in and about the cemetery was uncovered, as if by general consent. There was a moral sublimity in the spectacle, which all who were present felt, but which I am afraid is not communicable to those who were absent. I have seen more than one public funeral, and I know something of the gorgeous pageantry so lavishly displayed in the burials of our monarchs; but though I saw the ashes of Grattan and Canning deposited in one of the most august of christian temples, amid the vain regrets of men the most distinguished for rank, talent, and genius, and though the interment of royalty takes hold upon the imagination from its necessary connection with the most sumptuous display of human pomp and greatness, I never witnessed any spectacle so impressive as the appearance of this vast multitude, standing erect under the open canopy of heaven, and joining in one spontaneous tribute of respect to the memory of their late representative. All eyes were then turned upon the vault, and Mr Brooks proceeded to the conclusion of the service for the dead, amid the deep attention of his hearers and the uncontrollable emotion of some of the mourners. At a quarter past one o'clock the melancholy ceremony was brought to a close, and another signal gun was fired to communicate the tidings to the people in the town."

SECT. V.—OPERATION OF THE CORN LAW OF 1815.

MR HUSKISSON'S SPEECH AND RESOLUTIONS ON THE CORN LAW IN 1822.

Introductory to those parliamentary speeches which we shall here select as specimens of Mr Huskisson's legislative oratory, and as embodiments of the history of commercial reform, we shall review the operation of the Corn Law of 1815 up to 1822.

The ports were to be closed until the average price of wheat exceeded 80s. per quarter. Colonial wheat was to be admitted when the average prices reached 67s. per quarter. But the mode in which the averages were taken greatly increased the stringency of the act. A new average was to be struck quarterly on the 15th of February, May, August, and November, from the aggregate prices of six preceding weeks, but it was provided that, if during the six weeks subsequent

to any of these dates the average prices, which might be at 80s., fell below that price, no supplies should be admitted for home consumption from any ports between the river Eyder and the Bidassoa—that is, from Denmark to Spain.

It was expected by the farmers that the act of 1815 would maintain corn prices at a rate somewhat under the scale which the legislature had adopted, which for wheat was 80s., barley 40s., oats 27s., and rye, beans, and peas, 53s. They entered upon rent contracts with the conviction that prices would fall but little below those rates. Indifferent harvests, war prices, and a false currency, had given them for a number of years much higher prices. And famine years continued them. The bad harvests of 1816 and 1817 caused 2,600,000 quarters to be admitted. But the harvest of 1818 was abundant, while those of 1819, 1820, and 1821, were a fair average. Prices fell. Added to which the change in the currency, by the act of 1819 began to operate. Prices were now measured by the gold standard—that a guinea was 21s.; whereas rents in most cases were paid on the scale agreed to when, by the falsity of a paper standard, the guinea appeared to be worth 27s.

In the week ending December 21, 1822, the price of wheat had fallen to 38s. 8d., barley to 29s. 4d., oats 18s. 9d., rye 23s. 6d., beans 28s. 10d., peas 29s. 4d. The fluctuations of prices under the law of 1815 were not less than 199½ per cent.

Such were the circumstances under which Mr Huskisson addressed the House of Commons on the 29th of April 1822.

The house having resolved itself into a committee, to consider the report of the select committee on the distressed state of the agriculture of the united kingdom, the Marquis of Londonderry, (Lord Castlereagh,) concluded a speech of great length with moving sundry resolutions, in conformity with the recommendations of the said committee, of which the following are the outlines:—1. One million to be advanced on British corn in warehouse, when the average price shall be below 60s. the quarter—2. The owners of foreign corn in warehouse to be permitted to grind it for exportation—3. The ports to be opened when the home price shall be 80s., and continue open until it be below 70s.—4. While the price shall be between 70s. and 80s., the duty to be 12s., and an additional duty of 5s. during the first three months of importation; and a duty of 5s., with a like additional duty of 5s., when the price of corn is between 80s. and 85s., after which an increased duty of one shilling only—5. One million to be placed at the disposal of the Irish government, for the relief of the country, by the promotion of public works, &c.—6. To

reduce the present burden of the naval and military pension-list, now five millions, by granting an annuity of L.2,800,000 for forty-five years to contractors, who would advance the sum now required, beyond the average of the whole period, with a view to benefit afterwards by the decrease—7. The period for allowing country banks to issue small notes to be extended to the year 1833—8. To permit country banks, sixty-five miles distant from London, to form joint-stock companies, as in Scotland, in consideration of which, the Bank of England to have its charter extended for ten years beyond 1833, when the present charter expires—9. Upwards of two millions being the estimated saving by the pension-list plan, taxes to the amount of L.1,800,000 to be remitted. On the first resolution being put, Mr Western said he was of opinion that the proposed measure was inadequate to its object, and not likely to afford any relief. Mr Ricardo considered the plan of ministers a direct attack upon the sinking fund. Mr Brougham styled it a project for hiring corn, and recommended that government should affix three golden balls to the front of the treasury. He declared himself favourable to a sinking fund, consisting of a clear excess of revenue over the necessary expenditure; but protested against relieving the present generation at the expense of posterity.

Mr Huskisson said he fully agreed with the honourable and learned gentleman, that the only real sinking fund was that which was composed of a clear excess of revenue over expenditure. He would put this proposition to the honourable and learned member for Winchelsea:—Suppose England liable to pay an annuity of five millions a year for sixteen years; and suppose her, with a view to immediate relief, to convert that annuity into a smaller annual payment for forty-five years, would not the saving upon the difference of amount to be paid for the two given periods be a positive saving, without any invasion of the principle of the sinking fund? He assured the committee that he would himself object to the plan proposed by his noble friend, if he thought it in any way invaded the law of 1792, or touched upon the principle of the sinking fund. He was bound to answer the cavil—or, more properly speaking, the misconception—of the honourable and learned member, to whose proposition in the beginning of the session, for leaving the country without any sinking fund, the house had fortunately refused to listen. He was bound to reply to that misconception; because much of the benefit of the present measure would be lost, if an impression were suffered, although but for a few days, to get abroad, that government, after reducing the five per cents. (a measure carried by the operation

of an efficient sinking fund,) had it now in contemplation to attack that sinking fund itself.

Another part of his noble friend's plan went to extend the period during which country bank-notes under the value of five pounds were to be allowed to circulate, and also to relieve the country banking-houses from their present limitation of six partners to each firm. He had really been surprised when he had heard the honourable member for Essex assert that government could not continue the circulation of country notes under five pounds without repealing a part of the bill called Mr Peel's bill. He begged to contradict that statement most decidedly. The present plan, so far from being suggested because the measure of 1819 was repented of, was at all points perfectly consistent with that measure; and, in the committee upon the bill of 1819, he himself had actually proposed that the present plan should at that time be recommended to parliament. With respect to the issue of one-pound notes, whether those notes were issued by country banks under the old limitation or by country banks with an unlimited number of partners, their credit was secured by their convertibility at pleasure into Bank of England notes or into cash; but he did not believe that, on the removal of the limitation, banks would start up like mushrooms, as the honourable gentleman opposite predicted. Let the house look at the state of the banks in Scotland, which were already free from limitation. Had any of those banks failed of late years from over-trading? Was it found that they made unreasonable and improvident advances among their own partners? Or had it been found, as was too frequently the case in England, that men embarked as traders in the banking business, in order to prop up other hazardous speculations of their own? Yet the banks of Scotland issued one-pound notes, and presented a fair example to justify the experiment. The apprehensions of increase of forgeries, of over-trading, and of diminished security, to arise from the proposed extension of license, were all disproved by the experience of Scotland. With respect to an increase of forgery, he did not believe that the amount of forgeries upon country banks having local and limited circulation had been very considerable. The number of trials for such offences, on the contrary, he believed, had been extremely small. As regarded Scotland, he doubted whether, for a great many years, a single man had been executed for such an offence. At all events, he was not to be deterred, by the existence of some minor objections, from the adoption of any measure involving a great national object.

Let the house look at the state of our circulating medium

at the present moment. What was the great circulation in the county of Lancaster? Was it bank of England notes or notes of country banks? It was neither; but it was in bills of exchange, small bills of five pounds and under. Surely those bills of exchange, which were commonly current throughout that county, were as liable to be forged as bank-notes would be. And when the honourable and learned member talked of increased convictions for forgery, from the increased circulation of bank notes, he must be reminded of the number of persons now convicted for counterfeiting, or for offences connected with counterfeiting, the coin of the realm. In the very last year, he believed there had been no fewer than two hundred and eighty convictions for offences of that class.

There were other points upon which he found it impossible to agree with the honourable and learned member for Winchester. That honourable and learned gentleman, speaking of the distress of the agricultural classes, had said that, for his part, he did not consider the other classes of the community to be in a flourishing condition; and that, even if he could consider them to be so, that circumstance would not console him for the distressed state of the agricultural classes. He agreed that the whole matter was one of an appalling nature—that the prosperity of the working classes could not be taken to have its full value when it was connected with the distress of the agricultural class; but still, although one class was suffering heavily, he could not say that it afforded him no consolation to see the other classes in comfort, and better off at present than they had been. He admitted that his consolation could not be ample, and that there could not be a wholesome state of the community while so important an interest as the agricultural was suffering to the extent of its present depression; but when the honourable and learned member came to draw pictures of the working classes, describing them as having wages just sufficient to afford the means of subsistence, he must say that he did not believe such to be the fact. He believed, on the contrary, that while, on the one hand, the necessities of life had greatly diminished in price, on the other, the wages in all the manufacturing districts had been raised. That the manufacturers, and the working classes generally, were in a state of comparative ease and comfort was indeed undeniable. He defied any gentleman, upon any other principle, to account for the known fact, that the produce of the taxes upon consumption was gradually and steadily rising.

The honourable and learned member had mentioned a plan

which he said had been on the point of emanating from the agricultural committee, and which he had placed in a ludicrous light, calling it a pawnbroking plan, and advising that the three golden balls should be placed in front of the treasury. For himself, he knew nothing of any such plan; but he would state to the house what had occurred in the last year's committee. An honourable friend of his, not now present—he spoke of the honourable member for Taunton*—looking at the situation in which the country was placed, with a monopoly of corn, and a prohibition to trade in that article, had given it as his opinion that no plan would afford such effectual relief to the market as that government should buy up the surplus in years of abundance, keeping it to be dealt out in years of deficiency, and thereby adjusting, in both cases, the supply to the demand. To that proposal he had objected. He had objected to it upon principle; and he always should object to it. But, if a country chose to proceed out of the fair legitimate course of trade, and to take up, and to persevere in, an artificial system, some measure, not in itself desirable, might become absolutely necessary, as an antidote to the dangers of that system. If this country would place itself in the situation of having no *free intercourse* with other nations in the trade in corn, and still continued liable to the fluctuation of seasons, it followed, of course, that a wise permanent system would be to try, if possible, to hoard the surplus of a year of plenty to meet the possible exigency of a future unfavourable harvest.

He did not recommend the plan which he was about to mention; but some measure was absolutely necessary, both for the grower and the consumer; for the former, who would be ruined by an overstocked market in full years, and for the latter, who would want protection against the scarcity of bad ones. He repeated that he did not recommend the plan as good in itself; but he thought it less injurious than the plan of the honourable member for Taunton; and the plan he suggested was this:—It had long been the policy of England to give a bounty upon the exportation of corn. The suggestion was to convert that which, according to old principles, had been a bounty upon exportation, into a small advantage upon the hoarding of corn. No money was to be advanced by government. No three balls, as the honourable and learned gentleman had intimated, were to be hoisted. It was merely giving something like the amount of the old bounty in another shape. He admitted freely that this system was a bad one;

* Mr Alexander Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton.

but it was a bad system growing out of a bad course of policy.

The right honourable gentleman next alluded to the proposition of his honourable friend, as to the dead military charge—the conversion of the annuity for lives into an annuity for a term of years. The honourable and learned gentleman had talked of the expensive machinery attendant upon that proceeding. He could assure the house that no arrangement could be more simple. He then came to the report of the committee above stairs, and he said he would not, at so late an hour of the night, detain the house by opening or explaining the resolutions which he intended to move. He purposed to lay the resolutions on the table, and to remain satisfied with their being printed; but he trusted that, when the house met again on the subject, he should have an opportunity allowed him to state the cause of the difference between the resolutions proposed by himself that evening and those proposed by his noble friend. Some of his resolutions went merely to matters of fact, and others were grounded upon principles which he thought it impossible to deny; but still he was anxious to point out to the house how, in the present distressed state of England and of the world, the resolutions reached the cause of the evil, and indicated, as he thought, the appropriate remedies. With respect to the resolutions now before the committee, it was painful for him to differ from his noble friend, but he found it impossible to concur in them. The course he should suggest therefore was, that the resolutions being put *pro forma*, the chairman should report progress upon the first resolution; the whole of the resolutions might then be printed, and handed about among the members.

The right honourable gentleman was about to sit down; but several voices called for the reading of his resolutions. He accordingly read them as follows:—

RESOLUTIONS.

1. “That the ports of the united kingdom were shut against the importation of foreign wheat, for home consumption, in the month of February 1819, the average price being then 78s. 7d. a quarter, and that they have remained closed ever since; the average price of the year 1820 having been 65s. 7d.—of the year 1821, 54s. 5d.—and of the three first months of 1822, 47s. 9d. a quarter.

2. “That in the year 1819, the quantity of British wheat imported into the port of London was 300,416 quarters; in 1820, 399,009 quarters; and in 1821, 494,828 quarters; and that, during the whole of this period of three years, the supply

in all the principal markets of the united kingdom appears uniformly to have exceeded the demand, notwithstanding the wants of an increased population, and other circumstances, which have produced an increased annual consumption.

3. "That this excess of the supply above the demand must have arisen either from an extent of corn-tillage more than commensurate to the average consumption of the country, or from a succession of abundant harvests upon the same extent of tillage, or from the coincident effect of both these causes.

4. "That, in the fluctuation of seasons, the effect of the present Corn Law must be to expose sometimes the grower of corn to the losses incident to an over-redundant produce, and at other times the consumer to the pressure inseparable from dearth; that the free importation of foreign corn, (the remedy provided by the law for the latter evil,) if wanted to a great amount, must be precarious in proportion as the demand is unusual, and that against the former evil the law affords to the grower no relief whatever.

5. "That the alternate evils of redundancy and scarcity cannot fail to be aggravated by the alternate excitement and depression to which the agriculture of the united kingdom must be exposed under the present system of our Corn Laws.

6. "That another evil effect of the present system is, to convert farming into a hazardous and gambling speculation, which, however prudently managed, must occasionally involve great losses to the capitals engaged in agriculture.

7. "That a free trade in foreign corn, subject to certain duties on the importation thereof for home consumption, was at all times permitted prior to the act of the 55th George III. c. 26.

8. "That since the passing of that act, by which such importation is prohibited until the average price of wheat shall have reached or exceeded, for a certain time, 80s. a quarter, and other grain in proportion, a great accumulation of foreign corn has taken place in the warehouses of this country and of the continent.

9. "That, to obviate the prejudicial effects of that act, and to ensure a regular supply of grain at prices as much as possible steady and moderate, it is expedient to provide for the repeal of so much of the said act as prohibits, under certain prices, the importation of foreign grain for home consumption.

10. "That in order to render this repeal safe to the grower of British corn, and gradual in its operation, under the present accumulation of foreign grain in the warehouses of this country and in the ports of the continent, it is expedient to

provide that the foreign wheat now under bond in the united kingdom may be taken out for home consumption, upon the payment of a duty of 15s. per quarter, as soon as the average price of wheat, ascertained in the usual mode, shall exceed 70s. a quarter, and that at the expiration of three months from the date of such admission of warehoused wheat into home consumption, or so much sooner as the average price shall exceed 80s. a quarter, wheat from abroad may be admitted upon the payment of the like duty.

11. "That the trade in foreign corn shall thenceforth be permanently free; but subject to the following duties upon importation, or when taken out of warehouse for home consumption:—Wheat, 15s. a quarter, when the price shall not exceed 80s.; and when above that price, 5s.; and above 85s., one shilling;—rye, pease, and beans, 9s. 6d. a quarter, when the price shall not exceed 53s.; and when above 53s., one shilling;—barley, bear, or bigg, 7s. 6d. a quarter, up to 40s.; and when above that price, one shilling;—oats, 5s. a quarter, up to 28s.; and when above that price, one shilling."

May 6.—The house having again resolved itself into committee, the Marquis of Londonderry moved his first resolution, viz.:—"That his Majesty be enabled to direct exchequer bills, to an amount not exceeding one million, to be issued to commissioners in Great Britain, to be by them advanced, under certain regulations and restrictions, whenever the average price of wheat shall be under 60s. per quarter, upon such corn, the growth of the united kingdom, as shall be deposited in fit and proper warehouses."

Mr Huskisson said he would, as briefly as possible, state the grounds on which he felt himself compelled to object to this resolution. The little which he had to say upon this occasion was considerably abridged, in consequence of his understanding from his noble friend—for he could not understand it from the resolution itself—that this was not to be made a permanent measure, but was meant to be applied to the present period only. If he confined himself either to the terms of the report or to the language of the resolution, he must have contended that, whenever the price of corn was under 60s. a quarter, government must advance relief to the agricultural body to the extent of one million. The explanation of his noble friend had, however, undeceived him; and he found that the plan referred merely to the present time.

Now, looking to this as a temporary measure, his objection to it was the time to which it was to be applied. His noble friend had stated that, since the last harvest, corn had been brought into the market to nearly double the quantity which

had ordinarily been introduced, at antecedent periods of equal extent. The reason his noble friend gave for this was, that the farmers were called on to pay their rents; and, from the difficulties which pressed on the landlords, the occupiers of land, in order to meet their demands, were compelled to thrash out their corn, and to send it to market at an earlier period of the year than was generally the case. Now, if this were true, if the reason were well founded, it followed that many of the farmers, and of that class too which was most distressed, were no longer in the market as sellers of this commodity, but as purchasers for their own support, and for the maintenance of the poor in the parishes to which they belonged. The consequence, then, must be, if this measure had the effect of taking out of the market any considerable quantity of corn, and thereby of raising the price, that it would bear hard on the lower class of farmers, and render the maintenance of the poor more onerous. Supposing this measure had been resorted to when the agriculturists were making up their different charges, even then, he conceived, it would have added to the difficulties, rather than have relieved the distresses, of the lower class of cultivators of the land. He believed, if any gentleman asked a surveyor, or any of those persons connected with the agricultural districts, who were the most distressed, the answer would be, "I will tell you by looking at their stack-yards." The yards of the wealthy farmers were well stored, while those of the lower class were emptied. How, then, could they be relieved by this measure?

This plan did not at all accord with the general principles which governed the subject. The fact was, they were in an artificial state, which required frequent revision. With respect to the general principle, if there was any one article on which government ought not to lend money, that article was corn. Let the house consider what the effect of the law would have been had it been passed last session. Agricultural distress was then pressing severely on the country; and, if the corn-market could then have been operated on to the amount of a million, he would ask his noble friend, who knew the state of the market in September, whether the price would not have been forced up to 80s., and the ports, in consequence, have been thrown open immediately? On the 8th of September the price of corn was 55s. 8d., and on the 29th of September it was 70s. 8d., being an advance of upwards of 30 per cent. in twenty days. Now, if this plan had been then carried into effect, the corn-grower might, at the former

period, have called for this million; the price would then have risen above 80s., and that which the agriculturists most apprehended, namely, the throwing the ports open, would have taken place. What would be the consequence if there were a prospect of a rise in the market? Why, those persons who had received money from government at three per cent. would be speculating against those who speculated with their money at an interest of five per cent.

Considering the contingencies of this market, he thought it was truly desirable that its regulation should be left to the operation of nature. He could not agree with his noble friend in thinking that those who bought the damaged corn this year would make a good speculation; because, if there were an abundant harvest, and well got in, no one would re-purchase this damaged corn, however it might be kiln dried. If the fact were otherwise, why was it not kiln dried now? At present it fluctuated in the market from L.6:10s. to L.7:10s. per load. If a man could get three per cent. on the damaged corn, it would undoubtedly be a convenience to him; but he did not approve of disposing of the public money in that way. Prices were beginning to adjust themselves between landlord and tenant. They ought to be allowed to find their proper level; but this measure would only tend to keep up the delusion, and to add to the difficulty. It would create a most dangerous precedent, which it would be necessary to keep up if the harvest were abundant next season. Should the ensuing harvest be unfavourable, there would be no necessity for this assistance; and, if it were favourable, there would be a general scramble for this money. They would either do too little or too much. If the prices rose, there was no necessity to interfere, and if they were depressed, the measure would afford no adequate relief. It would only leave them with this damaged corn, which would be unsaleable next year, and a debt of a million, which they would not be able to recover.

Sir Edward Knatchbull and Mr Wodehouse said they would support the resolution, because they were unwilling to leave the noble marquis in the lurch. Sir John Shelley, Sir John Sebright, Mr Whitmore, and Mr Davies Gilbert opposed it, as a partial and ineffectual measure, and as being at variance with sound policy, and likely to do a great deal of mischief. The Marquis of Londonderry said that, seeing the measure so tamely supported by some members of the committee, and hearing nothing in support of it from others, who might be supposed to regard it with parental feelings, he did not feel disposed to press the resolutions to a division.

Mr Huskisson withdrew his resolutions, after a speech in which he exposed the gambling effect of the sliding scale, and indicated a preference for a low fixed duty.

SECT. VI.—MR HUSKISSON ON THE CURRENCY BILL OF 1819.

June 11, 1822.—This day Mr Western, pursuant to notice, called the attention of the house to the effect which the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England had had in producing the present agricultural distress. The honourable gentleman stated, in the outset of his address, that his object was to arraign the wisdom, the justice, and the policy of the measure passed in 1819; and he concluded with moving, "That a committee be appointed to consider of the effects produced by the act of the 59th Geo. III. c. 49, intituled, 'an act to continue the restrictions contained in several acts on payments in cash by the Bank of England, until the 1st of May 1823, and to provide for the gradual resumption of such cash payments, and to permit the exportation of gold and silver,' upon the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the united empire, and upon the general condition of the different classes of society."

Mr Huskisson rose, and spoke in substance as follows:—

The subject which the honourable gentleman has brought under the consideration of the house is one of the greatest magnitude. It involves nothing less than an alteration of that standard of value by which all property is secured and all pecuniary contracts and dealings measured and ascertained. The course suggested for the attainment of this object is pregnant with consequences of the most fearful importance. These considerations—the magnitude of the subject, and the alarming consequences to be apprehended from the present motion—will, I trust, be sufficient to induce the house to afford a patient hearing to the discussion, without any personal appeal to their indulgence, even from an individual standing so much in need of it as myself.

I have listened with every attention in my power to the statements and doctrines of the honourable member, during his long and elaborate, but able speech. Some parts of it I have heard with surprise; other parts, I must candidly confess, with regret;—surprise, at the view which he has taken of the subject, and the extraordinary positions which he has laboured to establish;—regret, at some of his inferences and suggestions, which appeared to be incompatible with every principle, not only of private right and individual justice, but of public honour and national faith: although I feel perfectly

assured that, in all the relations of public or private life, there is no man more incapable of countenancing any wrong-doing than the honourable member for Essex.

It was my lot, sir, to be a member of the House of Commons in the year 1797, when cash payments were, for the first time, suspended. I have continued to enjoy the honour of a seat in this house for the long series of years which has since elapsed. During that period I have not been an inattentive observer of the proceedings in parliament, and of the effect of those proceedings in respect to the currency. In my opinions upon this subject it was my misfortune, in 1810, to differ from some distinguished members of this house to whom I was personally attached, and in whose political views I had generally concurred; but, having formed those opinions deliberately and conscientiously, I could not honestly withhold them from the public. I shall not at present advert more particularly to those differences, or to the measures adopted by this house after the report of the bullion committee; but I own that, if I had been uninformed of all that had passed on this subject since the suspension, I should have inferred from the speech of the honourable gentleman this evening that it had been something of this sort:—First, That the liability of the bank to pay all its notes on demand in the legal coin of the realm having been suspended in 1797, a difference had ensued between the nominal value of those notes and the real value of the coin which they purported to represent; and, secondly, that this difference had been acknowledged by the legislature and acted upon by the public; that it had been allowed and compensated for in the adjustment of all pecuniary contracts made prior to the suspension; that all dealing since had been made in reference to that difference, and, consequently, that it was a difference which, however fluctuating in its degree, was at any time capable of being ascertained by exact measurement, and set right by specific adjustment.

I should further have been led to infer, from the reasoning and statements of the honourable member, that at some period of this long suspension (perhaps about 1811, when the difference between the nominal value of the paper and the real value of the coin was very considerable) an attempt had been made in parliament to prevent that difference from being any longer acted upon in the adjustment of pecuniary contracts; and that, for this purpose, it had been proposed to enact, that all such contracts should be satisfied by a tender of bank notes at their nominal value, and to inflict penalties upon any one who paid a guinea for more, or received a bank

note for less, than its denominative amount. But I should have felt quite sure that this attempt, whenever made, had been rejected with scorn and indignation by the house, and particularly by the landed interest ; that the leading members of that interest had vied with each other in denouncing the iniquity of a proposal calculated to defeat the just claims of age and infancy—to rob a parent of a part of that dower which had been allotted to her, in the old standard of the realm, long before the suspension of cash payments—to defraud orphan brothers and sisters of a considerable portion of those fortunes which the will or marriage settlement of their father had assigned for their education and maintenance in the world ; or, if there were no widows to be curtailed of a part of their jointures, no orphans to be stript of a share of their inheritance, was there no unfortunate mortgagee (possibly a near relation or friend) to be deprived of a part of that interest which he had stipulated to receive in the same standard of value in which he had advanced the money for his mortgage ? What ! could it be expected that the great land-owners would suffer such a proposal as this to be entertained, doing such violence to their love of justice, so offensive to their best feelings as men, at a moment, too, when they were conscious that their estates, whether liable to the portions of younger children, or charged with dower, or encumbered with mortgage, had doubled in rent since the commencement of the suspension ?—and, if their personal feelings revolted at a suggestion which was calculated to injure those who were near and dear to them, their public feelings were surely equally repugnant to the idea of a measure not less fraught with injustice, and calculated to blight our national character, in the case of the public creditor.

This is the inference which, in ignorance of all that had really taken place, I should have drawn from the general tenor of the honourable member's speech ; but it would even have led me one step further : I should also have imagined that the ancient standard of value being now again restored, some of those same creditors who had been so equitably dealt with during the departure from it were at this moment enforcing the higher nominal payments which they had received during the depreciation ; and that the honourable member had come forward this evening, very properly, to claim the interposition of the house against such an unfair demand on their part.

But, sir, instead of this having been the real state of things, what is the course which has been pursued since the suspension of cash payments ? Did the legislature recognise a difference between paper and coin ? Were pecuniary transactions

adjusted with a reference to that difference? Were dealings entered into or contracts made under stipulations founded on that difference? Did not the law, on the contrary, compel every creditor, whether public or private, whether his contract was prior or subsequent to the restriction, to accept payment in bank-notes according to their denominative value? Did not that same law prohibit him, under severe penalties, from having reference to any other than the nominal value of the currency in the adjustment of any pecuniary transactions, either retrospective or prospective?

If these were the regulations in force during the depreciation, what is proposed now that money is restored to its former value? Why, that having had hitherto one measure of justice for the creditor, we should now have another measure of justice for the debtor, that the latter having been protected by one law in paying according to the nominal value, when that value was less than the standard in which he had contracted, he should now—and for no other reason than because that standard is restored—be protected by another law in paying less than that nominal value? It is no sufficient answer to state “that most of the pecuniary contracts now in force have been entered into since the year 1797, and that they were contracted in a depreciated currency.” Be it so, for the sake of argument. But then all contracts prior to 1797 have been liquidated in that same currency. By what rule of right can you allow for its depreciation in the one case and not in the other? By what designation would any impartial man describe that equity which should grant an abatement of interest upon the debt of 1811 and refuse a compensation for interest paid short upon a debt prior to 1797?

This, however, is the new principle of equity which the speech of the honourable member inculcates, and which it is the object of his present motion to establish, as a remedy for all the injustice of depreciation, and all the evils which now press upon the country. He has taken a distinction between the interference of the state to decrease or to increase, by artificial means, the denominative value of money—and what is that distinction? Is the one course more moral or more just than the other? This, indeed, is not the position of the honourable member—but that it is politically more expedient. A constantly progressive depreciation of money is, according to the doctrines of the honourable member, the great secret of public prosperity. This is no new theory. He only proposes to revive the scheme of the famous Mr Law in a more mitigated shape. If once adopted by any country, it must end as his scheme ended. You may retard its progress to matu-

city, but you cannot perpetuate the delusion. You must either retrace your steps, or the bubble must burst at last. This was the fate of Law's scheme, as it must be of any project founded on the principle now recommended to the house. During the existence of that scheme, what country was apparently so prosperous as France, what financier so popular as Mr Law? exultingly mentioned by a French political writer of that day in the following terms—"a minister far above all the past age has known, that the present can conceive, or that the future will believe." Mr Law, it is true, outlived his popularity and his scheme.* He brought distress and ruin upon thousands, and died himself in misery and want. The more wary theorists of the present day might prolong the duration of artificial excitement, but they could not prevent the final decay and overthrow of the system. There is no escape from this result in any country that has, through inadvertency or a temporary necessity, once lost sight of a fixed standard of value, except by its restoration.

This restoration, I know, cannot be effected without pressure and difficulty. But I cannot admit the justice of the distinction which the honourable member has taken between the loss to the landowner by an increase in the value of money and the loss to his creditor by its decrease. The honourable gentleman's illustration was this—"By decreasing the value of money to one-half," he said, "you reduce the creditor of L.500 a-year to L.250, and again, by decreasing that sum to one-half, to L.125, but still he is left with some income. Now, on the other hand, a man who purchased an estate having a rental of L.1000 a-year, when the value of money was decreased one-half, is reduced to nothing if money is restored to its former value, and the purchaser has to pay L.500 a-year out of the estate."

Passing by, for the present, the right of any government in which the nature of property is understood, and the principles of justice respected, artificially to raise or lower the standard of value, let us examine a little more closely this practical illustration. Let me for a moment reverse the *data* of the honourable member's comparison, which, ingeniously enough for this purpose, assumes the landowner to be in debt, and the monied man without any similar demand against his income. Let me suppose, on the one side, a landowner with an estate unencumbered, and his rent doubled from

* Law concluded the chequered course of his life at Venice, where he died in a state but little removed from indigence, on the 21st of March 1720, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and he lies buried in one of the churches of that city, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen.

L.500 to L.1000 a-year during the depreciation; and on the other, a monied man who, with L.500 a-year in the three per cents., purchased at L.90, had borrowed one-half of the purchase money, and found himself compelled to repay it when the price had fallen to L.50;—or, to come still nearer to the honourable gentleman's comparison, take the case of an income of L.1000 a-year, liable to an obligation to pay abroad an annuity stipulated for in some foreign currency. If that annuity had been satisfied with L.500 when the exchange with such foreign country was at par, it would have required the whole income when, by depreciating our own money one half, the same exchange was turned in that proportion against us.

But I must protest against this description of argument altogether. The price of land may rise or fall from natural causes, as may the price of commodities. Every holder of the one or the other is liable to such fluctuations; but that which is the common and fixed measure of all price is not to be tampered with and adjusted to countervail these fluctuations. In this country, where gold is the standard of value, what is it which the parties stipulate for, and the state guarantees, in every contract for a money payment? Why, that the sum tendered in satisfaction of such payment shall not be less in weight and fineness than is required by the standard; but the contract does not stipulate, neither does the state guarantee, that the quantity of gold contained in that sum shall bear, at all time to come, the same value, in relation either to land or to other commodities, as it did at the time when the parties contracted together. It is among the highest and first duties of the state, in relation to property, to maintain that standard inviolate and immutable, and it is because we have neglected that duty that we are now suffering all the evil consequences of our neglect.

But, admitting that a certain *quantum* of injustice has been done to one class of the community during the suspension, and that now, by its removal, a consequent degree of injury and hardship is inflicted upon another, does it follow that we are either to perpetuate and aggravate the first injustice, or that it is wise or practicable to attempt to revise and re-adjust all the pecuniary transactions of the last twenty-five years? The honourable member, indeed, seems to think that nothing is more simple than the first of these courses, but he only looks at one side of the question. He puts the case of hardship to the landowner who encumbered his estate during the depreciation, but let me ask him to recollect the mortgagee who lent his money before that event. Let me suppose the hon-

