

might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland in matters of legislature and judicature, and for preventing any writ of errors or appeal, from any of his majesty's Courts in that kingdom, from being received, heard, or adjudged, in any of his majesty's Courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

CHAPTER XVI.

Overtures for Peace between Franklin and Shelburne.—Rival negotiators from England.—Death of Lord Rockingham.—Resignation of the Secretaryship by Mr. Fox.—The Siege of Gibraltar.—Naval affairs.—Lord Howe.—Loss of the Royal George.—Howe's relief of Gibraltar after the first bombardment.—Negotiations for Peace concluded.—The Preliminaries laid before Parliament.—Parliamentary censures of the terms of Peace.—Lord Shelburne being defeated, resigns.—The king and the American minister.—Washington's farewell to his army, and his retirement.

IN securing the tranquillity of Ireland, by yielding in time to a force which could not be resisted, the administration were free to negotiate for peace, with a prospect of more favourable terms than the general issue of the war might authorise them to demand if the sister-kingdom were hostile. Ireland responded to an act of justice by an instant exhibition of cordiality. Her Parliament voted a hundred thousand pounds for the levy of twenty thousand seamen. The overtures for peace were first opened by Dr. Franklin, in a letter which he wrote to lord Shelburne. They had been known to each other during Franklin's diplomatic sojourn in London; and Franklin wrote to Shelburne on the 22nd of March, before the ministry was settled, to congratulate him on the returning good disposition of England in favour of America. When Shelburne replied, he was Secretary of State; and he adopted the course of sending a confidential friend, Mr. Oswald, to Paris, who was fully apprised of his mind, and to whom Franklin might give entire credit.* This gentleman assured Franklin that the new ministry sincerely wished for peace, and if the Independence of the United States were agreed to, there was nothing to hinder a pacification. Franklin declared that America could only treat in concert with France; and Mr. Oswald had, consequently, an interview with the count de Vergennes. This unofficial negotiator returned to England; and was authorized by a minute of the Cabinet to proceed again to Paris, to acquaint Dr. Franklin that it was agreed to treat for a general peace. A more regular envoy was sent very quickly after Oswald. Mr. Thomas Grenville, the second son of George Grenville, was the bearer of a letter to Franklin from Mr. Fox. Oswald again went back to London, and again returned, to discuss the most important

* Franklin's Works, vol. ix. p. 241.

matters with Franklin, whilst Grenville was also in constant communication with him. The shrewd old American soon found himself "in some perplexity with regard to these two negotiators." He began to suspect that the understanding between the two Secretaries of State was not perfect. "Lord Shelburne seems to wish to have the management of the treaty; Mr. Fox seems to think it is in his department."* Grenville was annoyed by the interference of Oswald, and wrote bitter complaints to Fox. In the midst of these differences, the head of the ministry, the marquis of Rockingham, died on the 1st of July. The day previous Fox was in a minority in the Cabinet upon the question of acknowledging the Independence of America, before a treaty of peace was arranged. He accordingly declared his intention to resign. It is not within the province of our history to enter into an examination of those disagreements between lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox which led to another important though partial change of administration. "Differences of opinion, suspicions of under-hand dealing, and hostile cabals and intrigues, and great resentment thereupon subsisted in the minds of Mr. Fox and Mr. Grenville."† There were the usual cabals about having another man of high title, great connections, and small abilities, to succeed lord Rockingham as prime minister. It was not a mere contest for superior power between the two able secretaries. The duke of Portland was recommended to the king to be the First Lord of the Treasury. The king appointed lord Shelburne to the high office. Fox and Cavendish resigned; Burke and Sheridan followed their example. William Pitt became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Thomas Townshend and lord Grantham, Secretaries of State. Grenville returned indignantly from his position at Paris, much to the annoyance of his brother, earl Temple, who obtained the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. Walpole observes that when the First Lord of the Treasury adorned his new Board with the most useful acquisition of his whole administration, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, "young William Pitt," in accepting the seals, accepted "the more difficult task of enlisting himself as the rival of Charles Fox, who had fondly espoused, and kindly, not jealously nor fearfully, wished to have him as his friend."‡ Their fathers were rivals. But of how much greater import was the rivalry of the sons of Holland and Chatham—how much longer was its duration; what mightier events called forth its unceasing exercise!

* Franklin's "Journal of Negotiations," June 17.

† Lord Holland, in "Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 387.

‡ "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 559.

The public sympathy did not go along with the popular favourite upon the question of his abdication of office, at a time when unanimity of councils was essentially important. The parliamentary explanations of Fox and Burke have floated down the stream of time, with many other historical straws. The principle of the mistake into which the great Whig leader fell has been candidly stated by one who has a claim to speak with authority. Lord John Russell says, "The field of battle was the worst that could be chosen. Lord Shelburne, the friend and colleague of lord Chatham, a Secretary of State under lord Rockingham, a man of varied acquirements and undoubted abilities, was, personally, far superior to the duke of Portland as a candidate for the office of Prime-Minister. The king, therefore, had a great advantage over Mr. Fox in the apparent ground of the quarrel. Had Mr. Fox declared that he would not serve under any one, or, at all events, not under lord Shelburne, who had withheld from him knowledge indispensable to his performance of the duties of Secretary of State, he would have stood on firm ground. The choice of a Prime Minister against the choice of the Crown, and that in the person of a man whose rank and fair character were his only recommendations, appeared to the public an unwarrantable pretension, inspired by narrow jealousies and aristocratic prejudices."*

The Session of Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July, immediately after the formation of Lord Shelburne's ministry. The king's speech was wise and temperate. He would make every effort to obtain peace; but if the hope of a speedy termination of the calamities of war should be disappointed, he trusted that the blessing of heaven upon our arms would enable him to obtain fair and reasonable terms of pacification. "The most triumphant career of victory would not excite me to aim at more; and I have the satisfaction to be able to add, that I see no reason which should induce me to think of accepting less." The contest in America was reduced to a very narrow field of exertion. Rodney's great victory had prevented any immediate attempts to renew the maritime war in the West Indies. There had been decided successes in the East Indies, after a series of events which occasionally threatened our ascendancy; but the contest there was not yet ended.† One great struggle required to be decided before Spain would be willing to relinquish the chief object for which she engaged in the war,—the re-conquest of Gibraltar.

* "Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 467.

† The narrative of East Indian affairs, from the period of Hastings becoming Governor-General, is resumed later on.

When the Spanish ambassador, on the 16th of June, 1779, presented a manifesto to the Court of St. James's, which was considered equivalent to a declaration of war, general Elliott, the veteran governor of Gibraltar, was not quite unprepared for the possibility of hostilities. He had a force of artillery and engineers of about five hundred men; four English regiments, and three detachments of Hanoverians,—altogether amounting to upwards of five thousand rank and file. On the 21st of June the communication between Spain and Gibraltar was closed, by an order from Madrid. A few small British ships were at that time in their usual anchorage off the fortress. A friendly intercourse had been previously carried on between the military of the fortress and the Spaniards of the neighbouring villages. Excursions into the country, and to the coast of Barbary “rendered Gibraltar as eligible a station as any to which a soldier could be ordered.”* The rock of Gibraltar, projecting into the sea from the coast of Spain, could only be approached by that low neck of sandy land called “the Neutral Ground.” The isolated fortress was very soon invested by the troops of Spain, and the supplies from the main-land were necessarily cut off. In July, the *Enterprize* frigate brought a small quantity of fresh provisions from Tangier; and boats occasionally arrived from the African coast with live stock and fruit. But such supplies became very precarious, through the presence of Spanish squadrons in the bay. The people of the town under the rock had always been required, even in time of peace, to have a store of six months' provisions. They had neglected this precaution, and in August many were compelled to seek subsistence elsewhere. Partial bombardments began. The apprehensions of famine in January, 1780, were very serious. Thistles, dandelions, and wild leeks, which grew upon the rocks, became the daily sustenance of the families of officers and soldiers, for whom the pittance distributed from the Victualling Office was insufficient. The ingenuity of the Hanoverian soldiers was displayed in their contrivances for hatching chickens by artificial heat. But when the most frightful extremity of hunger appeared threatening, the fleet of Rodney arrived, after his victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent. Don Juan de Langara, the Spanish admiral, was carried as a prisoner to Gibraltar; and being desirous to go on board the ship of admiral Digby, he there saw prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., serving as a midshipman. Great was the Spaniard's aston-

* In our narrative of this memorable siege, we have Captain Drinkwater's History constantly before us; but it will be unnecessary to refer to the particular passages of this excellent work.

ishment that a Prince of the Blood should tell him—with the same obedience to orders that any other petty-officer would have shown—that the boat was ready for his returning; and the Spaniard exclaimed, “Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the sea!” The example has been followed in our own day; not, we may trust, in any compromise between rank and duty, but in that spirit which prescribes that every youth who aspires to the future command of others should thoroughly learn to do the humblest and the hardest work of the profession which he has chosen.

The storehouses of Gibraltar were now full; the garrison had received reinforcements; the troops were in good heart. In June, an attempt was made to burn the British vessels by Spanish fire-ships; but it signally failed. The summer wore on without any very important incidents; although the blockade continued unremitting. But in the autumn the scurvy had broken out among the troops, from the continued use of salt provisions. Men crept to their posts upon crutches, or pined and died in the crowded hospitals. A Danish vessel, laden with lemons and oranges, was fortunately intercepted; and the sovereign remedy of lemon-juice, which Captain Cook had successfully tried, and the ignorance of which caused the ships' companies of admiral Hosiér and commodore Byron miserably to perish, saved the garrison of Gibraltar. Want of provisions again became distressing. The intercourse with Tangier was prohibited by the emperor of Morocco. At last, on the 12th of April, 1781, the half-starved troops and remaining inhabitants of the town, saw a fleet of a hundred vessels entering the Gut, convoyed by men-of-war, who lay-to under the Barbary shore. The relief was well-timed. The dread of famine was at an end. But on that day the Spaniards commenced a fierce bombardment from their lines, which continued uninterruptedly through May and June. The town was nearly destroyed; but the loss of life was not considerable. The works which the Spaniards had constructed were of the most formidable character; and they incessantly laboured in making additions which became more threatening. The brave and sagacious Elliott, who had so long been satisfied with the passive resistance of firing upon the lines and batteries, now determined to hazard a sortie. At sunset, on the 26th of November, he issued his orders for two thousand men, under the command of Brigadier Ross, but accompanied by himself, to march out from the fortress, and attack the batteries which were three quarters of a mile distant. The surprise was complete; the Spaniards deserted their works in terror; and in an hour the object of the sally was effected by the destruction of the enemy's

works by fire, and by the blowing-up of their magazines. The batteries continued burning for five days; and then nothing but heaps of sand could be seen by the gazers from the summit of the rock.

The incessant activity of the besiegers and the besieged may be estimated from an expressive entry in Captain Drinkwater's narrative of the proceedings in May, 1782: "From seven in the evening of the 4th to the same hour the succeeding afternoon, both the garrison and the enemy were silent. This was the first twenty-four hours in which there had been no firing for the space of thirteen months." The ruined works of the Spaniards were repaired; and it became evident that, during the year when a general pacification appeared a probable event, the Spanish monarchy would put forth all its strength to recover Gibraltar before the war should come to an end. The duke de Crillon had returned from the conquest of St. Philip, in Minorca, to take the command of the army before Gibraltar. There were thirty-three thousand French and Spanish troops encamped on the Neutral Ground. Their batteries were served by a hundred and seventy heavy pieces of cannon. Preparations were making for a conjoined attack by sea and land. In the port of Algesiras ten large ships were cut down to serve as the foundations of floating batteries, impregnable and incombustible. General Elliott also prepared for a new mode of defence, suggested by the Lieutenant-Governor. Furnaces were distributed through the works for the purpose of making balls red-hot—for roasting potatoes, as the soldiers said, with the true English humour. But the peril was imminent. Was the government at home not aware of the amazing preparations for the reduction of Gibraltar, having the knowledge that the united French and Spanish fleet, which had been threatening the Channel in July, had sailed back to the southward? Before we pursue farther the narrative of the siege, it may be desirable to advert to the movements of the British navy.

Admiral lord Howe, in 1776, had gone as a Commissioner to America with an earnest desire to restore peace between Great Britain and her colonies. When he returned home in 1778, he and his brother were received with little cordiality by the members of the government. Until the overthrow of lord North's administration lord Howe was unemployed. He complained, as a member of the House of Commons, of the conduct pursued towards the navy, by men who had neither the ability to act on their own judgment, nor the integrity and good sense to follow the advice of others. His value as an officer was universally known; and in a parliamentary debate which had reference to the determination of

Howe to quit the service, admiral Pigot gave a strong though homely testimony to the affection of the sailors for the brave admiral who had seen service for forty years, by repeating their common saying, "Give us Black Dick, and we fear nothing."* When the new administration was formed in 1782, admiral Keppel was created a viscount, and was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Howe was also raised to the peerage, and appointed to the command of a fleet to be employed in the Channel, or wherever else the king's service should require. On the 20th of April he embarked at Portsmouth for the Texel, to watch the Dutch fleet. Having confined the Dutch to their ports through the month of May, he received orders to return to Spithead; and was then directed to cruise off Brest, for the purpose of intercepting the combined fleets of France and Spain which had sailed from Cadiz on the 4th of June. He accomplished the great object of preventing the enemy attacking the West India convoy; but the French and Spaniards successfully evaded a general action; and Howe returned to Portsmouth on the 5th of August.

A few weeks were necessary for Howe to equip his fleet for the important service of the relief of Gibraltar, for which he was now ordered. A calamity which, amidst the dreary catalogue of disasters at sea, will probably never lose its interest, occurred at Portsmouth during the short period of preparation. On the 29th of August, the Royal George, a ship of a hundred and eight guns, suddenly overset in Portsmouth Harbour, filled, and sank; by which catastrophe, according to the inscription upon a monument in the church yard of Portsea, nine hundred persons perished. The Royal George was the flag-ship of admiral Kempenfeldt. He was in his cabin, unconscious of any danger; whilst sailors were clearing a lighter alongside, and stowing her freight of rum in the hold of the great ship, and the decks were crowded with women and children from the shore, and with Jews and other tradesmen. According to the narrative of one of the seamen who was saved, the ship was heeled on her larboard side, that the water-cock which admitted sea-water to the hold on the starboard side might be replaced by a new cock. To accomplish this, the whole of the guns on the larboard side were run out as far as they would go, and those of the starboard side were drawn in amidship. About nine o'clock in the morning, says this narrative, "the additional quantity of rum on board the ship, and also the quantity of sea-water which had dashed in through the port holes, brought the larboard port-holes of the lower gun-deck nearly level with the

* Barrow's "Life of Earl Howe," p. 124.

sea." The carpenter went on the quarter-deck twice, to tell the lieutenant of the watch that the ship could not bear this, and begged him to give orders to right. The lieutenant's answer was very testy; and the men around became uneasy, for they knew the danger. The drummer was then called, to beat "to right ship." There was no time to beat the drum, for the ship was sinking.*

"It was not in the battle;
No tempest gave the shock;
She sprang no fatal leak;
She ran upon no rock.

"His sword was in its sheath;
His fingers held the pen,
When Kempenfeldt went down
With twice four hundred men."†

It appears from the minutes of the Court-Martial held to inquire into this frightful accident, that "from the short space of time between the alarm being given and the sinking of the ship, the Court was of opinion that some material part of her frame gave way, which can only be accounted for by the general state of decay of her timbers." †

On the 11th of September lord Howe sailed from Spithead with a fleet of thirty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three fire-ships, having on board two regiments for the reinforcement of the garrison at Gibraltar, and conveying transports with stores for their relief. On the 12th of September, forty-seven sail of the line, with ten battering-ships, and innumerable small craft, were assembled in the bay of Gibraltar, to co-operate with an army of forty thousand men in one grand attack upon the fortress, which was defended by seven thousand tried veterans. A siege has since been conducted upon a grander scale; but the author of the History of this siege was right when he then said, "Such a naval and military spectacle most certainly is not to be equalled in the annals of war." On the morning of the 13th the ten battering ships moored within ten or twelve hundred yards of the bastions of Gibraltar. The balls were heated in the furnaces of the garrison; and when the first ship dropped her anchors, the firing commenced from the fortress. Before ten o'clock on that eventful morning four hundred pieces of artillery were playing at the same moment. The battering-ships were as formidable as they were represented to be. The heaviest shells rebounded from their tops; the thirty-two pound shot seemed incapable of making any impression upon their hulls. Sometimes

* "Penny Magazine," June, 1834.

† Cowper.

‡ Barrow's "Life of Lord Howe," p. 139.

a battering-ship appeared to be on fire, but the flames were quickly extinguished by mechanical contrivances. An Italian officer on board the combined fleet has given a vivid description of the result of the persevering fire from the British works: "Our hopes of ultimate success became less sanguine when, at two o'clock, the floating battery commanded by the prince of Nassau (on board of which was also the engineer who had invented the machinery) began to smoke on the side exposed to the garrison, and it was apprehended she had taken fire. The firing, however, continued till we could perceive the fortifications had sustained some damage; but at seven o'clock all our hopes vanished. The fire from our floating batteries entirely ceased, and rockets were thrown up as signals of distress. In short, the red-hot balls from the garrison had by this time taken such good effect, that nothing now was thought of but saving the crews, and the boats of the combined fleet were immediately sent on that service. A little after midnight the floating battery which had been the first to show symptoms of conflagration, burst out into flames, upon which the fire from the rock was increased with terrific vengeance; the light produced from the flames was equal to noon-day, and greatly exposed the boats of the fleet in removing the crews. During the night one or other of these batteries was discovered to be on fire; they were so close to the walls that the balls pierced into them full three feet, but being made of solid beds of green timber, the holes closed up after the shot, and for want of air they did not immediately produce the effect. At five A.M., one of them blew up with a very great explosion, and soon after the whole of them, having been abandoned by their crews, were on fire fore and aft, and many of their gallant fellows were indebted to the exertions of the English for their lives. As the English boats were towing one of these batteries into the Mole, not supposing her to be on fire, she also blew up." *

The great operations of the 13th of September were decisive as to the eventual issue of the siege. Lord Howe entered the mouth of the Straits with his fleet on the 11th of October. The combined fleets of France and Spain avoided an engagement, and the stores and reinforcements were landed from the British squadron. "Gibraltar," to use the words of Mr. Pitt, "was relieved by a skill and courage that baffled superior numbers." A storm had driven the enemy's fleet from the immediate neighbourhood of the port, and the object of landing the stores and reinforcements was partially accomplished. The fleets of France and Spain, and the British fleet, entered the Mediterranean, each driven by the storm. Howe

* Barrow's "Life of Lord Howe," p. 133.

drew up in line of battle; but the enemy declined to engage, and the British admiral returned to Gibraltar, and completed the work for which he was sent. An attempt was made to cut off the rear of Howe's fleet, but it failed; and the French and Spaniards refusing a general action, Howe returned to England. The siege was languidly continued during the winter. On the 6th of February, 1783, the duc de Crillon informed general Elliott that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris on the 20th of January, and that Gibraltar was to remain in the possession of Great Britain. From the commencement of the blockade to the cessation of arms, the siege had endured three years, seven months, and twelve days. The total loss of the garrison was twelve hundred, of whom only four hundred and seventy were killed, or died of their wounds, or were disabled.

The summer and part of the autumn were employed by the British envoy at Paris, and by Dr. Franklin, in discussions upon points that were essential to be settled before the basis of a treaty of peace with America could be established. Franklin states that Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain, seemed at first studiously to avow their wish not to use any expressions that might imply an acknowledgment of American Independence; "but our refusing otherwise to treat, at length induced them to get over that difficulty, and then we came to the point of making propositions." * Three other Commissioners were finally associated with Franklin, Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens. These associates were probably able to set aside the original determination, so strongly expressed by Franklin on the first overtures from lord Shelburne, not to negotiate without the concurrence of the other allied powers. They conceived a distrust of France, which appears to have been unwarranted; although it was clear that in continuing the contest the allies looked to exclusive advantages alone. Spain could not readily forego her wish to recover Gibraltar; and even after the failure of the grand attack of September, she persevered in a demand for its cession. At length, on the 30th of November, preliminary articles were signed between the Commissioner of Great Britain and the Commissioners of the United States. Franklin communicated the fact to the count de Vergennes, who was naturally offended at what he considered the infraction of a mutual promise not to sign articles of pacification except with the joint consent of France and the United States. Franklin made rather an awkward apology: "Nothing has been agreed in the preliminaries contrary to the interests of France;

* Works, vol. ix. p. 439.

and no peace is to take place between us and England, till you have concluded yours. Your observation is, however, apparently just, that in not consulting you before they were signed, we have been guilty of neglecting a point of *bienveillance*." * The Parliament was opened by the king on the 5th of December, the Houses having met on the previous 26th of November and were then adjourned in the expectation of some definite result from the negotiations. The opening words of the speech are very memorable: His majesty declared he had lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting with decision what he collected to be the sense of his parliament and his people, he had directed all his measures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies. He had not hesitated to go the full length of the powers vested in him, and had offered to declare them free and independent States, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles had been agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally settled with the Court of France. The king then said, "In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and that America be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries." The violent debates on the Address belong to the history of faction rather than to the history of the country. Tories were indignant at the concession of American independence. Whigs complained that the concession had not been the first step in the negotiation. Lord Shelburne in former years had held that when the colonies should become independent, the sun of England would be set; and he was now reproached for his inconsistency in granting their independence.

On the 20th of January, 1783, the Preliminaries of Peace were signed between Great Britain and France and Spain. With Holland there was a suspension of arms; and the Preliminaries of Peace were not signed until the 2nd of September. The articles of pacification with the United States, with the exception of the first article, acknowledging their independence, are now of minor

* Letter to Vergennes—Franklin's Works, vol. ix. p. 451.

importance. By the treaty with France, England ceded St. Lucia and Tobago, and gained back Granada, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. The French recovered some possessions in Africa, and in the East Indies. The old stipulations for the demolition of Dunkirk were given up. To Spain Great Britain ceded Minorca and the Floridas. The principle of the final treaty with Holland was on the basis of mutual restitution.

Thus, then, was finished one of the most calamitous wars that England had ever been driven into, through a mistaken view of the relative positions of a mother country and her colonies, and an obstinate reliance upon her power to enforce obedience. It might have been expected that a pacification which involved no humiliating conditions, beyond the acknowledgment of that independence of the United States which it was no longer possible to withhold, would have been received with unmingled satisfaction. On the contrary, a combination of parties was entered into for the purpose of removing lord Shelburne and his ministry; a coalition which, to our minds, is not a pleasant exhibition of the motives which sometimes unite the most opposite factions in the pursuit of power. On the 17th of February, the two Houses took into consideration the Preliminaries of Peace with France, Spain, and America. In the House of Lords the ministers carried the Address of Thanks to the Crown by a majority of thirteen. In the house of Commons they were defeated by a majority of sixteen. On the 21st of February lord John Cavendish moved Resolutions of Censure on the terms of the Peace, which were carried by a majority of seventeen. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt were on this occasion brought into immediate conflict—"the tug of war" which was to last for twenty years was now begun. The particular points of attack or defence in the conditions of the peace have little to interest us. But the principles exhibited by these great rivals on so stirring an occasion have a permanent value. Fox defended the coalition of parties which some had censured; but he emphatically proclaimed his adhesion to his own party: "I am free to boast of being connected with a set of men, whose principles are the basis on which the state has for a long time past been preserved from absolute destruction. It is to the virtues of these men that I have surrendered my private opinions and inclinations. It is thus only that I could prevent myself from falling into those errors which the prejudices, passions, and perplexities of human nature, will, at times, occasion. And thus I have been always answerable to my country for my conduct; for in every public transaction I have thought it most safe to resign

my private opinion, when I found it departing from the general opinion of those with whom I was connected by friendship, confidence, and veneration. Those whose virtues claimed my respect, and whose abilities my admiration, could not but prove the best directors of a conduct which, alone, might fall by its temerity, or be lost by temptation." Pitt was self-reliant in his own confidence in the purity of his intentions: "High situation, and great influence, are desirable objects to most men, and objects which I am not ashamed to pursue, which I am even solicitous to possess, whenever they can be acquired with honour, and retained with dignity. On these respectable conditions, I am not less ambitious to be great and powerful than it is natural for a young man, with such brilliant examples before him, to be. But even these objects I am not beneath relinquishing, the moment my duty to my country, my character, and my friends, renders such a sacrifice indispensable. Then I hope to retire, not disappointed, but triumphant; triumphant in the conviction that my talents, humble as they are, have been earnestly, zealously, and strenuously employed, to the best of my apprehension, in promoting the truest welfare of my country, and that, however I may stand chargeable with weakness of understanding, or error of judgment, nothing can be imputed to my official capacity which bears the most distant connection with an interested, a corrupt, or a dishonest intention." The struggle for office was over. On the 24th of February lord Shelburne resigned. One of his Secretaries of State, lord Grantham, wrote to sir James Harris that the fallen minister trusted too much to his measures, and that the Parliament, spoilt by long habits of interest, gave no credit to them.* The measures of lord Shelburne contemplated a much wider field of action than his opponents, with the exception of Burke, could have admitted into their views. In the king's speech at the opening of the Session, his majesty recommended a revision of our whole trading system, upon the same comprehensive and liberal principles that had been adopted concerning the commerce of Ireland. There is a letter of February, 1783, from Mr. Benjamin Vaughan to Dr. Franklin, in which, speaking of "the boldness of my friend's conduct," evidently alluding to lord Shelburne, he thus describes the views of the minister who had secured peace for his country: "You will take pleasure in hearing that he talked of making England a free port, for which he said we were fitted by nature, capital, love of enterprise, maritime connections, and position between the Old and New World, and the North and South of Europe; and that those who were best circumstanced for trade,

* "Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury," vol. i. p. 501.

could not but be gainers, by having trade open."* Shelburne's opinions upon a liberal system of commerce were before his time. They were entirely opposed to the existing ignorance of the commercial public, and they would necessarily have failed. If he had remained in power, the great trading communities would have ensured his fall, had he dared to promulgate the principles which could only be accepted when England had received the enlightenment of more than half a century's experience.

Jonathan Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph, was an old and intimate friend of Dr. Franklin. To the Bishop the American philosopher wrote some words, after the conclusion of the peace, which ought not to pass out of remembrance: "Let us now forgive and forget. Let each country seek its advancement in its own internal advantages of arts and agriculture, not in retarding or preventing the prosperity of the other. America will, with God's blessing, become a great and happy country; and England, if she has at length gained wisdom, will have gained something more valuable, and more essential to prosperity, than all she has lost; and will still be a great and respectable nation."† To forgive and forget was perhaps more difficult to the king of England than to any one in his dominions. It has been asserted, and we think with much unfairness, that "the intense hatred with which George III. regarded the Americans was so natural to such a mind as his, that one can hardly blame his constant exhibition of it during the time that the struggle was actually impending. But what is truly disgraceful is, that, after the war was over, he displayed this rancour on an occasion when, of all others, he was bound to suppress it."‡ This assertion is supported by a statement that when Jefferson and Adams made their appearance at Court in 1786, George III. "treated these eminent men with marked incivility, although they were then paying their respects to him in his own palace."§ John Adams was the first minister of the United States accredited to Great Britain. He was presented to the king in June, 1785. Jefferson, who succeeded Franklin as minister to France, went to London in 1786, to arrange some treaties in concert with Adams; and he says that when he appeared at Court, he saw, or thought he saw, that "the ulcerations in the king's mind left nothing to be expected from him;" and that, on his presentation to their majesties at their levées, "it was impossible for anything to be more ungracious than their notice of Mr. Adams and myself."§ Mr. Buckle, in referring to these

* Franklin's Works, vol. ix. p. 489.

† Buckle—"History of Civilization," vol. i. p. 423.

§ Tucker—"Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 226.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 499.

passages in Jefferson's correspondence, omits to mention the remarkable interview between George III. and Mr. Adams, on the 1st of June, 1785—an interview which the American ambassador described the next day, to the American Secretary, Mr. Jay, in a letter of permanent historical interest. He was left with the king, and Lord Carmarthen, the secretary of state, alone. He presented his letter of credence as Minister Plenipotentiary, and expressed the desire of the United States to cultivate the most liberal and friendly intercourse between his majesty's subjects and their citizens. He then said, "The appearance of a Minister from the United States to your majesty's Court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, 'the old good nature,' and the good old humour, between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood. I beg your majesty's permission to add that although I have sometimes before been entrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."

Mr. Adams, in continuing his narrative, says that the king listened to every word he said, with an apparent emotion; that he was himself much agitated; but that his majesty "was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with." The king said, "Sir—the circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly disposition of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their Minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an Independent Power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this

