

representatives annually persist in telling them so—the most flourishing of all the States of India. It was I who made them so. The valour of others acquired—I enlarged and give consistency to—the dominion which you hold there. I preserved it.” With the treasures which he extorted from rajahs and begums he carried on the war in the Carnatic till the death of Hyder Ali in 1782; and finally concluded an honourable peace with Hyder’s son and successor, Tippoo, in 1783. His administration ceased in the spring of 1785; when a new system for the government of India was established, after a parliamentary contest of unexampled interest and momentous results.

...the case of the rajah of Benares, and the case of the begums...
 ...the most excellent materials for that edifice which de-
 ...the impeachment of Hastings; and which during the
 ...of that protracted trial attracted eager crowds to
 ...Hall, to listen to the greatest master of oratory of
 ...from 1782 to 1783.
 ...interior probably to some of my ears. Amidst the storm of voices
 ...this memorable trial carried on. Amidst the storm of voices
 ...which denounced him as a monster of cruelty and rapacity.
 ...Hastings was sustained by the proud consciousness that he had
 ...rendered eminent service to his country. In his address upon his
 ...defence he said, and said truly, “To the Commons of England, in
 ...whose name I am arraigned for despoiling the provinces of their
 ...denition in India I dare to reply that they are—and their repre-

CHAPTER XXIV.

Coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox.—Pitt’s second Reform Bill.—Affairs of India.—Fox brings forward his India Bill.—The Bill carried in the House of Commons—Rejected in the House of Lords.—The Coalition dismissed from office.—Pitt the head of the government.—His struggle against a majority of the Commons—His final triumph.—Parliament dissolved.—Results of the elections.—The Westminster election.—Pitt’s financial measures.—Commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.—His third Reform Bill.—Disputes between Holland and Austria.—Pitt’s Sinking-Fund.—Commercial Treaty with France.—Consolidation of Taxes.—War with France averted.—The prince of Wales’s debts.—Mrs. Fitzherbert.—The king becomes insane.—Parliamentary conflict on the Regency Bill.—The king’s Recovery.

THE Coalition of the party headed by lord North, and of the party headed by Mr. Fox, had succeeded in compelling lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt to resign; but it was not without difficulty that the coalesced chiefs could induce the king to admit them to power. After a considerable delay, the duke of Portland became First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox and North were appointed Secretaries of States. The repugnance of the king to this extraordinary union of two political rivals—which, securing a majority in the House of Commons, forced upon him as the real prime minister, a man whom he disliked with an intensity approaching to hatred—was more than tolerated by the majority of the nation. The Coalition was odious to all men not bound by the trammels of party. Fox and North received the seals on the 2nd of April, 1783. The acceptance of place by Fox rendered his re-election for Westminster necessary; and Romilly writes—“It is almost a general wish that some man of character and credit may be opposed to him as a candidate.” He was re-elected, because no candidate was found; “but the populace received him with hisses, and every other mark of displeasure.”*

Pitt was now in opposition. He had in vain declared “a just and lawful impediment” to the “ill-omened and unnatural marriage,” forbidding the banns “in the name of the public weal.” The ministry were strong in their majorities. Pitt vainly opposed the conditions of the loan which they had raised upon very disadvantageous terms. On the 7th of May he, a second time, brought forward the question of Parliamentary Reform. He proposed that

* “Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly”—Letter to Roget.

when the gross corruption of the majority of voters in any borough was proved before a Committee of the Commons, the borough should be disfranchised; and that a large addition of knights of the shire, and of members for the metropolis, should be made to the representative body. But Pitt openly declared against the practicability of a perfectly equal representation, and held that those places known by the popular appellation of rotten boroughs, were to be regarded in the light of deformities which in some degree disfigured the fabric of the constitution, but which he feared could not be removed without endangering the whole pile. Fox earnestly defended the proposition: North opposed it. Pitt's resolutions were rejected by a majority of 144. The young reformer was more successful in carrying through the House of Commons a bill for preventing abuses in the public offices, the chief object of which was to abolish an odious system of perquisites and percentages. In the House of lords the adherents of the ministry threw out the bill. The Session came to a close on the 19th of July.

The condition of India had for some time occupied the serious attention of British statesmen. Burke and Dundas had especially devoted their most earnest labours to unravel the complicated web of Indian policy, and to devise some remedy for the abuses which from time to time were brought to light. At the close of the Session of July, 1782, the king, speaking the words of his minister, lord Shelburne, congratulated Parliament upon the diligence and ardour with which it had entered upon the consideration of the British interests in the East Indies: "To protect the persons and fortunes of millions in those distant regions, and to combine our prosperity with their happiness, are objects which amply repay the utmost labour and exertion." At the opening of the Session in December of the same year, the king, said: "The regulation of a vast territory in Asia opens a large field for your wisdom, prudence, and foresight. I trust that you will be able to frame some fundamental laws which may make their connection with Great Britain a blessing to India." This was imperial language, befitting a great nation—language pointing to far higher objects than the gains of a trading company, or the acquisition of extended territory. When the Shelburne ministry came to an end, it was imperative upon the Coalition to carry out those large views in a substantial proposal of their own. To Burke, especially, it was a labour of love to analyze the vast mass of facts that had been gathered from various sources on the affairs of India. In June, 1783, the Ninth Report and the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee were

presented to the House of Commons. In those remarkable documents, drawn up by Burke, we have the clearest details of the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and the largest views for the solution of the great problem submitted to the Committee, "how the British possessions in the East Indies may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country; and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants, may be best promoted." Such were the preparations for a comprehensive measure for the future government of India.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 11th of November. The prince of Wales, previous to the arrival of the king, had been introduced to the House of Peers, with great ceremony, and was conducted to his chair of state on the right hand of the throne.* Carlton House had been assigned to him as a residence. The question of India was the most important topic of the king's speech: "The situation of the East India Company will require the utmost exertions of your wisdom, to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces." On the 18th of November Mr. Fox brought forward his India Bill. The government had a commanding majority in the House of Commons, and a working majority in the House of Lords. The dislike of the king to his ministers had not abated during their eight months' tenure of office; their unpopularity had not materially diminished. One false move would rouse the prejudices of the king into obstinate hostility, and carry the people with the king in direct opposition to the votes of their representatives. Such a danger was involved in the India Bill. The necessity for a decisive change in the administration of Indian affairs could not be disputed. The mode in which the change was proposed to be affected raised up a storm of indignation against the authors of the measure: its opponents did not stop to consider the real point at issue—the necessity of promoting the welfare of millions committed to our rule,—but saw in the proposed enactments nothing beyond a desire in the ministry to grasp at a vast source of power and patronage, which would equally endanger the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people. In this view there was unquestionably much of exaggerated alarm, produced by the ordi-

* The costume of the prince on this occasion may provoke a smile: "His Royal Highness was dressed in a black velvet, most richly embroidered with gold and pink spangles, and lined with pink satin. His shoes had pink heels; his hair was dressed much out at the sides, and very full frizzed, with two very small curls at the bottom."

nary artifices of political rivalry. Mr. Fox proposed that the authority of the East India Company should be transferred to Commissioners to be named by Parliament, and not removeable at the pleasure of the Crown. "His plan," he said, "was to establish a Board to consist of seven persons, who should be invested with full power to appoint and displace officers in India, and under whose control the whole government of that country should be placed." There were to be eight assistants to this Board, who should have charge of the commercial concerns of the Company, but subject to the control of the other seven. The Board was to be held in England; it was to be established for three or five years, to try the experiment. If experience proved the utility of the Board, then the king was to have the future nomination of its members.

The principle of Mr. Fox's India Bill was resisted upon its first introduction to parliament. Mr. Pitt declared his opinion that the whole of the proposed system was nothing more on one side than absolute despotism, and on the other side the most gross corruption. Mr. Jenkinson described the proposed commission as the setting up within the realm of a species of executive government independent of the crown. Upon the first reading of the principal Bill, Mr. John Scott, who, as lord Eldon, filled so important a place in the politics of his time, spoke temperately against a hurried decision upon so important a question. This was his maiden speech; and on that occasion Erskine also spoke for the first time in the House, in advocacy of the measure. Previous to the second reading of the Bill, the corporation of London, in common-council assembled, adopted a petition to the House of Commons that the Bill might not pass into law, setting forth that a measure "which directs a seizure and confiscation of powers, privileges, and property, granted by charter, secured and confirmed by various acts of parliament, hath exceedingly alarmed the petitioners, and raised their fears and apprehensions at so unconstitutional a measure." The example of the city was followed by many other corporations. Against the ministry all the light artillery of squib and caricature was used unsparingly. There was a famous caricature by James Sayer—"Carlo Khan's triumphal entry into Leadenhall Street,"—in which Fox is represented riding on an elephant, whose face is that of lord North, which elephant is led to the door of the India House by Burke, blowing a trumpet.* Fox himself ascribed some loss of popularity to this production, at a time when this species of humour was treated seriously in the

* A copy of the print is given in Wright's "England under the House of Hanover," vol. ii. p. 83.

conflicts of party. The eloquent minister felt the difficulty of his position; but he expressed himself privately with that manliness which marked his public speeches: "I am not at all ignorant of the political danger which I run by this bold measure. But whether I succeed or no, I shall always be glad that I attempted, because I know that I have done no more than I was bound to do in risking my power and that of my friends when the happiness of so many millions is at stake." * Fox triumphed in the House of Commons by large majorities. The second reading of his Bills was carried by a majority of 114; and on the 9th of December they were presented by the minister and a numerous body of members at the bar of the House of Lords.

On the day when the Coalition ministry entered office, the king wrote to earl Temple, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to express his hope that many months would not elapse before "the Grenvilles, the Pitts, and other men of character" would relieve him from a thralldom to which he had been compelled to submit. † The opportunity which the king so ardently desired did not come till the India Bill had provoked a manifestation of popular opinion which might enable the crown to defy a majority of the House of Commons. It was a dangerous experiment. The nobleman to whom the king had confided his sorrows in April was ready in December not only to whisper to the peers, but confidently to state that whoever voted for the India Bill would be considered by the king as his enemy. The effect upon all those who desired to live only in the sunshine of royal favour was instantaneous. "The bishops waver, and the thanes fly from us," writes Fitzpatrick. He adds, "the public is full of alarm and astonishment at the treachery as well as the imprudence of this unconstitutional interference. Nobody guesses what will be the consequence of a conduct that is generally compared to that of Charles the First in 1641." ‡ The India Bills were rejected in the Upper House on the 17th of December, by a majority of ninety-five to seventy-six. On the 18th, at midnight, a message was sent by the king to lord North and Mr. Fox, commanding them to give up their seals of office by their under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable to his majesty. When the result of what Fox described as treachery on the part of the king, and meanness on the part of his friends, made it clear that his official power was at an end, he wrote, "we are so strong, that nobody can un-

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 219.

† "Court and Cabinets of George III." vol. i. p. 219.

‡ "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 220.

dertake without madness; and if they do, I think we shall destroy them almost as soon as they are formed." * On the 19th Pitt was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Earl Temple, who had received the seals of State, was for the immediate dissolution of parliament. Pitt was against this, and Temple resigned on the 22nd, leaving the young prime minister to sustain, almost alone, the most severe conflict for power recorded in the annals of parliament.

The anxiety which Mr. Pitt endured at the period of his extraordinary elevation, in his twenty-fifth year, to the great office which few statesmen had reached except through various stages of political experience, has been described by his former tutor, George Pretyman, who had become his private secretary. Lord Temple's resignation, he says, was determined upon the evening of the 21st. "When I went into Mr. Pitt's bedroom the next morning, he told me that he had not had a moment's sleep. He expressed great uneasiness at the state of public affairs; at the same time declaring his fixed resolution not to abandon the situation he had undertaken, but to make the best stand in his power, though very doubtful of the result." † In forming his administration Pitt had scarcely a statesman of any reputation to support him, with the exception of Thurlow, as Chancellor, and Dundas, who was not of the cabinet. His father's friend, Camden, stood by him in the House of Lords, although not originally forming one of the ministry. Pitt had almost wholly to depend upon his own ability and courage to sustain the attack he had to expect from a large majority of the House of Commons, headed by Fox, Burke, North, and Sheridan. His pretensions appeared so absurd to the great party by whom he would be opposed, that when the writ for Appleby was moved for, a burst of derisive laughter issued from the crowded opposition benches. The real parliamentary battle did not begin till after the Christmas holidays. During the recess the great sinecure of the Clerkship of the Pells became at the disposal of the First Lord of the Treasury. Without any compromise of character Pitt might have taken the place himself. He gave this office to colonel Barré, upon the condition that he should resign the pension he had received from the Rockingham administration. The nation knew that Pitt was very poor. They now knew that his ambition was of a nobler kind than was ordinarily shown by those who chose politics as their vocation. His disin-

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 221.

† Tomline—"Life of Pitt," vol. i. p. 233, 4th edit. (This prelate changed his name to Tomline in 1803.)

terestedness won him the public esteem, even whilst the people looked with little confidence upon his ability to maintain his perilous position. Had he dissolved parliament at the moment of his elevation, men's minds would have been greatly divided as to the fitness of an ambitious young man, however eminent his ability, to take the chief direction of the momentous affairs of a nation that required no common wisdom to repair her exhausted finances, and whose foreign relations might be compromised by the rashness of inexperience. Pitt determined that when he re-entered the House of Commons after the recess, the nation should at least comprehend the courage with which he could resist an adverse majority.

On the 12th of January, 1784, Pitt appeared in the House of Commons as the head of the government. Violent were the debates on points of form and questions of principle. The minister was beaten upon two divisions, and five adverse motions were carried against him, that night. The king wrote to him the next day, "I am ready to take any step that may be proposed to oppose this faction, and to struggle to the last period of my life." It was well that the king had found a minister whose prudence was equal to his courage. Regardless of his defeat, Pitt, on the 14th of January, brought forward his own plan for the government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. His Bill was read a first time. In a committee of the whole House on the State of the Nation, it was moved that "the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." The speech of Mr. Dundas opposed this motion by an argument difficult to controvert. He assumed that the Resolution was in the nature and spirit of an Address to the king, to appoint a new set of ministers, and that his majesty would thus reason with himself upon such an Address: "You send me back the ministers I have just chosen; Have I not then the right to choose my ministers? Certainly, yes, you say. But what crimes have they committed? What is it they have so soon perpetrated? Certainly, not one act of their administration is yet passed. Are they, therefore, without the confidence of the House of Commons? Are they men so unpopular, so incapable, so insufficient, that you will not bear with them, even for a moment? Is the minister who devotes himself to the House of Commons particularly, so unpopular and so incapable? I had chosen him, I had singled him out, as a man of talents the most astonishing, of integrity the most uncorrupt, of a reputation the most

extraordinary. I had fondly imagined him the favourite of the House of Commons. I had been taught to fancy that in celebrating his name all my people joined in one anthem of praise." The Resolution was carried by a majority of twenty-one. An adjournment took place for a few days; but still no resignation. On the 23rd of January, Mr. Pitt's India Bill was thrown out; and Mr. Fox reproduced his own Bill. The minister was then goaded by many speakers to declare whether he contemplated a dissolution of parliament. He resolutely persisted in silence upon that point, though he indignantly repelled some harsh language towards him which had been used by general Conway. Fox at length moved an adjournment to the next day, Saturday, when he hoped members would attend, that proper measures might be taken to vindicate the honour and assert the privileges of the House. It was the general expectation that Parliament would be dissolved. Mr. Powys put a distinct question to the minister "whether that House might expect to be in existence, and to meet again on Monday next?" Pitt, after remaining for some time silent, at length said, that he had no intention by any advice he should give, to prevent the meeting of the House on that day. The contest between the two parties was carried on, in various shapes, till the 8th of March. Attempts were made to form a union between the leading members of the late government and those of the present; but Pitt steadily refused to resign as the preliminary condition of such a negotiation. Fox threatened the most stringent measures to compel obedience to the votes of the House of Commons. In an early stage of the contest, Pitt, at a meeting of his friends, said, "What am I to do if they stop the supplies?" Lord Mahon answered, "they will not stop them; it is the very thing which they will not venture to do."* The supplies were not stopped. At every successive trial of strength, the numbers of the opposition became reduced. On the 18th of February, Pitt informed the House that his majesty, after a full consideration of the various resolutions that had been passed, had not thought proper to dismiss his ministers, nor had the ministers resigned. Fox said that the House of Commons had never before received from a prince of the Brunswick line such a flat and peremptory negative to their sentiments and wishes. Under such circumstances he wished the House to pause, and to waive, for a very short time, the question of supplies, which stood for that day. The question of adjournment was carried by a majority only of twelve. Another motion which contemplated the dismissal of ministers was carried by a larger majority. An

* Wilberforce—"Diary," December 23.

Address to the king was resolved on by a majority of twenty-one. The king in his answer said that he was desirous that public affairs should be conducted by a firm and extended administration; but that he did not conceive that object would be advanced by the dismissal of those at present in his service. On the 27th of February, a motion of adjournment, with a view to postpone the consideration of the navy estimates, was carried by a majority of seven. On the 28th a deputation of the Corporation of London went in procession to Mr. Pitt's house, to communicate to him the resolution of the Common Council to present him with the freedom of the city. On that day he had been invited to dine with the Grocers' Company; and he proceeded, accompanied by the city deputation, to Grocers' Hall, where Wilkes, the chamberlain of the city, addressed him in a complimentary harangue, which thus concluded: "Your noble father, sir, annihilated party; and I hope you will, in the end, bear down and conquer the hydra of faction, which now rears its hundred heads against you. I remember his saying, that, for the good of the people, he dared to look the proudest connections of this country in the face. I trust that the same spirit animates his son; and, as he has the same support of the crown and the people, I am firmly persuaded that the same success will follow." At night Fleet Street and the Strand were illuminated, and the populace drew the minister home in his carriage. Another Address to the king, moved by Fox, was carried on the 1st of March, by a majority of twelve. The king's answer was in exactly the same tone as his previous one. At length, on 8th of March, an elaborate remonstrance, in the form of an Address to his majesty, which was drawn up by Burke, and moved by Fox, was carried by a majority only of one. The battle was over. The victory remained with Pitt. The Mutiny Bill was passed; the supplies were voted; and on the 24th of March, the king went to the House of Lords, to put an end to the Session, and to say, "I feel it a duty which I owe to the constitution and the country, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament." On the 25th parliament was dissolved.

During this extraordinary contest, from the 12th of January to the 8th of March, there were fourteen motions, upon which the House divided, carried against Mr. Pitt; besides many others, upon which there was no division. The mode in which the Coalition ministry was ejected, through the royal interference with the vote of the House of Peers upon the India Bill, was mean and unconstitutional. It has been conjectured that Pitt was probably

acquainted with the manœuvres of Thurlow and Temple.* But it has been also said that when Temple resigned, he "carried away with him the scandal which the best friends of the new government could not but lament. The fame of the young prime minister preserved its whiteness. He could declare with perfect truth that, if unconstitutional machinations had been employed, he had been no party to them."† Whatever opinion may be formed upon this point, even the political opponents of Pitt agree that in this fiery struggle of two months, he "joined to great boldness, sagacity and discretion. By patience and perseverance he wearied out a foe who was more ardent than measured in his attacks; and while he bore his defeats with calmness, the country, saturate with calumny, began to resent the attempt of the Coalition party as the cabal of a domineering aristocracy."‡

Never did minister of Great Britain appear in so triumphant a position as William Pitt, when he entered the House of Commons, on the 18th of May, to meet the New Parliament. He had been himself returned at the head of the poll for the University of Cambridge. His friend Wilberforce, the son of a Hull merchant, had contested the county of York against two Whig candidates of large fortune and high connections. With the almost unanimous support of the manufacturers of Sheffield, and Halifax, and Bradford, and Leeds, he had beaten the great Yorkshire aristocracy, as the representative of the middle classes. The example presented by this stronghold of independent principles was powerful through the country. Pitt looked upon the benches of opposition, that for two months had echoed with the cheers of those who had denounced him with every virulence of invective, now thinned to a very powerless minority. The Coalition had lost a hundred and sixty members. Fox took his seat as a Scotch representative; for although second upon the poll for Westminster, a scrutiny was demanded by his opponent, sir Cecil Wray, and the high bailiff would not make a return. Out of this scrutiny a protracted contest ensued, which was amongst the memorable things of a period of intense political agitation. The election for Westminster occupied forty days, under the old system, in which corrupt influence, bribery, drunkenness, and riot, made a great electioneering contest a scene as disgraceful to morality as unfavourable to freedom. The Court exerted itself in the most undisguised manner to exclude Fox from parliament. The prince of Wales was as openly committed against

* "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 253.

† Macaulay—"Biography of Pitt."

‡ "Correspondence of Fox," vol. ii. p. 253.

the interest espoused by his father. The beautiful duchess of Devonshire was often present in Covent Garden, wearing the colours of Fox; and the report that she had won the vote of a hesitating butcher with a kiss, was commemorated in many a gross caricature, and many an indecent libel. The wits and rhymsters on the side of Fox had one invariable theme for their invective against Pitt—the purity of his private life. In the songs of Captain Morris during the election, and in the elaborate squibs of "The Rolliad," which subsequently were produced in a thick octavo volume, this charge is urged with a combination of the grossness of Swift and the stupidity of D'Urfey, which is revolting to taste as well as offensive to decency. "The virtuous youth," who "was taught by his dad on a stool," was little hurt by these missiles. The mud did not stick. But the virulence of the attacks by which he and his friends were long assailed, as well as his own wonderful success, contributed perhaps to impart to his public demeanour that cold and haughty aspect which was out of harmony with his real nature, which was amiable, affectionate, and even genial. The thinking and staid portion of the nation respected his decorous life; as much as they disliked the licentious habits of his great rival. Although the extraordinary endowments, the generous disposition, and the winning manners of Fox commanded the universal admiration of his friends, the people felt that Pitt was a safer minister. The ardour with which he applied himself to questions of finance and commerce, which Fox did not profess to understand, and probably thought beneath the leader of a powerful party, endeared the minister to the middle classes, and gave him the secure grasp of power and popularity during those nine years of real national prosperity which preceded the wars of the French Revolution.

Mr. Pitt commenced his career as a financial minister with more than common boldness. The permanent taxes produced half-a-million less than the interest of the debt, the civil list, and the charges to which they were appropriated. The annual land-tax and malt-tax fell far short of the naval and military expenditure and that of miscellaneous services. There was a large unfunded debt. The deficit altogether amounted to three millions. The confidence in the national resources was so low that the three per cents were fallen to about 56. Smuggling, especially of tea and spirits, was carried on to an enormous extent. The tea vend in the smuggling trade, conducted in the most systematic manner through consignments from foreign ports, was held considerably to exceed the five million and a half lbs. annually sold by the East

India Company. Pitt took the only effectual way to prevent smuggling. He reduced the duty upon tea from 50 per cent. to 12½ per cent.; and he also reduced the duties on foreign spirits. To compensate for the expected deficiency of revenue, he increased the tax upon windows. To meet the large general disproportion between receipt and expenditure, he imposed other taxes, that have been abolished, as injurious to industry, by the sounder economists of recent times. These taxes enabled him to provide for the interest of a new loan, in which a large amount of unfunded debt was absorbed. Taxes upon hats, linens, and calicos, have long been condemned, though the Commons of 1784 willingly granted them. Duties upon horses, excise licences, and game certificates, hold their ground. Taxes upon candles, and upon bricks and tiles, were amongst the devices that have had no permanent existence. The tax upon paper, which Mr. Pitt increased, appears to be the last of those restraints upon industry to which purblind legislators have clung, upon the principle that the consumers do not feel the tax—the principle announced by the minister of 1784, when he proposed his additional duty on candles, namely, that as the poorest cottagers only consumed about 10 lbs. of candles annually, that class would only contribute fivepence a-year to his new impost.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer carried his proposed taxes without any difficulty. He was equally successful with his India Bills. He relieved the East India Company from its financial embarrassments. He associated with its Directors in the government of India that body of Commissioners, appointed by the crown, which was long known as the Board of Control. Under this double government, our empire in India, constantly increasing in magnitude by extension of territory, and becoming year by year more complicated and dangerous, at last appeared to be falling to pieces in the great revolt, whose suppression will always be regarded as one of the most memorable examples of British energy. Under the imperial rule, we may hope that the honest aspirations of Burke and Fox for such a government of India as would regard the welfare of the natives as the first object of legislation, will be realized; that the larger experience of three-quarters of a century, and the nobler aims of statesmen who will consider India as a sacred trust, will more and more develop the beneficent powers of civilization amongst the millions over whom Providence has appointed us the guardians.

In the Session of 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward a subject announced in the king's speech, the Commercial Intercourse between

Great Britain and Ireland. He described the system which had been pursued, from the Revolution to a very recent period, as that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment of her own resources; of rendering that kingdom completely subservient to the interest and opulence of England. That system had been reversed; and Ireland was free to export her produce to all parts of the world, and to import, and re-export, the produce of the British Colonies. But no change had taken place in the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland themselves. There were, he said, but two possible systems for two countries situated as these were in relation to each other. We had tried the system of having the smaller country completely subservient and subordinate to the greater. "The other system 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 burthens; and it was this situation in which he was anxious to place the two countries." The propositions of Mr. Pitt, large and liberal as they were, although encumbered with some provisions opposed to a really free commercial policy, were thoroughly distasteful to the manufacturers of England, and equally opposed to the narrowness of what in Ireland was deemed patriotism. The Resolutions of the minister were carried by considerable majorities in the British Parliament, but being passed by a very small majority in the Irish Parliament, the Bill was withdrawn. Whilst this measure was being debated at Westminster, Mr. Pitt a third time brought forward a Bill for Reform in Parliament. His specific plan was to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs, giving compensation to those who regarded them as property; to transfer the right of election to counties and to unrepresented large towns; and to extend the franchise in counties to copyholders. The Bill was not introduced as a government measure; and it was rejected by a large majority, as its author probably expected it would be. That Pitt was at this time sincere in his wish for a temperate reform there can be little doubt. George Rose says that he himself dreaded that a breach should be made in the representation which moderate reformers could not prevent being widened: "I determined against an acquiescence in Mr. Pitt's plan, which he pressed with enthusiasm, not only in the House of Commons, but in private, with such friends as he thought he could influence." Rose offered to retire from his office, but to that the minister would not consent. The Secretary of the Treasury felt, however, what probably many