

top of eloquence." We cannot deny that he was also the most ardent amongst "lovers of their country;" the farthest elevated above all mercenary objects. Those who affected to be of his school were really, with one or two exceptions, not his pupils. Had Pitt lived to behold the war triumph, he might again have vindicated his claim to be a great peace minister and a sincere social reformer.

## CHAPTER XI.

India.—Attacks in Parliament upon Marquis Wellesley.—The Subsidiary system.—The Mahratta Chiefs.—The Mahratta War.—General Lake.—General Wellesley.—The Battle of Assye.—End of the Campaign.—Holkar.—Famine in India.—Mutiny at Vallore.—Administration of Grenville and Fox.—Financial Measures.—Volunteers.—Acquittal of Lord Melville.—The Princess of Wales.—Mr. Fox and the King.—Declining health of Mr. Fox.—Slave Trade.—Progress of the cause of Abolition.—Thomas Clarkson.—Negotiations for Peace.—End of the Negotiations.—Death of Mr. Fox.—Confederation of the Rhine.—Prussia.—Aggressions of Napoleon.—Murder of Palm.—Joseph Bonaparte, king of Naples.—British Army in Cadabrie.—Battle of Maida.—Capture of Buenos Ayres by Sir Home Popham.—Its recapture.

TWELVE days after the marquis Wellesley had seen his great friend for the last time, and had felt that the voice would soon be mute which could best defend him from the enemies that were gathering around, Mr. James Paull, who had aspired to sit for Westminster, moved for papers, upon which he purposed to ground grave charges against the late governor-general of India. He had to lament, he said, in common with every man who had turned his thoughts to India, and in common with all the nations of Hindustan, that lord Wellesley's spirit of aggrandizement, his love of power, and insatiable ambition, had led him into errors and mistakes that had shook to their base our very existence in India, and to consequent acts of great injustice and oppression.\* The Indian policy of Wellesley had been somewhat too bold for the timid expediency of the Addington government. The prime minister told Mr. Henry Wellesley that the administration "could not support the Governor-General against the Court of Directors," and that as a private friend he could not advise him to stay beyond the year 1803.† Before that year had closed, the statesmanship of lord Wellesley, and the military exploits of his brother Arthur and of general Lake, had established the supremacy of the British in India, "under a combination of circumstances in the highest degree critical and difficult." Such were the terms addressed to Wellesley by the Directors of the East India Company in 1837. In 1805, no Indian administrator was ever more the object of their jealousy and suspicion. Arthur Wellesley returned to England

\* Hansard, vol. v. col. 564.

† Wellington's "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 339.



in September of that year. He thus writes to his brother after an interview with lord Castlereagh: "He lamented in strong terms your differences with the Court of Directors, and entered with some detail upon the causes of them. These were principally the old story—disobedience of their orders, contempt of their authority, neglect to write to them to inform them of the most important events, and declared dislike of their persons." They feared that he would endeavour to overturn their authority when he returned home.\*

After the fall of Tippoo, and the partition of the Mysore territory in 1799,† lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy which is distinguished as the Subsidiary System. Its principle was to form treaties with native rulers; in compliance with which a military force under our own command was to be maintained at the expense of the native prince; and the control of state affairs was to be vested in the British Resident, with the exception of all that related to the domestic arrangements of the sovereign, who preserved the regal pomp without the regal power. This subsidiary system was warmly opposed in the British Parliament, as unjust and tyrannical. Its defence is succinctly stated by one who has been a constant enemy of all injustice and tyranny: "We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs, and to regulate the succession to their thrones, upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, nay, threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the restriction of the cruel despotism under which the native millions had formerly groaned."‡ In 1800, a subsidiary treaty was formed with the Nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for aid and protection. In 1801, the nephew of the deceased nabob of Arcot was raised to the nominal throne, renouncing in favour of the British all the powers of government. The Subahdar of Oude, and the Peishwa, came also under subordination to the British authority. After the rupture of the peace of Amiens, a new danger had arisen, in a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, assisted by French arms and French influence. The war of England against Napoleon was in effect to be carried on in a war with the Mahrattas. In the districts watered by the Godavery and the Poorna, were the qualities of a great captain to be displayed, which, a few years later, were to drive the legions of Napoleon from the Tagus to the Garonne.

\* Wellington's "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 535. † *Ante*, p. 130.  
‡ Lord Brougham—"Sketches of Statesmen," vol. iii. p. 308.

The warlike race of the Mahrattas were the lords of a population of forty millions, who occupied the fertile provinces extending in length from Delhi to the Toombuddra, and in breadth from the bay of Bengal to the gulf of Cambay. There were five Mahratta chieftains, whose collective military force amounted to 300,000, of which 100,000 were cavalry. The authority of the nominal sovereign, the Rajah of Sattara, was in the hands of the Peishwa, or prime minister, whose office was hereditary. He held his court at Poonah. The ostensible but feeble head of the Mahratta chiefs, he generally looked for aid to the British to defend him from his ambitious rivals, but he had sometimes intrigued to throw off the British connexion, and form an alliance with the French. At the beginning of the century, the great chief Holkar was at war with the equally valorous chief Scindia. Holkar, to strengthen his own power and destroy an ally of his rival, attacked the Peishwa, who fled from Poonah after a signal defeat. It was then that he called the British to his aid, with whom he concluded the treaty of Bassein, on the last day of December, 1802. General Wellesley marched six hundred miles, from Seringapatam to Poonah, in the worst season of the year; drove out the Mahrattas; and reinstated the Peishwa in his capital. Holkar now turned to his old rival Scindia, to coalesce with him against the Peishwa, the Nizam, and the British. Directing the military operations of Scindia was a clever Frenchman, M. Perron, who had under him a large army of infantry disciplined in the European manner, many thousand cavalry, and a well appointed train of artillery. Bhoonsla, the Rajah of Berar (or Rajah of Nagpoor), joined the alliance of Scindia and Holkar. The fifth Mahratta chieftain was Guickwar, and his territory was Guzerat, where Scindia had some possessions and great power and influence. Guickwar took no part in the approaching contest. For some time after the Peishwa had been restored, negotiations were going on between the British government and Scindia and the Rajah of Berar. They professed friendship, but it soon became clear that they were confederates with Holkar, and were depending for assistance upon Perron. The Nizam was known to be dying; and it was one of the objects of these chieftains to arrange the succession so as to aggrandize their own power. It was thus necessary to make war upon this confederacy, which threatened the security of the British dominion in India as much, if not more, than the hostility of Tippoo. There was the same danger, as in his case, of an alliance with France on the part of the Mahrattas. Pondichery had been given up to France by the Treaty of Amiens. When the Mahratta war broke out, the rupture of that treaty was



not known. The vicinity of Pondicherry to the Mahratta country required the greatest vigilance. Whilst negotiations with the Mahratta chiefs were still in progress, the news came of the renewal of the war. A French force attempted to land at Pondicherry, and were made prisoners. Providing against hostilities upon a great scale, the Governor-General decided upon the plan of a campaign, in which the rare faculty of organizing the co-operating movements of troops acting upon different points ensured the same success as had attended the campaigns of Napoleon. One element of success was the unshackled power of an able commander in the Deccan, the most important portion of the field of war. On the 26th of June Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of all the British and allied troops in the territories of the Peishwa and the Nizam, and to the direction of the political affairs of this district, which was surrounded by the dominions of the confederate chiefs. In Hindustan the same complete authority was given to general Lake. General Wellesley was at Poonah, with 17,000 men, when the negotiation with Scindia was at an end. General Lake was upon the Jumna, watching the movements of Perron, who was in a part of the Douab which had been bestowed upon him by Scindia. In Guzerat, colonel Murray commanded the Bombay army, a force of seven thousand men, and he was afterwards reinforced by colonel Woodington. In the province of Cuttack, colonel Harcourt was at the head of the Madras army, a small body of troops, who were able to render efficient service. All these armies, not great in numerical amount, but most formidable in their discipline, were all in motion, at one and the same time, to close round the enemy from the south and the north, from the east and the west; "from the sea, the mountains, and the forests, over the salt sands of Cuttack, and the high plains of the Dekkan, and through the passes of the Ghauts, and over the rivers of Hindustan, and out of the rank swamps of the basin of the Ganges."\*

It was the 3rd of August when the British Resident quitted Scindia's camp. His departure was the signal for immediate hostilities. On the 6th of August general Wellesley wrote a letter to Scindia, characterized by his usual decisive language:—"I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences."† On the 12th of August, he had advanced through roads rendered almost impassable by violent rains, and had taken the strong fort of Ahmednuggur. General Lake was equally prompt in his move-

\* Miss Martineau—"Introduction to the History of the Peace," p. cxxxv.

† "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 179.

ments. The French force under Perron fled before him, retreating from Coel, which Lake then occupied. Perron, in a few days, put himself under British protection, and was received with kindness. He complained of the treachery of his officers, and is supposed not to have been insensible to the attractions of drafts upon the treasury of Calcutta. On the 4th of September, the strong fortress of Ali-Ghur was taken by a storming party of the army of Lake. The Bombay and the Madras armies were equally successful in their advances. On the 6th of August, general Wellesley had sent orders to the officer in command of the Bombay army to attack Baroach. In a little more than three weeks Baroach had surrendered. On the 12th of September, Lake obtained a great victory over the troops of Scindia, and over the French army which Perron had formed. They were commanded by another Frenchman, Bourquien. On the following day the British were in possession of Delhi. Lake restored the Mogul emperor, Shah Allum, who had been deposed, and thus propitiated the Mohammedan population of Hindustan. The triumphal career of Lake was followed up in the battles of Muttra and Agra, and was completed in the great victory of Laswarree on the 1st of November. He was worthy of all honour. The thanks of Parliament and a peerage were never more properly bestowed than upon the senior general in this astonishing campaign.

Splendid and decisive as was the career of the northern army—important as were the successes of the Bombay army and the Madras army—the chief interests of this Mahratta war nevertheless consists in following the military operations, in tracing the evidence of the qualifications for a great captain, of one whom Napoleon, with his characteristic want of honesty, to say nothing of magnanimity, pronounced to be "*un homme borné*"—a general fit only to command Sepoys.

Colonel Stevenson was to the east of general Wellesley, after the capture of Ahmednuggur. It was necessary to effect a junction of their two armies. Wellesley directed Stevenson to take a bold course: "Move forward yourself with the Company's cavalry, and all the Nizam's, and a battalion, and dash at the first party that comes into your neighbourhood. . . . A long defensive war will ruin us. . . . By any other plan we shall lose our supplies."\* On the 21st of August Wellesley's cavalry was passing the wide Godavery. They passed in wicker boats covered with bullock skins. General Wellesley—who did not disdain to make himself thoroughly acquainted with what some would have

\* "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 210.



considered matters out of a commander's vocation—when he first entered the Mahratta territory sent the most minute directions to an officer how such boats were to be made, in the construction of which "well cured skins" were most essential articles.\* During a month, Wellesley and Stevenson were pursuing Scindia's forces, united with those of the Rajah of Berar, each of the British commanders never allowing the enemy to rest, and marching always with the rapidity which could alone keep pace with the Mahratta cavalry. On the 21st of September Wellesley and Stevenson were a little to the east of Aurungabad. They were sufficiently near to each other to concert a plan of joint operations against the Mahratta armies, which had been reinforced with sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and with a train of artillery. This formidable force was concentrated on the banks of the Kaitna.

On the 22nd of September the division under Wellesley, and the division under Stevenson, marched with the intention to attack the enemy. There was a range of hills between the British and the Mahrattas. One division marched by the eastern road round the hills; the other by the western road. They encamped that night at the two extremities of the range of hills. On the morning of the 23rd, general Wellesley received information that Scindia and Bhoonsla had moved off with their cavalry, but that their infantry were still in camp, and were about to follow the cavalry. Their camp might be seen from a rising ground. "It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed," writes Wellesley. It was no longer to be delayed, although colonel Stevenson had not arrived with his detachment. He was misled by his guides. A lieutenant of the 78th, who had behaved well at the attack of Ahmednuggur, had been appointed by the general to act as his brigade-major. † That lieutenant was Colin Campbell, who afterwards served under Wellington in the Peninsular war. From the similarity of name he has been sometimes mistaken for the Sir Colin Campbell, who in 1857 and 1858 was the sagacious commander-in-chief of the forces of India, and whose distinguished services raised him to the peerage as Lord Clyde. The young lieutenant's description of the battle of Assye, contained in a private letter of the time, is the clearest description of this extraordinary conflict which we have seen. ‡ "The general," says Campbell, "immediately formed his plan." In his latter years, the

\* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 54.

† "Despatches," vol. ii. p. 361.

‡ It is published, as a note, in the "Supplementary Despatches," vol. iv. p. 184.

Duke of Wellington related to "an early and intimate friend" how "he formed his plan:"

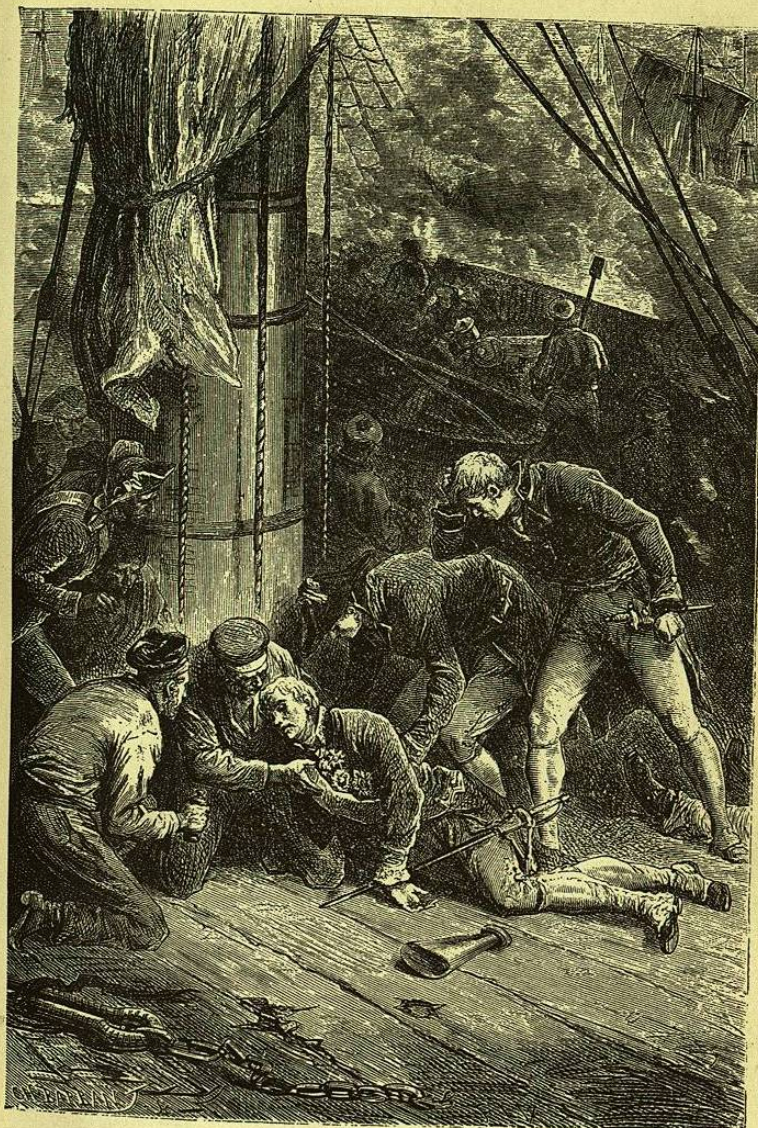
"I was indebted for my success at Assye to a very ordinary exercise of common sense. The Mahratta chiefs, whom I was marching to overtake, had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming force of native cavalry. To get rid of these gentlemen, and to get at the others, I had no chance but getting over the river also; but my native guides all assured me, that the river was impassable in this part, and the superior force of the enemy would not permit me to have it examined. I was rather puzzled; but at last I resolved to see what I could of the river myself, and so, with my most intelligent guides and an escort of (I think) all my cavalry, I pushed forward till I could see with my glass one village on the right or near bank of the river, and another village exactly opposite on the other bank, and I immediately said to myself, that men could not have built two villages so close to one another, on opposite sides of a stream, without some habitual means of communication either by boats or a ford—most probably by the latter. My guides still persisted that there was neither; but on my own conjecture, or rather reasoning, I took the desperate, as it seemed, resolution of marching for the river—and I was right. I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it thereabouts, and on which Assye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the battle—the bloodiest for the number that I ever saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."\*

The battle of Assye might well be called "the bloodiest for its number" that the hero of so many battles had ever seen. Well might it be so, when the Mahrattas force was at least seven times as numerous as the British army. It was one o'clock when the enemy's camp was in view, extending from five to seven miles. "We began to advance," writes the brigade-major, "a little after three, and the action was not entirely over till six o'clock." The 74th and 78th regiments, and four battalions of sepoy, moved forward to the attack: the piquets led; and the cavalry brought up the rear to protect the infantry from the enemy's horse. We continue the spirited narrative of Colin Campbell:—

\* "Quarterly Review," vol. xcii. p. 553.



“The line was ordered to advance. The piquets at this period had nearly lost a third of their number, and most of their gun-bullocks were killed: some of the corps, I think, waited too long, wishing to bring forward their guns, which could be of no service. The line moved rapidly (I may say without firing two rounds) and took possession of the first line of guns, where many of the enemy were killed. They then moved on in equally good order and resolution to the second line of guns, from which they very soon drove the enemy; but many of the artillery, who pretended to be dead when we passed on to the second line of guns, turned the guns we had taken upon us, which obliged us to return and again to drive them from them. Things at this period did not go on so well on our right, owing to some mistake of the piquets in having, when ordered to advance, inclined to their right, which brought the 17th regiment into the first line. Major Swinton went to the piquets, and asked them why they did not move on? On his return to his regiment he found that numbers of his officers and men had fallen. He immediately moved forward. At this period the cannonade was truly tremendous. A milk-hedge in their front, which they had to pass to come at the enemy's guns, threw them into a little confusion; but they still pushed forward, and had taken possession of many of their guns, when the second line, which opened on them, obliged them to retire from what they had so dearly purchased. The numbers of the 74th regiment remaining at this period were small; on their returning, some of the enemy's cavalry came forward and cut up many of the wounded officers and men. It was at this critical moment that the 19th charged, and saved the remains of the 74th regiment. General Wellesley at the same time threw the 78th regiment forward on their right, to move down on the enemy, who still kept their position at Assye. This movement, and the charge of the 19th light dragoons, made the enemy retire from all their guns precipitately, and they fled across the nullah to our right at the village of Assye, where numbers of them were cut up by the cavalry. The general was in the thick of the action the whole time, and had a horse killed under him. No man could have shown a better example to the troops than he did. I never saw a man so cool and collected as he was the whole time, though I can assure you, till our troops got orders to advance, the fate of the day seemed doubtful; and if the numerous cavalry of the enemy had done their duty, I hardly think it possible that we could have succeeded. From the European officers who have since surrendered, it appears they had about twelve thousand infantry, and their cavalry is supposed to have been at



DEATH OF NELSON. — Vol. vii. 210.



least twenty thousand, though many make it more. We have now in our possession one hundred and two guns, and all their tumbrils.”

In the middle of October colonel Stevenson obtained possession of the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burhampoor. General Wellesley had followed the Mahratta army in their various movements, their stratagems never defeating his vigilance. Scindia at last desired a truce. This was granted. But it was soon discovered that his cavalry were serving in the army of the Rajah of Berar, and that the truce was altogether delusive. On the 29th of November, general Wellesley obtained a victory over the united armies of Scindia and Bhoonsla. The troops had marched a great distance, on a very hot day; but, although late, the general determined to encounter the long line of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up on the plains of Argaum. Their line extended above five miles. That great array was soon broken by the resistance of the British infantry, when they were attacked. The Mahrattas retired in disorder, leaving their cannon, and pursued by moonlight by the British, the Mogul, and the Mysore cavalry.\* This wonderful campaign, of little more than four months, was finished by the successful termination of the siege of Gawilghur, a strong place thus described by general Wellesley: “The fort of Gawilghur is situated in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee. It stands on a lofty mountain on this range, and consists of one complete inner fort which fronts to the south, where the rock is most steep; and an outer fort, which covers the inner to the north-west and north. This outer fort has a third wall, which covers the approach to it from the north by the village of Labada. All these walls are strongly built, and fortified by ramparts and towers.”† Colonel Stevenson broke ground near Labada on the 12th of December. Gawilghur was bombarded for three days, and the fort, heretofore deemed impregnable, was in the possession of the British on the 15th of December.

The Mahratta war with Scindia and Bhoonsla was at an end. The Rajah of Berar, who had sued for a peace, signed a treaty on the 17th. He ceded Cuttack, which was annexed to the British dominions, and he agreed to admit no Europeans but the British within his territories. Scindia also was completely humbled. A treaty with him was signed on the 30th of December, he agreeing to give up Baroach, Ahmednuggur, and his forts in the Douab; and to exclude all Europeans except the British. He was to

\* “Despatches,” vol. ii. p. 556.

† *Ibid.*, p. 583.



receive the protection which was extended under the Subsidiary System to other dependent states.

But there was another great Mahratta chieftain yet unsubdued. His intriguing spirit was exercised in urging the other chiefs to break the treaties which they had entered into. The Governor-General tried to convert this enemy into a friend by negotiation. Holkar openly defied him; he would come with his army, and sweep and destroy like the waves of the sea. In April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar. The war went on through 1804 and 1805. Marquis Wellesley had resigned the government of India at the end of July; and marquis Cornwallis had succeeded him, before Holkar was subdued. Cornwallis died on the 5th of October, and sir George Barlow assumed the government. On the 24th of December a treaty was signed with Holkar; and he also agreed to exclude from his territories all Europeans except the British.

Sir Arthur Wellesley (he had received the Order of the Bath for his great services) returned to England in 1805. During his voyage home he employed his active mind in writing an interesting paper on the subject of "Dearth in India."\* There had been a famine in the Deccan in 1803 and 1804, which he had witnessed. The dearth, and its fatal effects, were to be attributed principally to the dry season of 1803. He describes the physical geography of the peninsula; the peculiar cultivation of wet lands or of dry; the dependence of the rice-produce of the wet lands upon the fall of the rain, assisted by the artificial canals, tanks, and wells, many of which were ancient works; and the entire dependence of the dry lands, where what are called dry grains are cultivated, upon the critical arrival and the quantity of the periodical rains. The portions of our Indian empire to which Sir A. Wellesley directed his attention were far less extensive than at present. Since 1804 there have been many famines, especially one very terrible in 1837, in the north-western provinces. Such a calamity has again occurred in 1860. Awful as the distress has been, it is satisfactory to know that the question which Sir A. Wellesley asked, "in what manner the deficiency produced by the seasons in any particular part could be remedied by the government in that part," has been to some extent answered, by the construction during recent years of great canals for irrigation. The Eastern and the Western Jumna canals, and the Ganges canal are the grandest of these works, and are capable of irrigating several millions of acres.

After his return from India, the marquis Wellesley had to endure the bitter mortification of finding that his great public ser-

\* "Supplementary Dispatches," vol. iv. p. 514.

vices had rendered him a mark for the attacks of James Paull, who, having failed in India of advancement at his hands, returned to England and became a Member of Parliament. In 1822, when marquis Wellesley was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, some allusions having been made in the House of Commons to the conduct of the Governor-General of India, twenty years before, as partaking of the spirit which distinguished all those possessed of despotic power, lord Castlereagh truly said, that when the marquis had to undergo a long investigation of his conduct, there was considerable delay "before he received that homage which was justly due to his talents and integrity, and which he did ultimately receive, in spite of all opposition."\* It is unnecessary for us to follow the parliamentary discussions on this subject. The accusations were, in a great degree, the result of private malice and party rancour; and, like all such abuses of the privileges of representative government, their interest very quickly passed away. Paull had sufficient notoriety during the short period he was before the English public. He fought a duel with sir Francis Burdett in 1807, and he terminated his career by suicide in 1808.

In the affairs of India, an event of far more lasting importance than the assaults upon the marquis Wellesley took place on the 10th of July, 1806. At two o'clock in the morning of that day, the European barracks at Vellore, in which were four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoy in the service of the East India Company. Through every door and window these mutineers poured in a destructive fire upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels were killed; the sick in the hospital were massacred; the officers' houses were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were put to death. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th, fell in the attempt to save his men. His widow wrote an interesting account of the horrors of that night, having, almost miraculously, escaped with her little boy.† There was a terrible retribution the next day. The 19th regiment of dragoons arrived; took the fort of Vellore from the insurgents; six hundred of the sepoy were cut down; and two hundred were dragged out of their hiding-places and shot. The sons of Tippoo Saib, who were residing at Vellore, were suspected of being concerned in this mutiny. But there were demonstrations of a spirit of disaffection amongst the native troops in other places. Some extremely foolish regulations had been attempted by the military authorities at Madras with respect to the dress of the sepoy. It was wished to transform the turban into something

\* Hansard, N. S., vol. vi. col. 169.

† "Plain Englishman," vol. ii. p. 437.



like a helmet. An opinion had been spread that it was the desire of the British Government to convert the native troops to Christianity by forcible means. This notion was disavowed in a subsequent proclamation of the government at Madras. But at that time the zeal of some persons for the conversion of the Hindoo population was far from discreet; and in England there was no hesitation in declaring, that "the restless spirit of fanaticism has insinuated itself into our Indian councils;" and that, unless checked in time, it will lead to the subversion of our Indian empire, and the massacre of our countrymen dispersed over that distant land."\*

The House of Commons has voted an Address to the king for a public funeral for Mr. Pitt, and a monument to be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. The House was not unanimous in this vote. Mr. Windham objected because "it has not been the usage of this country, or of mankind in general, to grant the highest rewards, unless in cases where merit has been crowned with success." He could not agree in awarding the highest honours to Mr. Pitt, "in the midst of the very ruin which his last measures had brought on." Mr. Fox praised the disinterestedness of Mr. Pitt's career as a minister—that "with regard to private emolument he had acted with a high degree of integrity and moderation." But, he said, "I cannot consent to confer public honours, on the ground of his being 'an excellent statesman,' on the man who, in my opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief, supporter of a system which I had early been taught to consider as a bad one." The motion was carried by a majority of 169. The House of Commons has unanimously voted 40,000*l.* for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts. The great question now is, who is to be the head of a new administration, at a time of such extraordinary danger and difficulty. The post has been offered to lord Hawkesbury, and he has wisely declined it. Lord Hawkesbury did not decline to be Mr. Pitt's successor in the enjoyment of the lucrative office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, at which, according to Mr. Abbot, a general dissatisfaction was expressed. On the 27th of January the king saw lord Grenville, and desired him to form a new administration. Lord Grenville told his majesty that he could not propose any arrangements which did not give Mr. Fox a distinguished place in the Cabinet. The king replied, "I know all that; have your arrangements ready by Wednesday."† The ministry of "All the Talents" was accepted without any hesitation on the part of the king. There were some incongruous materials in its composition. Lord Sidmouth could

\* "Annual Register," 1806, p. 254.

† Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 32.

command forty or fifty parliamentary friends—"who constituted a species of armed neutrality far too powerful to be overlooked,"\* He was appointed Lord Privy Seal. He brought with him, into the Cabinet, lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice—an arrangement which one of Sidmouth's friends described as reminding him of "a faithful old steward, with his mastiff, watching new servants, lest they should have some evil designs against the old family mansion."† The appointment was open to serious constitutional objections. Romilly, who was now Solicitor-General, thought there was "nothing illegal or unconstitutional" in this nomination; although "it is certainly very desirable that a judge should not take any part in politics."‡ Wilberforce expressed the general feeling when he deprecated the mischievous consequences of subjecting the decisions of our courts of justice to the influence of party attachments; or, which he thought of equal importance, of producing an impression on the public mind that such a bias existed. § Lord Campbell holds,—and there can be no higher authority,—that "the duties of Criminal Judge and Member of the Cabinet are incompatible." || When the Ministry was finally constituted, Mr. Erskine (lord Erskine) became Lord Chancellor; lord Grenville, First Lord of the Treasury; lord Howick (late Mr. Grey), First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Spencer, Secretary of State for the Home Department; Mr. Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Windham, Secretary of State for War and Colonies; and lord Henry Petty (the present lord Lansdowne), Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The financial measures of the new Ministry, however necessary, did not advance their popularity. Lord Henry Petty is described by the Speaker as "going through the whole financial state of the country in a clear, distinct, and comprehensive manner." But no lucidness of detail could reconcile the nation to the property-tax being raised to ten per cent. from six and a half per cent. Mr. Windham's plan for improving the condition of the soldier, by enlisting him for a stated period and not for life, was a real improvement in the constitution of the army. But Mr. Windham knew little of the character of the British people. He considered that he was a faithful advocate of popular rights when he resisted any attempt to legislate against bull-baiting. He believed that he was not wanting in public spirit when he would have rested the security of the land from invasion upon a vast standing army. He

\* "Life of Sidmouth," vol. ii. p. 412.

† *Ibid.*, p. 417.

‡ Romilly—"Dairy," March 1.

§ Wilberforce—"Life," vol. iii. 258.

|| "Lives of the Chancellors." Erskine.