

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

FUNERAL HONOURS TO THE MEMORY OF MR. PITT

January 27, 1806

MR. HENRY LASCELLES moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions, that the remains of the right honourable William Pitt be interred at the public charge; and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty that this House will make good the expences attending the same." The motion was seconded by the Marquis of Titchfield, and supported by Lord Louvaine, Mr. J. H. Browne, Mr. H. Addington, Sir R. Buxton, General Tarleton, Earl Temple, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Rose, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Wilberforce. It was opposed by Lord Folkestone, Mr. William Smith, the Marquis of Douglas, Mr. Windham, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox rose and spoke as follows:—"I do not know, Sir, that I ever rose to address the House in the performance of my public duty with more pain than I do at this moment. I therefore hope that I shall experience some indulgence, if, before I give my vote on this question, I should shortly state the reasons which compel me to oppose the motion now proposed by the honourable gentleman under the gallery. The honourable gentleman says, that all party feelings and political animosities should be laid aside on the present occasion. I assure him, that I do lay aside all party feelings. If I had any such at this time, they would lead me to vote with the honourable gentleman and not against him. At the same time I do not pretend to undervalue party feelings. When a person is convinced that the opinions which he holds, if acted upon, would be productive of benefit to his country, but finds that the only chance of having them acted upon

depends upon his connection with a party, and the support which by this means he may acquire, it is his duty to have recourse to a party. He may consider this fairly and justly as the best mode of effectually carrying into execution those measures which, in his estimation, are the most calculated to promote the public prosperity and happiness. But at present it is obvious to every one, that all the motives which are likely to influence me, as far as party is concerned, are on the side of the honourable gentleman, and would lead me to vote with him. The honourable gentleman must see, that if the gratification of party feelings, if ambition, if private interest, were my objects, the most proper course for me to pursue, would be to give an immediate assent to this motion. Upon such a supposition, every one must be sensible how much it would be to my interest to conciliate, as much as possible, all those who had the greatest respect and value for Mr. Pitt, to drown, if it could be done, the very remembrance of our political contests, and endeavour to gain, by every means that could be imagined, their support and favour. This would be the line of conduct which party views would suggest, as the most proper to follow. But this is not all: there are other motives of no less weight, that strongly recommend the same mode of proceeding. For many of the supporters of the present motion I have a personal friendship, which would make me reluctant to oppose them on such an occasion; but, most of all would it be to my interest, as well as my inclination, not to cross, in this instance, the views of the noble lord near me (Earl Temple) and other near relations of the deceased minister, with whom I am now likely to be, for the remainder of my life, inseparably connected. The vote, therefore, may be considered as one not given to gratify any feeling of private animosity, or of public ambition, but extorted by a most painful but imperious sense of duty. In every party point of view then, whether my object should be to conciliate those who have the warmest attachment to the memory of Mr. Pitt, or to join with those who are already my political friends, my plan would be to support the honourable gentleman's motion. I will go further, and

say that if feelings were to be allowed to direct our conduct on this occasion, the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Rose) might address to our feelings arguments much more powerful than those which he has just now addressed to our reasons. I, Sir, have been engaged in a long course of opposition to the person for whom public honours are now claimed. I may say that I have been considered, and perhaps it may be called an honour, his rival. But I do assure the right honourable gentleman and his most zealous admirers, that, during all that time, I never opposed him from a personal motive.

I will go still further, and say, that another motive would lead me to support the motion, and that is the respect which I entertain for many of Mr. Pitt's personal qualities. Great qualities he certainly had, in no ordinary degree, in private life; and great qualities also in points connected with his administration. I do not think this a proper time to enter upon the particular acts of that administration; but in the measure for the establishment of a real sinking fund, he had always my warmest support, and I freely declare my opinion, that this has done a great deal of good to the nation, and, that for this, therefore, the country is highly obliged to him. There is another quality for which he deserves great praise. No minister was ever more disinterested, as far as related to pecuniary matters. His integrity and moderation, in this respect, are confirmed by the state of his affairs when he died. I allow that a minister is not to be considered as moderate and disinterested, merely because he is poor, during his life, or at his death. But when I see a minister, who has been in office above twenty years, with the full command of places and public money, without any peculiar extravagance and waste, except what might be expected from the carelessness that perhaps necessarily arose from the multiplicity of duties, to which the attention of a man, in such a situation, must be directed; when I see a minister, under such circumstances, using his influence neither to enrich himself, nor those with whom he is, by family ties, more peculiarly connected, it is impossible for me not to conclude that this man is disin-

terested. I must say, that he has, with regard to private emolument, acted with a high degree of integrity and moderation. In the course of the long administration of Mr. Pitt, all that he took for himself, was, I believe, the wardenship of the Cinque Ports. This was certainly in him highly disinterested; and his disinterestedness in this respect shines with the more lustre, when we consider the mode in which, according to report, this reward has been since disposed of. I, therefore, Sir, have every reason, from my intimate friendship and near connection with the living, and from my own private feelings and respect for the dead, who undoubtedly possessed many estimable qualities, to give my support to the motion now before the House. I might be led to this by another motive. If personal vanity had any weight with me, I might from this consideration concur with the honourable gentleman. I might by this means gain a great deal of applause, without any loss whatever in a party point of view, and I do not pretend to be insensible to praise any more than others. But there are cases, Sir, in which our public duty is so clear and imperious, that no desire of praise, no motive of personal respect, no wish to gratify our friends, nor any other consideration, however powerful, can possibly enable us to dispense with it, and in my conscience, Sir, I believe this to be one of those cases. If the marks of respect were such as did not compromise my public duty in the compliance, no person would join in it more cheerfully and more eagerly than I would. If, for instance, it had been proposed to remedy those pecuniary difficulties which Mr. Pitt had incurred in the course of his political life; if it had been proposed to do those things for his relations in that way, which his own acknowledged disinterestedness did not allow him to do; if it had been proposed to supply the deficiencies of his own fortune, I would most willingly consent that all this should be done in the most liberal manner. But it is a very different thing to be called upon to confer honours upon Mr. Pitt as an 'excellent statesman.' We ought not, Sir, in such cases, to be complimented out of our consent, if our public duty commands us to oppose the grant of such

honours. Public honours are matters of the highest importance, because they must more or less influence posterity. They ought not, therefore, to be conferred lightly, but only where merit is clearly seen and acknowledged. I could further add, Sir, that the manner in which the honourable gentleman opened this business, would lead me to give his motion my support; but when public honours are solicited, it becomes me to consult neither my interest nor my feelings, but to adhere rigidly and conscientiously to the line of public duty. I need not add any thing to what has been said respecting honours conferred upon military men and statesmen, by my right honourable friend on the bench near me (Mr. Windham), who has so ably and clearly pointed out the distinction between the two cases. As little need I add to what has been said by my honourable friend on my right hand, (Mr. Ponsonby), respecting many eminent public men, on whom no honours of this kind were conferred, and for whom none were solicited, though their talents, virtues, and good intentions were unquestionable. It is not to particular acts only that we are to look; we must consider the general effect which these acts produce, with a view to the public benefit. Certainly, when I look at Lord Chatham's monument; when I find it there stated, that he had reduced the power of France to a very low ebb, and raised the prosperity of his country to a very high pitch; I must say, that this case can never be compared with that of Lord Chatham. I must say, that the country at present is reduced to the most dangerous and alarming situation—a situation which might call for any thing rather than honours to be conferred upon him, who had the direction of the measures which brought it to this state. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rose) has told us, that in the case of Lord Chatham there was the most perfect unanimity, though there were many in the House who had opposed his political principles. Why, so there was; but then, Sir, the merit was clear, and the inscription related to points on which there must have been the most perfect unanimity; and though certainly during the seven years' war there was a strong opposition, yet

his merit on certain points, to which the inscription referred, was allowed by the bitterest of his antagonists.

But, though no consideration ought to induce us to betray our trust in conferring the public honours, yet at the same time there are cases in which the effects of this might be less sensibly felt. For instance, in cases where we should be compelled to oppose particular acts of an administration, we might still make a clear distinction between what was good and what was bad. In the present case I shall not enter upon the particular acts. In deciding upon this question, I should be unwilling to take any one particular act of the administration of the late minister. I always thought, and do still think, that an unfortunate system of government has pervaded the whole of the present reign; and I firmly believe that system to have been the cause of all the disasters and disappointments which the country has experienced, almost uniformly throughout the whole course of it. Being of this opinion, how can I conscientiously say that he who followed this system was an 'excellent statesman'? To that system I ascribe the loss of the American colonies, and I cannot but impute blame, instead of praise or honour, to all the ministers who have supported it. The Earl of Guilford* who conducted the war, in the event of which those colonies were lost, was a man of very uncommon talents, and of very amiable qualities. Towards the latter part of his life, I was connected with him, not only in political opinions, but also in habits of the most intimate friendship. But, notwithstanding all that, I have no hesitation in declaring, that if, at the decease of that nobleman, any motion similar to the present had been made in this House, much as I esteemed and loved him, and still more dearly as I loved his son, the late earl, I should have been the very foremost to oppose it. Thinking as I do of the disastrous effects of that system, which I before stated to have prevailed throughout the present reign, I cannot but accuse the late minister of having, I will not say criminally, for the expression might sound, in some ears, too harsh, but, most un-

* North.

fortunately, lent his brilliant talents and his commanding eloquence, to the support of it. In having done so, and with the knowledge he must have had of it, I esteem him the more culpable, as without that splendour of mental endowment, which enabled him to throw a veil over the hideous deformity of the system alluded to, I am fully persuaded, that it could not have resisted the attacks made upon it, and consequently could not have existed, and spread its baneful influence half so long. No man can be more desirous than I am, to bury in oblivion the remembrance of those contests in which we were so long engaged. This I showed plainly enough while he was alive. But, 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. Thinking thus, it cannot be expected that I should so far forget my public duty, and the principles which I have uniformly professed, as to subscribe to the condemnation of those principles, by agreeing to the motion now before the House. But, I defy the honourable gentleman, I defy any person who differs from me, I defy any one of those who are most desirous of misrepresenting my motives, to point out any possible feeling of interest or ambition, that could induce me to oppose it. My motive is a sense of public duty, which would be violated, if I were to agree to confer honours, on grounds which to me do not appear to warrant my concurrence.

Sir, I am sorry that this motion was ever made. I said so before, and if those who were most nearly connected with Mr. Pitt by the ties of blood, and who may be supposed to be most interested in his glory, and the respect that is to attend his memory, had been consulted, I believe a mode might have been struck out, by which a suitable mark of respect might have been conferred on him, without reducing us to this dilemma. Now, however, it is too late. The thing is done, and cannot be helped, and nothing remains for us but to do our duty, however much our feelings may be hurt by the perform-

ance. I must therefore conclude with saying, that, in my opinion, my public duty calls me, in the most imperious and irresistible manner, to oppose the motion; and that, however painful to my feelings in every respect it may be, I must do my duty."

The House divided on Mr. Lascelles' motion:

Tellers.

Yeas { Mr. H. Lascelles
 { Marq. of Titchfield } 258

Tellers.

Noes { Visc. Folkestone
 { Mr. W. Smith } 89

APPENDIX II

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED

A. Principal authorities:

Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox.
Edited by Lord John Russell. 4 volumes. Richard Bentley. MDCCCLIII.

The Speeches of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox in the House of Commons. 6 volumes. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1815.

The Life and Times of Charles James Fox. By the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, M.P. 3 volumes. Richard Bentley. 1859.

Journal of the Reign of King George the Third. By Horace Walpole. Edited by Dr. Doran. 2 volumes. Richard Bentley. MDCCCLIX.

Correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North. From 1768 to 1783. Edited by W. Bodham Donne. 2 volumes. John Murray. 1867.

The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December, 1783. By the Hon. Sir John Fortescue. 6 volumes. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1927.

Memoirs of the Latter Years of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. By John Bernard Trotter. Richard Phillips. 1811.

Characters of the Late Charles James Fox. Selected and in Part written by Philopatris Varvicensis [Samuel Parr]. Mawman. 1809.

The War of American Independence, 1775-1783. By John Malcolm Ludlow. Longman, Green and Co. 1920.

The French Revolution, 1789-1795. By Bertha Meriton Gardiner. Longman, Green and Co. 1908.

A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second with an Introductory Chapter. By the Right Hon. Charles James Fox. William Miller. 1808.

B. The following books have also been consulted, particularly those marked with an asterisk:

*A Letter from the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, to the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster. (The Sixth Edition.) J. Debrett. 1793.

Circumstantial Details of the Long Illness and Last Moments of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox. (The Second Edition.) Jordan and Maxwell. 1806.

Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke. Edited by Charles William, Earl Fitzwilliam and Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B. 4 volumes. Francis and John Rivington. 1844.

Correspondence of the late Gilbert Wakefield with the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in the years 1796-1801. T. Cadell and W. Davies. MDCCCXIII.

*England Under the House of Hanover. By Thomas Wright, Esq., F.S.A. 2 volumes. Richard Bentley. 1848.

Historical Memoirs of My Own Time. By Sir N. William Wraxall, Bart. (The Second Edition.) 2 volumes. T. Cadell and W. Davies. 1815.

Historical Sketches of Statesmen who Flourished in the Time of George III. By Henry Lord Brougham, F.R.S. 6 volumes. Charles Knight and Co. 1845.

*Junius. 2 volumes. T. Bensley. 1799.

*Life of William Earl of Shelburne. By Lord Fitzmaurice. (Second and Revised Edition.) 2 volumes. Macmillan and Co. 1912.

Memoirs of the Reign of George III. By W. Belsham. (Second Edition.) 4 volumes. G. G. and J. Robinson. 1795.

*Memoirs of the Life and Reign of King George the Third. By J. Heneage Jesse. 3 volumes. Tinsley Brothers. 1867.

*Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert. By the Hon. Charles Langdale. 1856.

- Posthumous Memoirs of His Own Time. By Sir N. W. Wraxall, Bart. (Second Edition.) 3 volumes. Richard Bentley. 1836.
- *The Early History of Charles James Fox. By George Otto Trevelyan, M.P. (Third Edition.) Longman, Green and Co. 1881.
- The Georgian Era. 4 volumes. Vizetelly, Brenston and Co. MDCCCXXXII.
- The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826. Edited by the Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stayerdale. 2 volumes. John Murray. 1901.
- *The Life of the Right Honourable William Pitt. By Earl Stanhope. (New Edition.) 3 volumes. John Murray. 1879.
- Wilkes, Sheridan, Fox. By W. F. Rae. W. Isbister and Co. 1874.

C. Occasional reference has been made to the following:

- Autobiography of Benjamin Robert Haydon. Edited by Edmund Blunden. Oxford University Press. 1927.
- Biographies of John Wilkes and William Cobbett. By the Rev. John Selby Watson. William Blackwood and Sons. MDCCCLXX.
- Caricature History of the Georges. By Thomas Wright. John Camden Hotten. 1867.
- Charles James Fox. By Walter Savage Landor. Edited by Stephen Wheeler. John Murray. 1907.
- Chatham. By Lord Rosebery. Arthur L. Humphreys. 1910.
- Coke of Norfolk and his Friends. By A. M. W. Stirling. 2 volumes. John Lane. MCMVIII.
- Court Life below Stairs. By J. Fitzgerald Molloy. 4 volumes. Hurst and Blackett. 1882.
- Debates in the House of Commons, from Monday the 12th to Friday the 16th of January, 1784. J. Stockdale. MDCCCLXXXIV.

Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, First Earl of Malmesbury. Edited by his Grandson, the Third Earl. 4 volumes. Richard Bentley. 1844.

Essays on his Own Times. By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited by his Daughter. Volume II. William Pickering. 1850.

Fifty Years of My Life. By George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle. 2 volumes. Macmillan and Co. 1876.

Henry Fox, First Lord Holland. By the Earl of Ilchester. 2 volumes. John Murray. 1920.

History of England, 1688-1815. By E. M. Wrong. Williams and Norgate.

Lord North, Second Earl of Guilford, K.G. By Reginald Lucas. 2 volumes. Arthur L. Humphreys. 1913.

Legislative Biography. By Anthony Pasquin, D. H. Symonds. MDCCXCV.

Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III. By the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G. 2 volumes. Hurst and Blackett. 1853.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin. J. M. Dent and Sons. 1908.

Memoirs of William Wordsworth. By Christopher Wordsworth. 2 volumes. Edward Moxon. 1851.

Memorials of Brooks's. Ballantyne and Co., Ltd. MCMVII.

Miscellaneous Works of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh. Longman, Brown, Green and Longman. 1851.

Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, with Explanatory Notes by Charles Edmonds. (Second Edition.) G. Willis. MDCCCLIV.

Proceedings in an Action for Debt, between the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, Plaintiff, and John Horne Took, Esq., Defendant. Published by the Defendant. J. Johnson. MDCCXCII.

- Select Letters of Horace Walpole. Edited by Alice D. Greenwood. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 1914.
- The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon. Edited by Oliphant Smeaton. J. M. Dent and Sons.
- The Correspondence and Diaries of the late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, LL.D., F.R.S. Edited by Louis J. Jennings. (Second Edition Revised.) 3 volumes. John Murray. 1885.
- The Creavy Papers. Edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell. John Murray. 1904.
- The Diaries and Correspondence of the Right Honourable George Rose. Edited by the Rev. Leveson Vernon Harcourt. 2 volumes. Richard Bentley. 1860.
- The Diaries and Letters of Sir George Jackson. Edited by Lady Jackson. 2 volumes. Richard Bentley and Son. 1872.
- The Four Georges. By William Makepeace Thackeray. Edited by Hannaford Bennett. John Long. MCMXXIII.
- The Holland House Circle. By Lloyd Sanders. Methuen.
- The Journal of Sir Walter Scott. 2 volumes. David Douglas. 1890.
- The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley. Edited by the Rev. F. W. MacDonald. 4 volumes. J. M. Dent.
- The Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. Heinemann. 1895.
- The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honble. Henry Addington, First Viscount Sidmouth. By the Honble. George Peilew, D.D. 3 volumes. John Murray. 1847.
- The Life of William Wilberforce. By his Sons Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce. 5 volumes. John Murray. MDCCCXXXVIII.
- The Report of the Trials of the Rioters at the Assizes held at Warwick, August 20, 1791, before the Right Honourable Mr. Baron Perryn. John Thompson.

The Works of the Right Honble. Edmund Burke.
(A New Edition.) 8 volumes. F. and C. Rivington.
1801.

Thomas Poole and his Friends. By Mrs. Henry Sandford.
2 volumes. Macmillan and Co. 1888.

Travels of Carl Philipp Moritz in England in 1782.
Humphrey Milford. 1924.

Warren Hastings. By Lionel J. Trotter. J. M. Dent
and Sons.

Warren Hastings. By Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B. Mac-
millan and Co., Ltd. 1902.