

Advertisement.

Having been represented to Government, that the 5th Article of the Post Regulations lately published, has on several occasions been mis-understood by the Public, and it being desirable to prevent the recurrence of similar mistakes—Notice is hereby given that the said Article is applicable only to persons holding official situations, as stated in Article 10th, and that all others must regularly pay the Postage of every Letter at the time they send it to any of the Post Offices on the Island, without which it will not be received.

Published by authority of Government. B. POPKENS, Post Master General. BATAVIA, April 23, 1813.

Advertentie.

NADEMAAL het ter kennis van het Gouvernement is gekomen, dat het 5de Artikel van het onlangs gepubliceerde Post Reglement by onderscheidene gelegenheden door velen verkeerd wordt uitgeleid, en dat het belangrijk is eene herhaling voor soortgelijke misvattingen voortekomen, zoo wordt by deze aan een ieder bekend gemaakt dat het gemelde Artikel enkel toepasselyk is op personen publieke bedieningen bekledende, zo als by Art. 10 vermeld wordt, en dat dienvolgens alle anderen het Brieven Post zullen moeten voldoen by het zenden van de Brieven op de Post Kantoren op het Eiland, zulkende by gebrek van betaling de Brieven niet aangenomen worden.

Op autorisatie van het Gouvernement. D. POPKENS, Post-Meester General. BATAVIA, den 23 April, 1813.

Bekendmaking.

VAN wegens President en Leden van het Collegie van Heeren Weesmeesteren alhier, wordt by dezen aan het Batavia'sch Publiek bekend gemaakt. Ten Eersten: dat in betaling van gecontracteerde schulden aan Zilver geld, zoo wel aan gemeld Collegie direct, als aan boedels onder hun Eerwaardens administratie, geaccepteerd zullen worden Bank en Tresaurie Noten als ook Gouvernements Certificaaten, by Publicatie van den Naegenden deser gangbaar verklaard, tot een montant van Vyftig Spaansche matten.

Ten Tweeden: dat ten gevolge der gematigsteerde verlangens van het Gouvernement en uit kragt der by resolutie van het Gouvernement van den 2den dageden deser als eene statutaire wet verklaarde Proclamatie van Zyne Excellentie, den Heer Gouverneur General van den Elften September 1811, waar by de Circulatie en waarde van het Papier geld bepaald is, de gemelde Bank en Tresaurie Noten als mede de gemelde Certificaaten tot een onbepaald bedrag by gemeld Collegie in betaling van gecontracteerde schulden aan Papier geld tegen Zes en Eenhalve ryxdaalder Papier de Spaansche mat, zonder onderheid, ontvangen zullen worden.

De Boeken, die in de ingewolte Publicatie van het Gouvernement van den Naegenden deser, het oude Batavia'sche Courant Papier, ook zelfs de oude Batavia'sche Courant, in volkomen staat geconserveerd schuldelyk in zijl ontvangten werden, en als zodanig dat de Boeken van dit Collegie, overeenkomstig Gouvernements order, onder ultimo dezer zullen ontvangen worden, de Zesmaandelyke interesten onder ultimo April en onder ultimo October uitgetrokken en onder ultimo Juny en ultimo December ten Kantore van hun Eerwaerdens Secretaris betaald zullen moeten worden. BATAVIA in de Weeskamer, den 1de April 1813. J. H. DE HOOGH, Sec.

EDUCATION

AT THE ENGLISH ACADEMY, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. YOUNG Gentlemen are carefully instructed in the following branches of useful and polite Education, BY W. M. HOPELY, AND COMPETENT ASSISTANTS, VIZ.

The English and French Languages—Writing—Arithmetic—The Elements of Geometry—Trigonometry—Merchant's Accounts and Geography, with other branches of useful and polite learning. TERMS. 350 Spanish Dollars per annum. EXTRA CHARGES. Fencing—Drawing—Dancing and Navigation, each 40 Spanish Dollars per annum. Every endeavour is used to excite emulation, and to point out the advantages of juvenile application, and the greatest exertions are made to render the Pupils well qualified for the various departments of life. Cape Town, Sept. 26, 1812.

The Brig JANE, J. Cowan, will sail on or about the 6th of May.

Advertentie. ALZOO den Hoogen Raad van Justitie te Batavia, aan den Griffier van Hoogemeden Raad, P. V. H. Cappelhoff, in zyne qualiteit als Curator in de boedels van Insolvent overledene alhier, en als zoodanige administrerende de nalatenschap van wylen den Heer Adriaan Hartsinck, heeft verleid Citatie by Edicte ad valvas curae, op ende tegen alle onbekende, die eenig regt, actie of pretentie ten lasten van de voorschreven nalatenschap verneemen te hebben. Zoo is het dat ik Willem Anthony van der Hevel, waarmede eerste Gewoone Exploicteur van welur: Hoogen Raad, by het voor de derde maal ben davyrende, alle onbekende die eenig regt, actie of pretentie ten lasten van de nalatenschap van voorn: Heer Adriaan Hartsinck verneemen te hebben, omme op Woensdag den 26 Mey 1813, des morgens ten half negen u ter rolle van den Hoogen Raad van Justitie te Batavia, te Compareeren dan wel gemachtigden te zenden, ten emde het derde default te purgeeren, voorts noch huane actien te institueeren en te funderen sub poene van verstek en impositie van eepwig Syletium. Aldus gepubliceert en geaffigeert. W. A. VAN DER HEVEL, Exploicteur.

Advertentie. Op Woensdag den 6de Mey 1813. 'smorgens om 9 uren Zal door den Secretaris van Bevelingen, ter on ter ordinaar van Heeren Commissarissen, verkoopt worden geloude orde voorraad van het oude China'sche Bakkery, ten een partyl Courant en Zilver, weeten, Harys, soepelen, Slaven en andere Goederen meer.

Advertentie. R. DALMEYER bied uit de hand te Koop het Logement te Samarang, met de daar by zynde Wagen-verhuurdery, Bakkery, Slaven en wat verder tot het zelve behoort, volgens de daat van zynde Inventaris, te bevragen by den Eigenaar voornomd. Samarang den 25ste April 1813. R. DALMEYER.

Advertentie. DIE iets te Prietenloos, bech, of Schuldig is aan de boedel van den oud Luitenant der Meeren, Ibrahim Sina Marikan, meden sig bintend den Mand gerkend van den 7de April aan de Postmeintains, Executeurs der Echtheit en den Capitein der Parakan Chinese Sakkien. BATAVIA in de Weeskamer, den 1de April 1813. J. H. DE HOOGH, Sec.

BATAVIA PRICE CURRENT.

Table listing various goods and their prices in Sp. Dollars. Includes items like Assafetida, Balfas, Brandy, Camphor, Cardamums, Cassia, Cinnamon, Charcoal, etc.

Table listing various goods and their prices in Sp. Dollars. Includes items like Handkerchief, Hartau, Hawsers, Hides, Indigo, Iron, Kissmies, Lead, Leather, Lina, Long-cloth, Maca, Manioc, Moortees, Nails, Nankin, Nutmegs, Oil, Pepper, Pimento, Pipe-staves, etc.

Extracts from English Papers.

PAPERS RELATIVE TO A LATE POLITICAL NEGOCIATION.

Introductory Paper for the Purpose of explaining the several Documents.

The Earl of Moira, with that high and honourable feeling which has distinguished him through life, has judged it due to his public character, to publish an authentic account of the late negotiations, in order to prevent the possibility of the part he took in those important transactions being misrepresented by the explanations of other persons. His lordship has, therefore, given a statement of facts accompanied by documents, which cannot fail to render unquestionable the parity of his public principles, and the propriety of his private conduct.

In the following statement, which precedes the documents, his Lordship has, with his usual magnanimity, forbore all observation on the conduct of other persons in these negotiations, and has confined himself to a simple narrative of the proceedings.

On Friday, the 22d of May, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was pleased to command the Marquis Wellesley to submit to his Royal Highness's gracious consideration the plan of an Administration, properly adapted to the present crisis of affairs.

In preparing to execute his Royal Highness's commands, Lord Wellesley deemed it to be necessary, in the first instance to advert to certain practical principles, which should, in his humble judgment, constitute the basis of the system of measures, calculated to meet the actual exigencies of the country.

It appeared to be desirable to reduce these leading principles within the narrowest compass which the situation of affairs could admit, omitting for the present the discussion of many questions, which might (however important in their nature) not be deemed of such instantaneous pressure, or might not be expected to involve so much difference of opinion.

Lord Wellesley, upon the most mature reflection, considered, that the practical principles, upon which an Administration might be constituted, in the present crisis, might be safely comprised in the two following propositions:—

First, That the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, and the claims of that body of his Majesty's subjects, should be taken into immediate consideration, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment of those claims.

Secondly, That the war in the Peninsula should be prosecuted on a scale of adequate vigour.

It appeared to Lord Wellesley, to be indispensably necessary towards the due execution of his Royal Highness's commands, to have recourse to the aid of persons, who were distinguished by their talents and disposition, for the purpose of assisting to these great principles, previously to submitting any names of persons to his Royal Highness, for the purpose of filling the several offices in his Royal Highness's service.

Lord Wellesley, therefore, conceived it to be his duty to open a communication with the principal persons of all parties, carefully confining that communication to the point of ascertaining their respective sentiments on the two propositions stated in the preceding column.

In these communications, Lord Wellesley was particularly cautious to explain, that he had received no authority from his Royal Highness, to form an Administration, or to communicate with any particular party or description of persons, but that his Royal Highness had been apprized of the necessity of Lord Wellesley's holding such intercourse with all parties as might enable him to prepare a plan for his Royal Highness's approbation.

He also explained, that in this transaction, he was merely the instrument of executing his Royal Highness's commands, neither claiming nor desiring for himself any station in the Administration, which it was his Royal Highness's contemplation to form.

Under these circumstances, as Mr. Canning and Lord Wellesley agreed in the general principles already stated, Lord Wellesley requested Mr. Canning to communicate them to Lord Liverpool, believing that to be the channel of communication which was likely to be most agreeable to Lord Liverpool.

Mr. Canning transmitted, to Lord Wellesley a minute of his conversation with Lord Liverpool, together with the answer from Lord Liverpool, and a letter from Lord Melville.

Lord Wellesley made the communication to Lords Grey and Grenville, and received from them the answer marked No. XVII.

Lord Wellesley also communicated with Lord Moira, and verbally with Lord Erskine and Mr. Sheridan, who all expressed their concurrence in the principles already stated.

Lord Wellesley also received the letters from Lords Lansdowne and Holland, expressing their concurrence in the memorandum received from Lords Grey and Grenville.

On Sunday, the 31st of May, all these documents were submitted by Lord Wellesley to the Prince Regent, together with a report of his proceedings, in executing his Royal Highness's commands.

On the 27th of May, Lord Wellesley was apprized, by a communication from Lord Melville to Mr. Canning, the powers granted to Lord Wellesley, on the 23d of May, by the Prince Regent, were considered to be at an end. Lord Wellesley communicated that circumstance to Lords Grey and Grenville.

On the 1st of June, the Prince Regent granted to Lord Wellesley full authority to form an Administration under his Royal Highness's commands.

On the 23d of June, Lord Wellesley resigned into the hand of his Royal Highness, the authority which his Royal Highness had intrusted to him, on the 1st of June, and on the evening of the 24th of June, Lord Moira humbly solicited, and received permission, to address himself specially to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, but they should have any difficulties about treating with him, under the general power which the Prince Regent had been pleased to intrust to him.

On Monday, the 5th of June, Lord Moira resigned the commission with which he had been intrusted, by the Prince Regent, and on the same day, the Earl of Liverpool was appointed, First Commissioner of the Treasury.

Minute of a Communication made by Lord Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, at Lord Grey's House, dated May 20, 1812.

Lord Wellesley stated, that he had received the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to lay before his Royal Highness the plan of such an Administration as he (Lord Wellesley) might deem adapted to the present crisis of affairs.

That he had apprized his Royal Highness of the necessity of ascertaining the views of the principal persons of all parties, who were distinguished by their talents and disposition, for the purpose of assisting to these great principles, previously to submitting any names of persons to his Royal Highness, for the purpose of filling the several offices in the Administration, which it was in his Royal Highness's contemplation to form.

Under these circumstances, he requested to know whether any obstacle existed to the concurrence of Lords Grey and Grenville, or their friends, in the following general principles, as the basis upon which an Administration might be formed:—

First, That the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, and the claims of that body of his Majesty's subjects, should be taken into immediate consideration, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment of those claims.

Secondly, That the war in the Peninsula should be prosecuted on a scale of adequate vigour.

Lord Wellesley stated, that as Mr. Canning and he agreed in these principles he had requested Mr. Canning to communicate them to Lord Liverpool.

Lord Wellesley has reduced the substance of this communication to writing, and now submits it to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville.

WELLESLEY.

No. II.

Minute of Mr. Canning's Proposition to Lord Liverpool.

The Prince Regent having laid his commands upon Lord Wellesley to form a plan of an Administration, to be submitted

for his Royal Highness's approbation, Mr. Canning was requested by Lord Wellesley (as the channel of communication, thought likely to be most agreeable to Lord Liverpool) to enquire of Lord Liverpool whether there would be a disposition on the part of Lord Liverpool and of his colleagues, or any of them, to entertain any proposal which should be made to them for forming part of that Administration.

The principles upon which the Administration was intended to be formed, were stated to be, 1st. The taking into the early and serious consideration of the Executive Government the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a sincere and earnest desire to bring that important question to a final and satisfactory settlement. 2dly. The prosecution of the war in the Peninsula with the best means of the country.

It was stated, that there would be the strongest wish to comprehend in the arrangement, without any individual or party exclusion whatever, as many as possible of such persons as might be able to agree in giving their public services to the country on these two principles.

With respect to the distribution of offices, it was stated, that nothing of any sort was decided or stipulated, but that every thing would be open to be arranged to the honour and satisfaction of all parties.

No. III.

Memorandum from Lords Grey and Grenville, dated May 26, 1812.

In such a moment as the present, we feel it to be the duty of all public men, both by their individual explanations of principles, and by the total abandonment of every personal objection, to facilitate as far as may be in their power, the means of giving effect to the his vote of the House of Commons, and of averting the imminent and unparalleled danger of the country.

Lord Wellesley has repeated two, among the most important subjects which must engage the attention of every public man, in such circumstances, he called upon us to consider of the acceptance of stations of public trust.

On these two points our explanation should be as distinct as it is in our power to make it.

On the first, indeed, our opinions are too well known, and has been too recently expressed, to need repetition. We have hitherto very high gratification from Lord Wellesley's powerful exertions in support of these claims to the Roman Catholics, as well as from the manner in which that subject is adverted to in his minute, and we do not hesitate to assure him, that we will warmly support any proposals made by any Ministers, for the immediate consideration of those claims, with a view to their conciliatory adjustment.

Without which, we could not see any case of tender consideration for the Roman Catholics, in which we should not be bound to support them. But we are of opinion, that the direction of Military operations in an extensive war, and the more or less vigorous prosecution of these operations, are questions not of principle, but of policy, to be regulated by circumstances in their nature temporary and fluctuating, and in many cases known only to persons in official situations.

By the engagements of the country, and the prospects of ultimate success, the extent of the exertions necessary for its attainment, and the means of supporting those efforts, without too great a pressure on the finances and internal prosperity of the country.

On such questions, therefore, no public man, whether in or out of office, can undertake for more than a deliberate and dispassionate consideration, according to the circumstances of the case as it may appear, and to such means of information as may then be within their reach. But we cannot in sincerity consent from Lord Wellesley, that in the present state of the finances, we entertain the strongest doubt of the practicability of an increase in any branch of the public expenditure.

Letter from Lord Liverpool to Mr. Canning.

I have communicated to my colleagues the memorandum which I received from

you this afternoon. They do not think it necessary to enter into any discussion of the principles stated in that memorandum; because they all feel themselves bound, particularly after what has passed, to decline the proposal of becoming Members of an Administration to be formed by Lord Wellesley.

Believe me to be, With sincere personal regard, My dear Canning, very faithfully yours's (Signed) LIVERPOOL.

No. VI.

Letter from Mr. Canning to Lord Liverpool.

Gloucester-lodge, May 24.

MY DEAR LIVERPOOL, I have received your letter of last night, which I will immediately transmit to Lord Wellesley. Before I do so, however, and of course, therefore, without Lord Wellesley's consent or privity, I cannot forbear suggesting to you to consider whether the sort of personal objection which your letter evidently and exclusively implies, will stand fairly before the country, at such a moment, as a justification, for refusing to act in an Administration, to the public principles of which you do not feel, or at least do not state, any insurmountable repugnance.

I would suggest to you further to consider, whether, resting your refusal on an objection merely personal, you do quite justly either by yourselves or by the individual concerned, in leaving the precise nature of that objection wholly unexplained.

In offering these suggestions, I perhaps exceed the limits of a correspondence such as our's is, upon this occasion; but they strike me so forcibly, that I think I owe it to you, not to withhold them. Whether to communicate them to your colleagues or not, I leave entirely to your discretion, but you at least will not resent so far as you are yourself concerned, a freedom which may be justified by that regard, which, I am, ever, &c. (Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

Letter from Lord Liverpool to Mr. Canning.

Five-house, May 24.

MY DEAR CANNING,

I have this moment received your answer to my letter of last night. As that letter was not written without due consideration, I do not feel, that it can be necessary for me to call my colleagues again together upon the subject of it.

I can answer, however, for myself, and am confident equally for them, that we are not actuated, in declining the proposal made to us, by any objection of a nature purely personal. But when I advert to the opinions and statements recently set forth to the world respecting public men with whom I have been engaged, I do not feel that I should have acted consistently with my own honour and character, or with the respect which I must ever give, and shall ever feel to my colleagues, if, under such circumstances, I had consented to have entertained the proposal which you were authorised to submit to me.

As these considerations afforded an insuperable obstacle to my becoming a party to the proposed arrangements, I thought it wholly unnecessary to enter into any discussion on the two propositions on which the Administration is stated to be intended to be formed, or on the merits of the greatest public importance; and I must protest against any inference what-soever being drawn from my silence in this respect.

I can assure you, that I am most willing to render you every degree of justice for the motives which have dictated your answer to my letter. And I remain, with sincere regard, &c. (Signed) LIVERPOOL.

Letter of Lord Grey to Lord Wellesley.

Portland-square, May 27.

MY LORD, I have the honour of returning the papers which your Lordship was so good as to put into my hands this morning. I observe a material difference between the terms in which the two principles proposed, as the basis of a new Administration, are stated in Mr. Canning's minute, and in that sent to Lord Grenville and me by your Lordship. It is necessary to call your Lordship's attention to this circumstance, because, if these

discussions should proceed further, it may become of the utmost importance.

I am, with the highest regard,

My Lord,

Your lordship's very faithful humble servant,

(Signed) GREY.

No. XIII.

Letter of Lord Wellesley to Lord Grey. Apsley-house, May 28, 1812.

I should have returned an earlier acknowledgement of the honour of your lordship's letter of yesterday; had I not thought it necessary to see Mr. Canning before I troubled your lordship with any answer to your observations on our respective minutes.

Having carefully examined those papers, and compared them with our view of the points to which they refer, we have drawn the enclosed paper for your lordship's information, and have authenticated it by our respective signatures.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your lordship's faithful humble servant,

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

The Earl Grey.

No. XIV.

Paper signed by Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning.

The variance in point of phrase in the two propositions, as stated by lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, in their minutes of conference, arises from this circumstance, that lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning went to their respective conferences, without having thought it necessary previously to reduce into a written form the communications which they were to make being in full possession of each other's sentiments upon the subject of them.

The two minutes were written by them, as containing the substance of their respective communications; that of Mr. Canning in lord Liverpool's presence; that of lord Wellesley immediately after his return from lord Grey.

There does not appear to lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning to be any substantial variance in the first proposition.

The word "early" in Mr. Canning's minute, might be exchanged for the word "immediate," used by lord Wellesley, without in any degree altering the sense; as with a motion actually pending in the House of Commons, which is the case in the events that have recently taken place) would have come on this very day, the object of which was to compel the Executive Government to take the subject of the Catholic Question into consideration; it cannot be necessary to say that Mr. Canning has no wish to alter that consideration by the Executive Government as the object which it is lord Wellesley's intention to recommend; nor does he conceive any further Parliamentary proceeding to be necessary or practicable this Session, than such as might be sufficient to make either by compulsion upon a hostile Administration, or by pledge from a friendly one, the consideration of the subject being brought before Parliament by the recommendation of the Crown, early in the ensuing Session.

A Committee to inquire into the state of the laws has been already appointed in both Houses this Session.

A conciliatory adjustment of the claims of the Irish Catholics is the object which both lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning have equally at heart; and enters equally into both their views. It is a conciliatory, and not a triumphatory, measure, as to embrace the interest and claims of the Irish Catholics; also to obtain the entire repeal and deliberate consent of the Protestants of both countries. They would think an adjustment very imperfect which, instead of extinguishing discontent, only transferred it from the Catholic to the Protestant.

But they concur in entertaining a common belief, that the great purpose of securing the peace of the empire may be best answered, not by giving a triumph to any one party, but by reconciling all.

In the substance of the second proposition there is no variance as to any practical and prospective purpose, though undoubtedly there is, and it is natural there should be, some as to the fast, arising from the difference of Mr. Canning's and lord Wellesley's respective situations and views.

When Mr. Canning says that the Peninsula war is to be carried on with the best means of the country, he intends the greatest scale of exertion which the means of the country may be capable of sustaining.

If lord Wellesley's expression, "a scale of adequate vigour," may be construed to imply the proposition that the late exertions of the country have not been proportioned to the great object of the war, or have not been duly distributed or apportioned, this proposition Mr. Canning certainly does not intend either to affirm or deny; simply because, not having been in the Government during the last two years, he has not sufficient information to be able to pronounce an opinion, whether the exertions of those two years have or have not been well or ill administered; nor how far they may now admit of being extended or more judiciously applied.

He concurs, however, entirely with lord Wellesley in wishing to extend them to the utmost power of the country; and to apply them in the manner best calculated to answer their end.

(Signed) WELLESLEY, G. CANNING.

No. XV.

Letter from Lord Grey to Lord Wellesley. Portman-square, May 29, 1812.

My Lord,

I had last night the honour of receiving your lordship's letter, enclosing a Paper explanatory of the difference which I had remarked between your lordship's Minute and Mr. Canning's, together with a copy of the latter.

I beg your lordship to be assured, that in the observation to which I had thought it necessary to call your lordship's attention, I could have no object but that of preventing the possibility of any future misunderstanding. We had not entered into any explanation, which, under the circumstances of the moment would, perhaps, have been premature, of the details of conduct necessary to give effect to the first of the propositions, offered by your lordship as the basis of a new Administration. From the difference of the term used by Mr. Canning in stating that proposition it was apprehensive that it might be his opinion, in consequence with your lordship, that no parliamentary proceedings, with reference to the claims of the Catholics, should take place during the present Session. To such an opinion I could not have assented, and I felt it to be due, both to your lordship and to Mr. Canning, immediately to make your attention to a point, on which it was so desirable that there should be a clear understanding between us.

I hope it is unnecessary for me to state, that I can look at the situation of the Catholics (both Irish and English) with no other view than that of their public interest; and that nothing can be further from my disposition, or my intention, in a matter of such pre-eminant importance, than to give to any one party a triumph at the expense of another. But I do not conceive, that the repeal of the disabilities of which the Catholics complain, can give any just cause to the dissenting Protestant fellow-subjects, and I am strongly of opinion, that the expediency of that measure must be a great degree dependent on its being carried into effect with the least possible delay, and with the least demonstrations of any hostile and conflicting spirit. Under this impression, I could very reluctantly abandon the hope of passing in this of such repeal, even during the present Session; but if this cannot be done, it would be indispensable, that the most distinct and unequivocal pledge should be given in the intention, both of the Executive Government and of Parliament, to take this matter as one of the first measures of the next Parliament, and to make it a point of honour, that the Paper signed by your lordship and Mr. Canning, should be taken as the basis of the measure.

As to the second proposition, the difference which I have observed was much less important. It is impossible to reduce a question of this nature to any fixed principle. Whatever we can say with our present means of information, must necessarily be general and inconclusive, the whole subject being left open to future consideration and decision. I can have no hesitation in subscribing to the proposition, that, if it shall be found expedient to continue the exertions, we are now making in the Peninsula, they should be conducted in the manner best calculated to answer their end.

I have, I fear, troubled your lordship much more than is necessary, under the circumstances of our present situation; and I will only add, that if we should be called upon to pursue these considerations in their practical details, it will be my most anxious wish that no difference of opinion may be found to exist between us, respecting the conduct to be adopted by a Government equally solicitous for the internal peace and harmony of the empire,

and for the prosecution of military operations, such as may appear most conducive to our ultimate security. Lord Grenville, to whom I have communicated your lordship's letter, and its enclosures, desires me to express his cordial concurrence in this wish.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful humble servant, (Signed) GREY.

No. 17.—Letter from Lords Grey and Grenville to Lord Wellesley. Camelford-house, June 3, 1812.

My Lord,

We have considered with the most serious attention the minute which we have had the honour to receive from your lordship; and we have communicated it to such of our friends as we have had an opportunity of consulting. On occasion of a proposal made to us under the authority of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, we wish to renew, in the most solemn manner, the declaration of our unfeigned desire to have facilitated, as far as was in our power, the means of giving effect to the late vote of the House of Commons, and of averting the imminent and unparalleled dangers of the country. No sense of the public distress and difficulty—no personal feeling of whatever description, would have prevented us, under such circumstances, from accepting, with dutiful submission, any situation in which we could have hoped to serve his Royal Highness usefully and honourably; but it appears to us, on most dispassionate reflection, that the proposal stated by your lordship cannot justify any such expectation. We are invited, not to discuss with your lordship, or with any other public man, according to the usual practice in such cases, the various and important considerations, both of measures and of arrangements, which belong to the formation of a new Government, in its branches; but to recommend to his Royal Highness a number limited by previous stipulation, of persons, willing to be included in a Cabinet, of which the outlines are already definitively arranged. To this proposal we could not accede without the sacrifice of the very object which the House of Commons has recommended—the formation of a strong and efficient Government. We enter not into the examination of the relative proportions, or of the particular arrangements, which has been judged necessary to be previously established, in order to the maintenance of the supposed balance of contending interests in a Cabinet so measured out by preliminary stipulation. The times, imperiously require an Administration united in principle, and strong mutual reliance; possessing also the confidence of the Crown and assured of its support in those healthy measures, which the public safety requires, and which are necessary to secure the Government, the opinion, and affection of the people. No such hope appears to us equally new in practice, and objectionable in principle. It tends, as we think, to establish, within the Cabinet itself, a system of counteraction inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform and beneficial course of policy. We must therefore request permission to decline all participation in a Government constituted upon such principles, satisfied, as we are, that the high tone of character which must arise from it to ourselves, could be productive only of dissension and weakness in the administration of the public interests.

We have the honour to be, (Signed) GREY, GRENVILLE.

No. 20.—Letter from Lord Moira to Lord Grey, dated June 3, 1812.

My DEAR LORD,

The answer which you and Lord Grenville have returned to the proposal made by Lord Wellesley seems to throw an oblique imputation upon me; therefore I entreat your re-consideration of your statement as far as it may convey that imputation of a procedure in which I was involved. You represent the proposition for an arrangement submitted to you as one calculated to found a Cabinet upon a principle of counteraction. When the most material of the public objects which were to be the immediate grounds of that Cabinet's exertion had been previously understood between the parties, I even it is difficult for me to comprehend what principle of counteraction could be introduced. If there be any ambiguity, which does not strike me, in lord Wellesley's last paper, surely the construction ought to be sought in the antecedent communication; and I think the basis on which that com-

munication had announced the intended Cabinet to stand was perfectly clear. With regard to the indication of certain individuals, I can assert that it was a measure adopted through the highest spirit of fairness to you and your friends.

Mr. Canning's name was mentioned, because lord Wellesley would have declined office without him; and it was a frankness to apprise you of it; and lord Erskine's and mine were stated with a view of shewing that lord Wellesley, so far from having any jealousy to maintain a preponderance in the Cabinet, actually left a majority to those who had been accustomed to concur upon most public questions; and he specified lord Erskine and myself, that you might see the number submitted for your exclusive nomination was not narrowed by the necessity of advertance to us. The choice of an additional Member of the Cabinet left to you must prove how undistinguishable we considered our interests and yours when this was referred to your consideration as a mere matter of convenience the embarrassment of a numerous Cabinet being well known. The reference to Members of the late Cabinet, or other person, was always to be coupled with the established point that they were such as could concur in the principles laid down as the foundation of the projected Ministry; and the statement was principally dictated by the wish to shew, that no system of exclusion could interfere with the arrangements which the public service might demand. On the selection of those persons, I aver, the opinions of those persons, I aver, the opinions of you, lord Grenville, and the others whom you might bring forward as Members of the Cabinet were to operate as fully as our own, and this was to be the case also with regard to the subordinate officers. The expression that this was to be left to be proposed by lord Wellesley, was intended to prove, that his Royal Highness did not, even in the most indirect manner, suggest any one of those individuals. It is really impossible that the spirit of fairness can have been carried farther than has been the intention in this negotiation. I therefore lament most deeply that an arrangement so important for the interests of the country should go off upon points which I cannot but think wide of the substance of the case.

No. 22.—Lord Grey's Reply to Lord Moira's Letter (No. 20) of the 3d June. Portman-square, 4th July, 1812.

My Lord, I have been obliged to go immediately from the house of lords to a dinner party, and afterwards to a meeting of lord Grenville's, which occupied me till a late hour, it was not in my power to answer your letter last night. You must be too well aware of my personal feelings towards you, of my esteem for your character, and of my confidence in your honour, to entertain any opinion respecting your conduct inconsistent with those sentiments. Nothing, therefore, could be more remote from my intention, and I am desirous by this to be understood, to which I have shown your letter, to give you the same on his part, than to cast any imputation whatever on you, as to the part you have borne in the proceedings which have lately taken place for the formation of a new Administration. We know with how sincere an anxiety for the honour of the Prince, and for the public interest, you have laboured to effect that object. Whatsoever objections we may feel, therefore, to the proposal which has been made to us, we beg to be understood as having no reference whatever to any part of your conduct. That proposal was made to us in a formal and authorised communication from lord Wellesley, both personally to me, and afterwards in a written minute. It appeared to us to be founded on a principle to which we could not assent consistently with our honour, and with a due sense of public duty. The grounds of this opinion were stated distinctly in our joint letter to lord Wellesley, nor can they be altered by a private communication, which, though it might detail some obvious objections to a part of the minute, still leaves the general character of the proceeding unchanged. Nothing could be more painful to me than to enter into any thing like a controversial discussion with you, in which I could only repeat, more at large, the same feelings and opinions which in consequence with lord Grenville, I have already expressed in our formal answer. I beg only to assure you, before I conclude, that I have felt very sensibly, and shall always have a pleasure in acknowledging, your personal kindness to me in the course of this transaction. I am, with every sentiment of true respect and attention, my dear lord, yours most faithfully, (Signed) GREY.

LORD MOIRA'S COMMISSION

No. 25.—Lord Moira to Lords Grey and Grenville, proposing an interdict with them, 5th June.

Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Lord Grey and Grenville. Since Lord Wellesley has declared his Commission from the Prince Regent to be at an end, Lord Moira (his being honoured with his Royal Highness's confidence) ventures to indulge the anxiety he feels, that an arrangement of the utmost importance for the interests of the country should not go off on any misunderstanding. He therefore entreats Lord Grey and Lord Grenville to admit to the explanatory letter [No. 20] of the 3d June, written by him to the former; and if the dispositions therein expressed shall appear to them likely to lead, upon conference, to any advantageous result toward co-operation in the Prince's service, he will be happy to have an interview with them. Should the issue of that conversation prove such as he would hope, his object would be to solicit the Prince Regent's permission to address them formally. He adopts this mode, to preclude all difficulties in the outset. Let him be permitted to remark, that the very urgent pressure of public affairs renders the most speedy determination infinitely desirable.

N. B. This was written in the presence of the Duke of Bedford, in consequence of a conversation with his Grace; and was by him carried to Lord Grey.

No. 27.—Note from Lords Grey and Grenville declining an unauthorised discussion, 5th June.

House of Lords, June 5th, 1812. We cannot but feel highly gratified by the kindness of the motive on which Lord Moira acts. Personal communication with him will always be accepted and honourable to us; but we hope he will be sensible that no advantage is likely to result from pursuing this subject by unauthorised discussions, and in a course different from the usual practice. Motives of obvious delicacy must prevent our taking any step towards determining the Prince Regent to authorise Lord Moira to address us personally. We shall always receive with dutiful submission his Royal Highness's commands, in whatever manner, and through whatever channel, he may be pleased to signify them, and we trust we shall never be found wanting in zeal for his Royal Highness's service, and for the public interest; but we cannot venture to suggest to his Royal Highness, through any other person, our opinions on points in which his Royal Highness is not pleased to require our advice.

No. 28.—Lord Moira to Lords Grey and Grenville, informing them, that he has the Prince Regent's authority to address them, and requesting to know when and where he can see them.

Lord Moira presents his best compliments to Lord Grey and to Lord Grenville. Discouraged, as he unavoidable must be, he yet cannot recollect it to himself to leave any effort untried; and he adopts this principle for an interview, though he doubts if the desired conclusion is likely to be so well advanced by it, as would be the case in the case of a personal interview. He has now the Prince Regent's instructions to take steps towards the formation of a Ministry; and is, authorised, especially to address himself to Lords Grey and Grenville. It is, therefore, his request to know, when and where he can wait upon them. He would wish to bring Lord Erskine with him.

June 6, 1812.—Eleven forenoon.

Minutes of a Conversation between Lord Moira and Lords Grey and Grenville, at which Lord Erskine was present.

Lord Moira stated to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, that he was authorised by the Prince Regent to enquire with them on the formation of a new Government; and satisfactory explanations having taken place between them, respecting such measures as appeared to be of the greatest urgency at the present moment, more especially with reference to the situation of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, and the differences now unfortunately subsisting with America; and that Lord Moira had received this commission without any restriction or limitation whatever being laid by the Prince, on their considering any points which they judged useful for his service, they expressed their satisfaction with the fairness of this proposal, and their readiness to enter into such discussions as must precede the details of any arrangement. As a preliminary question, which appeared to them of great importance, and which they thought it necessary immediately to bring forward, to prevent the inconvenience and

embarrassment of the further delay which might be produced, if this negotiation should break off in a more advanced stage than they asked, whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great Offices of the House, which have been usually included in the political arrangements made in change of an Administration; intimating their opinion, that it would be necessary to act on the same principle on the present occasion. Lord Moira answered, that the Prince had laid no restriction upon him in that respect, and had never pointed in the most distant manner at the protection of those Officers from removal. That it would, however, be impossible for him (Lord Moira) to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable in the formation of an Administration, because he should deem it, on public grounds, peculiarly objectionable. To this Lord Grey and Lord Grenville replied, they also acted on public grounds alone, and with no other feeling whatever, than that which arose from the necessity of giving to a new Government that character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of the constitutional support of the Crown, which are required to enable it to act usefully for the public service; and that on these grounds it appeared to them indispensable, that the connection of the great offices of the Court with the Administration should be clearly established in its first arrangements. A decided difference of opinion, as to this point, having been thus expressed on both sides, the conversation ended here with mutual declarations of regret. Nothing was said on the subject of official arrangements, nor any persons proposed, on either side, to fill any particular situations.

B. and C. Two Letters (which passed between Lords Moira and Grey) subjoined for the purpose of throwing light on the ground of part of these Transactions.

May 31, 1812.

MY DEAR LORD, A just anxiety not to leave anything subject to misunderstanding, must excuse if I am troublesome to you. Since I quitted you, the necessity of being precise in terms has occurred to me; and, although I think I cannot have mistaken you, I wish to know if I am accurate in what I apprehend you to have said.—I understood the position, stated by you as having been what you advanced in the House of Lords, to be this,—"That pledges had been given to the Catholics, the departure from which rendered their present disappointment more galling; and that you said this in the hearing of persons who could contradict you if you were inaccurate."—Just say whether I have taken your expression correctly or not.

The Earl Grey.

C Holland House, May 31, 1812.

MY DEAR LORD, I cannot sufficiently thank you for your kind and candid observations, and the substance of them, which I have now in the House of Lords.—I am indebted to you for your expressions, and I am sure I cannot be far wrong in stating the substance of what I said, as follows:—

I was speaking on the subject of the Irish Catholics, and particularly on the charge of intemperate conduct which had been made against them; I stated, that great allowances were to be made for this, considering their repeated disappointments; and I cited, as instances of these, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the Union. I then said, that the most distinct and authentic pledges had been given to them of the Prince's wish, to relieve them from the disabilities of which they complained; that I spoke in the hearing of persons who would contradict me if what I said was unfounded, and who would, I was sure, support its truth, if questioned; that now, when the fulfilment of those pledges was confidently expected, to behold an Administration constituted in power, which stood on the sacred principle of resisting their claims, and, perhaps, the bitterest disappointment they had yet experienced; and that it was not surprising, in such circumstances, they should act in a way that all well-wishers to the peace of the empire must regret. This I said in the substance, and by no means in our direct repetition of the particular expressions used by me; and this statement I can neither retract, nor endeavour to explain away. If, in consequence of what the Prince feels a strong personal objection to me, I can only repeat what I have already said to you, that I am perfectly ready to

stand out of the way; that my friends shall have my full concurrence and approval in taking offices without me, and my most cordial support in the Government of the country, if their measures are directed, as I am sure they must always be, by the principles upon which we have acted together. I write this from Lord Holland's in a great hurry, and in the middle of dinner; but I was unwilling to defer, even for a minute, to answer an enquiry, which I feel to be prompted by so friendly a solicitude for me. I have not the means of taking a copy of this letter; I shall therefore be obliged to you to let me have one; and I am sure, if, upon recollection, I shall think it necessary to add any thing to what I have now said, you will allow me an opportunity of doing so.

I am, with the sincerest regard, My dear lord, your's very faithfully, GREY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Tuesday, June 30, 1812.

SIR, Lest more important names should have consigned my signature to oblivion, I will observe that in the course of my preceding letters, to which *The Times* has given circulation, I ventured to pronounce, so long ago as the 15th of March, that the Ministry of Mr. Perceval could not stand. In so many words I added, that Lord Wellesley would be named his successor. Let it not be supposed that the verification of this prophecy rested on the disastrous death of Mr. Perceval. His existence in some degree might have retarded the change, but it would not have rendered it less sure. The activity and enthusiasm of his political character would serve to animate the nation, not to mend the nature, of his counsils; and progressively to exasperate that crisis which must end in a Ministerial dissolution.

So much has been said upon the late negotiations, that the subject may appear to be exhausted. Friends and enemies have so variously handled the conduct of every party, that it may appear impracticable to shew it under any new light. The surface of the Government has assumed a settled aspect, which it may not appear wise to disturb; and the re-opening of a question, so full of irritation, may be construed into a feeling hostile to the public tranquillity.

To these unpromising suggestions I oppose in substance, that the whole plot of the drama is not before the country,—that the characters are not understood,—that the supposed catastrophe cannot be final,—that the subject is dangerous, only if laid asleep—and now calls aloud for a strict examination, whether from regard to historical truth, to constitutional policy, or to practical example. The only difficulty inherent in this discussion is, that many important facts are not of a nature to be asserted, though few are of a character not to be easily interred.

The House of Commons, speaking the true language of their constituents, addressed the Prince Regent to appoint a better Ministry. Lords Eildon, Liverpool, Castlereagh, Bathurst, Walsingham, all differed at full length—all, as they still are, were voted incompetent by the Gentlemen of Great Britain. That this resolution, we have the authority, first, of the Gentlemen who moved it, secondly, of the House, which could have passed it on no other conceivable ground; thirdly, of the Ministers themselves, who declared that they held their places only until successors should be appointed; fourthly, of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, who professing to act on the spirit of the resolution, forthwith resorted to Lord Wellesley.

From the progress and result of this and the following negotiations, we may be enabled to form a tolerable judgment, as to the motives with which they were all thought and undertaken. I believe it to be an inviolable rule, that when his Majesty or his Representatives commits the formation of a Ministry to any political character, the individual so selected is looked upon as the chief of the infant Government, unless he should spontaneously waive this prescriptive honour. The Prince Regent indeed was supposed to address Lord Wellesley without any reference to his Lords; and which, however, if any of the Lords had authority to break a plan for the Royal Highness's approbation, and to ascertain the sentiments of all parties, Lord Wellesley's conduct on such a point, coupled with the avowed renunciation of all power for the Prince Regent, under the authority and of sincerity, assuredly not exhibited in an equal degree by those who advised the

communication of such a proposal to his Lordship, abridged of those powers which ought naturally to attend it, because they must obviously facilitate the measure consequent on its acceptance.

The entertainment of his Lordship's overture by Lords Grey and Grenville, confessedly imperfect as it was, must fairly be held a piece of gratuitous and conciliatory candour on the part of these Noble Lords; who might and must have been acquitted of any blame or incorrectness, had they at once declined the reception of a subject, presented to them by Lord Wellesley without the usual authority, and therefore without a direct responsibility, even in the character of a mediator.

This initiatory overture of Marquis Wellesley led simply to an explanation of the sentiments of the Noble Lords, relatively to certain principles of national policy, proposed as the basis of a strong and comprehensive Administration. In one of these the Noble Lords expressed their ready concurrence; whilst on the applicability of the other to the present state of our finances, they declared their doubts in manly and becoming language.

Contemporaneous with Lord Wellesley's offer to the Representatives of the Aristocracy, Mr. Canning conveyed a similar message to those, of whom it may be said, that they represent nothing but the dross, the dregs, the baser fragments, of half a dozen former Administrations. On the prospective basis of the proposed arrangement, they made not a single comment. To the query respecting his Catholic fellow subjects, Lord Liverpool answered, precisely, nothing. To the momentous proposition on the Spanish war, Lord Liverpool answered, literally, nothing. These, it seems, were subjects above the comprehension of Lord Liverpool. But, slipping past the point how they were to act, and seizing on the question with whom they were to act, the reply was peevish and natural enough. "We all decline becoming Members of an Administration, to be formed by Lord Wellesley." There was the rub. The personal animosity nothing could subdue; because the personal inferiority was too galling to be forgiven. Now it did most curiously happen, that as if Lord Wellesley's charge against these persons, had been foreseen, one of the parties, by name Lord Melville, was pleased not only to confirm, but to illustrate, ascertain, and define, the answer of Lord Liverpool to the first communication from Mr. Canning. Lord Melville begins with stating his "strong repugnance, or rather his decided objections, to join an Administration of which Lord Wellesley was to be the head;" adding, "It might be sufficient for me to refer to Lord Liverpool's reply; especially as I do not wish to enter into any detailed reasoning on a question relating to a matter of personal feeling."—"Bravo Melor,"—this is a pretty fair backing of your friend—this is "write me down an ass" in exceedingly well-spelt and Lord-like English. But, the exquisite part of this candid epistle is the following short declaration:—"I have no objection to act with an Administration, formed on the two principles mentioned in your memorandum." So then, we are not left even a guess in favour of the Cabinet,—not, as the lawyers say, "a peg to hang a doubt upon." When Lord Liverpool announces, when Lord Melville repeats, that they will not act in any Ministry to be formed by Lord Wellesley, or of which Lord Wellesley is to be the head, it is just possible,—barely possible,—to believe, that at least one branch of an objection so peremptory may rest on the known political doctrines of Lord Wellesley being hostile to those of the existing Cabinet; that is to say, that public grounds may really constitute a part of those on which the recalcitrant Lords have thought fit to erect their refusal. But here Lord Melville accedes to the measures, and pins his aversion on the map. With what ingenious, therefore, with what magnanimous impudence does the Noble Viscount direct the Ministerial carcass of the only *regnum* disgraced its deformity, and left in a most doubtful way? What peridious charge, in Lord Wellesley's day, made the son of the first Lord Melville, those lines irrevocable and fixed, which were stained with admitting the influence of personal feelings pointedly excluded all public principle from amongst the motives by which he and his Brethren were actuated? We have never heard that Mr. Harne Tooke was famous for moderation towards his political opponents, or that he could be charged with ascribing an undue imitation to the rage of party bitterness; yet in the memorable letter of Mr. Harne Tooke, Lord Liverpool and his associates will be said down, that personal animosity *fit only for the Devil!* The monopoly of that potentate is now we see invaded by

his subjects. The journeymen have entered into close competition with their master; and truly the race is not against them! But hatred is not the solitary attribute transferred of late from the crown of Satan; treachery, a contiguous jewel, has formed a portion of the spoil. The Ministers, though declared unworthy by Parliament, still retained the official seals—were still the counsellors of his Royal Highness the Regent,—still his Confidential Counsellors. By them was he advised to bid Lord Wellesley exert his judgment in the formation of a Ministry;—by them, at the same moment, was the plot matured, that should render his exertions vain. Keeper of the Royal Conscience—do I assert a falsehood? Learned Lord—were these black proceedings unknown to you? The triumphant but most indiscreet retort of Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Whitbread, when his Lordship, with a Sardonic smile, hinted at the difficulties which would arrest Lord Wellesley's progress,—this indiscretion did not pass by unnoticed. What difficulties had then occurred within the knowledge of Lord Castlereagh? What insuperable difficulties except those of which he and his confederates were the authors? That raw plenipotentiary the Earl of Yarmouth, too, is accused of having sported his ominous prophecies, in every gaming house of the capital; and of having uttered, in the way of prediction, as to the issue of Lord Wellesley's efforts, more truth than in the way of narrative his friends think it fair to expect from him. Can it be credible, that on the answer of Lords Grey and Grenville, to the very first overture from Lord Wellesley the Noble Marquis was assailed with an universal cry throughout the Court, "Oh, this will never do—affairs at an end—we knew it would not succeed—and that no change could be effected!" Pray what was there in the reply of the Opposition Lords, to preclude the hope of even the happiest issue to a negotiation—if instituted by the Court with the same integrity, with which it was undertaken by Lord Wellesley? His Lordship's proposal was preliminary; so was the reply; it was not even formally authenticated by the Regent: any discussion at all, therefore, of the principles propounded by Lord Wellesley was, I contend for it, gratuitous, and (setting aside a little coldness of phrase) in the genuine spirit of conciliation. Following the dates of the printed correspondence, however, we are at no loss for the true disposition of the Court, or for a key to the prophecies of Lord Yarmouth. Lord Wellesley having on the 24th of May reported his proceedings to the Regent, it was not until the 27th,—and then through what channel?—through this very Cabinet which his commission professed to supersede—it was not until the 27th Lord Wellesley learned—by means of Mr. Canning's interrogatories to Lord Melbourne—What? That the Ministers had bona fide resigned their places? No! but that Lord Wellesley's commission was at end!! No access, so far as appears, to the Prince! No direct communication of the sentiments of his Royal Highness, on the exercise and progress of a power which he had directly granted! The old Cabinet sitting perpetually—perpetually advising the Sovereign, from whose service they announced that they had substantially retired! declaring that they held the official seals only until their successors should be appointed, but, in perfect security, arranging those measures which, without convicting them of a verbal falsehood, would make the tenure eternal. Lord Wellesley having received the Commands of the Prince, ought to have been considered by the Ministers de jure. Had the real object been the success of his exertions, his advice, and his alone, would have been taken. Was it not clear to the meanest intellect, that if the old Ministers were invited or permitted to meddle, they would so shape their counsels as, instead of facilitating, to defeat the creation of a ministry, whose establishment must be the ruin of their own power? After this unworthy proceeding of the Regent, the next step to which we find the Regent's advisers on record as parties, is the renewal of Lord Wellesley's commission, in a written and authentic form. What became of the Cabinet, from the 27th to the 1st of June, we have no information in these letters. Were, then, the Counsellors ashamed of Lord Wellesley's injuries or afraid of their exposure? was his Lordship again resorted to, only as being a character less mischievous—less odious—less pardonable than Lord Grey? The Noble Lord, we know having stated his forgiveness, was the second reluctant resignation of Lord Wellesley so long and so abjectly retarded, by attempts at negotiation in the quarters?—or from an obstinate refusal to receive the prayer of the Regent, that

he should be authorised to address himself to Lord Grey? That such difficulty did occur from the latter cause, we are, in the absence of information, at liberty to conjecture, from those extraordinary letters between Lords Grey and Moira, which close the printed correspondence. Here then, we have another dose of "personal enmity"—Here another, a superior "Devil!" Lord Grey, it seems speaking in Parliament of the Catholics, had felt it his duty, as the advocate of their cause, to excite their irritation, on the score of their disappointments—certain pledges and promises recurred to his Lordship's memory, which he was too honest, and too little of a courtier, to forget. A great personage, it is said, under the advice of his Ministers no doubt, to have censured deeply this recollection—Lord Wellesley is said to have condemned the Royal resentment, as unbecoming the mind of a Sovereign—and to have at length removed, at least apparently, the obstacles to a favourable reception of Lord Grey. The issue was, that Lord Moira acting subsequently on behalf of the Sovereign, he sought from Lord Grey an explanation of the language he had used in Parliament—the Noble Earl, unfortunately was not a man to retract impressions deliberately uttered. The language was repeated—the pledges a second time recorded—the offence unretreated. The Noble Lord appeared at Levee, and the anger was prudently forgotten. The second overture of Lord Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville is with its consequences, the most important part of these transactions. The Opposition Lords were offered four places in the Cabinet—five, if the Cabinet were to consist of 13. Now, let us look at the composition of this Cabinet! the basis of it was, concession to the Catholics—a vigorous prosecution of a war, in which, let it be remembered, we were already engaged—and a freedom of discussing all minor points, in the spirit of liberality, and mutual conciliation. Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning were pledged to these measures—Lords Moira and Erskine had on all great questions of policy, supported the Opposition to such an extent, as to be identified with them in public opinion—the declared basis of the arrangement were assurance enough, that should any members of the former Cabinet be called by Lord Wellesley to a participation in the new one, they must, as a preface to such admission, avow their concurrence in the fundamental doctrines of the Ministry;—so that, on all those points of policy which Lord Grey had held forth as essential to the public welfare, he must have been satisfied either of such firm co-operation, or of such liberal discussion, as would leave a man who acted on other than party motives, without an apology to his own mind, for declining his share in the Government. Now, though I am persuaded that the answer of these Noble Lords to the proposal of Lord Wellesley, on the 23d of May, was, notwithstanding the generality of the occasion, calculated rather to encourage negotiation than to suspend it; yet the grounds on which they rejected this second overture, and subsequently the proposition advanced by Lord Moira, leave scarcely a doubt on any impartial mind, that the pretext only was, in either case, brought forward, and that the real motive was suppressed. The Noble Lords had objections fitted to all sorts of predicaments;—to Lord Wellesley they started the limitation of his powers—to Lord Moira their imperfect exercise. Lord Wellesley proposed to them such an influence in the Cabinet, as would either carry their measures into absolute execution, or secure to them a candid consideration. What, then, was there in the substance of his offer, to awaken any rational fear—what reserve or negligence in the form of it, to rouse their Lordship's jealousy? Why did they forbear to stipulate with Lord Wellesley a disturbance of the Royal Household?—Why? because the Noble Marquis was prepared with that species of temperate answer, which must have precluded altercation; namely, that so long as the Household officers abstained from Countenance against the Ministers, and from Parliamentary opposition to their measures, there was no solid or decent ground for pressing their removal on the Regent. Lord Moira's unqualified impetuosity gave them an advantage, which they were instructed to look for, and resolute to keep. But does all this amount to a justification of these Noble Lords? Is there a moral or constitutional objection that binds us to accept a public office, when tendered, or how tendered by the Prince? Is an arduous duty, a terrible responsibility, that description of yoke, which every man in a free country must be fitted to bear, at the risk of being denounced as a State offender? I admit that their second reply to Lord Wellesley was cold, ungracious, and unbecoming,

—that the demand upon Lord Moira was capricious and unnecessary,—that both amount to proof of a spirit monopolising and unmanageable; but still it is remote from crime. There is no guilt in the determination to rule alone, or to decline all share in the Government. Lords Grey and Grenville might well believe that they could not carry their measures smoothly, or provide for their followers liberally; without possessing in their own hands the undivided powers and emoluments of office—pledged alike to their measures and their friends, they have been in my opinion most unjustly railed at for the effort to discharge their promises to both. When Mr. Pitt, yet a beardless boy, declared he would not serve but in the office of Prime Minister, pride, ambition, and genuine patriotism, were severally assigned as the motives of youth—but never was his resolution impeached, as guilty. When Lord Liverpool proposed to Marquis Wellesley, that he and Mr. Canning should serve under his Lordship—stuck like two patches on his threadbare Cabinet—indignities and despicable as was the vanity of this proposal, yet who ever talked of it as a crime? Acquitting these parties, therefore, of all serious guilt, in the single instance of their desire to govern, we can neither forgive, nor cease to wonder at, Lord Wellesley for offering to either, a partnership in his power. Still more joy should we indulge at the failure of these attempts, than we have suffered surprise at their success. The objection to one set is, that they would have undermined him; to the other, that they would ultimately have expelled him—for weak as the nation might find their policy, the Noble Marquis would feel that their party was strong. But insincere and obscure (though by no means criminal) as this answer of Lord Grey, was it in its nature so final or so peremptory, as to preclude all subsequent explanation? Lord Wellesley thought and avowed, that every branch of the arrangement was still fairly open to explanation. He proclaimed his conviction that, if permitted, he would be able to form a united, respected, and efficient Ministry. Well, then—did he proceed in this undertaking? Was the Prince advised to congratulate himself and his subjects on the prospect which dawned upon both? When his Royal Highness combated with the appearance of disappointment, the hopes and revived expectations of his Minister elect, did he listen to the voice of policy, if not of virtue, and suffer that explanatory intercourse to continue, which, if it did not promote the harmony of the parties, would at least have developed their views? No—a protracted negotiation might have been too decisive—and Lord Wellesley's authority, which must have proved effectual—was converted into another, which could not! Again, stand forth my Lord Keeper of the Royal Conscience—and spreading your hand upon that breast whose simplicity even a Jesuit would disown, answer to the interrogatories of your countrymen. No one can prize more highly than your Lordship, the advantage you possess over all your suitors, in appealing to a Court, which costs you nothing. By that tribunal, therefore, I adjure you—by the wool-sack within your bosom—by the conscience of which you boast—nay, by that which you hold in trust—when Lord Castlereagh, to ridicule the vote of the House of Commons, moved a deputation of two Members to go up with the Address—was it your Lordship who advised the verbal commission to Lord Wellesley, aware of the difficulties with which he must unavoidably contend—besides those which a Cabinet conspiracy might create for him? and did or did not your Lordship, reckless of hypocrisy, exult aloud in the end which you anticipated? When your Lordship knew that Earl Grey was in disgrace, and personally obnoxious to his Royal Highness, was not your Cabinet combination formed in the confidence, that your monopoly of office was then secure, whilst Lord Grey was excluded by the feelings of the Prince—and Lord Wellesley by those of his Ministers? When on the death of the late Mr. Perceval, application was made to Marquis Wellesley that he and Mr. Canning should serve as substitutes amongst you,—was it not, foreseen by the best intriguers of the Cabinet, that his Lordship and his friend would laugh in Lord Liverpool's face, at the bare intimation of such a proposal? Was not, let me add, the offer communicated, only that the people of England might know it had been made? Was it advised the Regent to that most unnatural inconsistency, by which a defunct Administration became the channel of conveying to the ears of a confidential agent, that the confidence under which he acted was withdrawn? Why were the second powers of Lord Wellesley so restricted? Was it not that you feared he would ex-

ercise them with success? Why were the powers of Lord Moira unrestricted? Was it not that he stood pledged against their legitimate exercise? By whose advice did the Prince refuse the authority for explanation repeatedly solicited by Lord Wellesley? Was it not by his, whose sophisticated understandings could wrest and adopt to any knavish purpose, words once characteristic of honesty and spirit—"the quarrel is a mighty pretty quarrel as it stands—so don't let us spoil it by explanation!" My questions, I fear, may prove tiresome to your Lordship; yet a few remain behind, worth all the rest, which the fear of being suspected as your former confident or accomplice, deters me from asking in public. Your Lordship is considered an undisputed party to Lord Castlereagh's ingenious defence,—that, indeed, "he and his colleagues were the best of all Ministers—because, (what logic!) they had never left the Crown without servants!" In truth, my lords, if this be excellence, you are the most perfect Statesman on record. On this tenacious and immoveable sort of merit, we find more evidence in the present Cabinet, than in the whole History of England, from the Conquest down. But deeply and feelingly as we lament the general truth, still was it propounded at a most unlucky moment,—for whilst Lord Castlereagh was making, in the House of Commons, this boast of generous and prescriptive loyalty—at the very hour was he the associate of a Ministerial combination, pledged against becoming "servants" on any terms—with him to whom "the Crown" had confided the formation of a Government. The alleged grounds, it seems, of this conspiracy, were two fold. 1st. The publication of a certain "statement," by Lord Wellesley. 2dly. The publication of a correspondence with Lord Liverpool.—To the first charge the Noble Marquis pleaded, not guilty.—denying, disowning, & abjuring the offence. To the second, he pleaded a justification,—a justification founded on the example of Lord Liverpool—himself a *particeps criminis*,—if crime it was. Why, then, was not the confederacy broken up?—Why were not the denunciations against Lord Wellesley retracted? and his powers as a negotiator revived? No; the tone was changed at once, and a resolution of the Cabinet manfully taken—"that no good would result from the accession of Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning." In pity to human nature we must have mercy on these Ministers. The publication of Lord Wellesley's statement, was to be sure, a sacrifice of freedom,—it was a paper which called the Cabinet "block heads." I think, or words to that effect. To publish the letters of Lord Liverpool was worse—ten times worse,—for they proved, what Lord Wellesley had no more than asserted. But last, and most injurious was the defence of Lord Wellesley in Parliament, where in the course of his victorious aid, therefore, unpardonable justification, he gave the whole pack, through the sides of poor Lord Harrowby, such an overthrow, as would have broken the heart of those amongst them who had hearts to break,—had they not been consoled by the consequence to which their degradation promoted them in the Closet, and the sympathies of their Chief. Thus has been suspended for a moment, but far from terminated, a profligate and disastrous juggle,—defrauding the people of their hopes and of their rights,—and a Prince forced to be the love and admiration of that people, of his natural birth-right, and his noblest inheritance. Infinitely worse, to the eye of an enlightened Englishman, are the scenes which have now first dishonoured an English Court, than those coarse brutalities which outrage the public peace, and unbinge the order of society. Now, for the first time since the reign of Charles II. has England fallen to the humiliating level of the vilest and most abandoned provinces of the East, where puerile despotism glimmers in the terror of vice, depressing with it the moral sense of mankind,—the spirit and vitality of nations. My lords and Gentlemen,—My patience is worn out, but I reckon on your forgiveness for so abruptly concluding this letter. I have the honour to be, &c.

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