To

Arthur Onslow Speaker of the House of Commons

Berkeley Square Jan.ry 27th 1750.

Sir.

Since your Zeal for the Honor of the King, and your kind Concern for me and my Character interested you so far in our last Conversation as to induce you to desire me to give you in Writing, what had passed in my private Audience with the King (which I related to you in Confidence the other Day) My Inclination to please you, Sir, in any thing within my Power, and the Friendship with which you have long honour'd me (And of which you have given me so many Proofs both in publick and private Life) induce and authorize this additional Confidence, which I know will be as safe in your Custody, as in your Breast, and will never be more known than between Ourselves, till it may be proper that it should be known to the Publick.

Since then I am giving you an Account of what passed between his Majesty and me, In the Audience which I desired upon receiving my Lett to call me up to the House of Peers; allow me, Sir, to look back a little upon my own Conduct, and to explain the Motives which have produced some Variations in my Conduct, in this Age of Variations.

Whatever my Objects may have been It is so true, that I believe it is hardly necessary for me even to assert that ever since I have had any Part to act in Publick Life, my Objects have been only for the Publick. The Medium thro' which those Objects may have been conveyed to my Mind, may have sometimes biass'd my Heart, and often misled my Judgment, in this Age of Corruption, of more Sorts than one, and in my own Age of Inexperience. But it

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is most certain (and I believe it is allow'd me pretty Generally) That I have always meant to do, or to attain or advance what was most right as I believ'd for the Nation and have always wished to do the rightest Things in the rightest Way, And by Party at least, I have never been misled, (by the Names I mean, and by the Divisions of Party.) I never entertained an Idea of a Publick Object that could deserve that Name if confined to the Nominal Distinctions and Divisions of any Party. Whatever Prejudices I may have contracted with Regard to the Objects I may have formed, Those Objects were great at least and justifiable and Right in this Respect. That they embraced the Whole, had the Interests of the whole Nation for their Motives, and the Happiness of the whole Nation for their End, in which Whigs and Torys were consider'd indifferently as parts of that Whole. The honest Principles of Either approved the Deviations of Either from those Principles perceived, and the Combination of the Principles, and of the persons and Interests of both Partys as well as the Confusion and Destruction of their several Factious Distinctions and Divisions were Ever the First and greatest Rules of my Conduct, and the most desired Effects of my Endeavours for the publick Welfare.

Whoever considers his Country Systomatically and Dispassionately must consider determined party Distinctions and Divisions, as the greatest National Misfortune, But even a little Experience sufficed in the time when I came into the World without much Speculation to discover how little either Party deserved as such at that Time of the Nation, and how little real National Good was to be hoped from Either. The one a Combination in Support of their own Power, or rather of their Gain, For all Ambition seem'd resolved into Interest, Gain was

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the Object to be obtained, and Gain was the Means of obtaining it. From the Meanest to the Highest Votes in the Nation, this Principle prevail'd in one uniform and Dirty Progression, Still Liberty and Authority destroying each other, seem'd at the same time Voluntarily lost amongst them in Corruption and Licentiousness. Profusion of Gain had made almost the whole Nation poor. And even Peace itself was become a Greivance from the Indolence of Government in Foreign as well as Domestick Affairs. The other Party a Factious Combination of Factions, united to no one End, Connected by Reciprocal Deceit, kept together by Dissappointment only, and preserving Credit in the Nation rather from the Faults of others, than from any Merit of their own. In drawing these Characters of either Party, such as they were when I came first into the World, I cannot be understood to imply, that there were not some great Exceptions in either.

I do but glance over those Times. To You, Sir, there is no need of enlarging upon that Subject; if we can hide them from Posterity, We shall do well; But perhaps even to Posterity this will want no Paraphrase.

Such a Scene you may believe (when I did see thro' it) engaged neither my Judgment nor my Heart. Had I been interested or Ambitious, could I hope that such a disunited Party could ever form an Administration? Had I meant a Change of Government, could I expect that such a Party should Effect it? I saw plainly They had neither Union nor Conduct, nor Courage enough to effect it. And if I meant only a Moderate Checque upon Ministerial Measures a Reformation of the State by National and constitutional Means, By disinterested and just, and calm perseverance

By

By uniform, united and moderate Conduct. how could I, — with but a little common Sense after a little Experience, expect this End to be answer'd any more than the others? What Object remain'd then but the Gratification of some Mens Passions, indigested Mischeif, partial Interests, or partial Revenge, or at the best, a — little False Fame, a little Vanity? You may believe, Sir, — (and indeed you saw) how little I lent myself at any time to such a Situation, how weary I grew of it soon. But how to get out of it in such a Country, and in such a Time as that was? I knew but one Way then, and I attempted that. I would not have been rechosen into Parliament, but I was over born. —

To this Situation therefore I was dragg'd again, But as the Passions of some Men blinded the Eyes of most part of that Opposition, They open'd too the Eyes of some. And when Men, who justly enough reproached their Antagonists with having — departed from the Principles upon which they had set out, — departed not only from their own Principles as a Party, but from the plainest Rules of Justice and acted against the very Spirit of the Constitution, and even against its plainest Forms, I could be dragg'd on no further, but betook myself to the Standard of the Constitution, and resolved from that time, to engage under no other Banner. I knew at the time that in taking that unconnected part, I was doing nothing, But, however, I — was at least not doing wrong. I was even in the Way of doing something within reach of doing Good, if a National — Occasion offered. That Occasion at last did offer. All the Efforts of either Party produced the Stagnation only of Government. The King saw That and yeilded to the Torrent, But in yeilding to it, he directed its Current, he broke it's Force, he reduced it into the Natural and quiet Bounds again.

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He acquiesced in the Removal of his Minister Sr. R. Walpole
He adopted the National Measures for the War, He preserv'd
and rewarded all his old Servants, and their Friends, and —
He proscribed no Party. Some however proscribed themselves
and some unsuccessfully, and unably too had form'd, with —
personal ambitious Views, new Factious Connections, under
a new Administration then, tho' upon the same Foundation
and with a new Opposition without any Foundation at all,
the War was engaged in and carried on, with these Particuliar-
-ties that the Party who had been always, and were still —
against the War, supported it. That those who had drove the
Nation into that War, censured and opposed it, and that the
same persons opposed it, when most practicable, and most
successfull, and came in afterwards to support it, by the —
very measures, which they had most condemn'd, and at the
very time when it was evidently and avowedly (even by —
the Ministers Themselves) become insupportable. So that
at the Expence of Thirty Millions at least encrease of Debt,
besides the vast Sums rais'd upon the Nation within the —
year during the War. This Country has gain'd little more
than the having been entertain'd, with the Removal of two —
great Ministers, overturn'd the one for his System, The other
for his Conduct, of the first with the preservation of his whole
Political System, and of the second with the exaggerated
Imitation ~~of~~ of his Conduct in those very Circumstances. —
which had been most urged against him, while the wise —
Jacobites have been amused with two Attempts for their
Cause (such as they had not seen for many years) The
latter for Months a Civil Contest for the Crown.
In all which time, and even with some prospect of Success,
They never found Courage to exert Themselves in a Cause

For

For which they had wasted and have since continued to waste, Their Lives and Their Fortunes, in Factious, Ill humour, and nonsensical Expectations, in drunken Cabal, in silly Riot, and stupid Opposition.

In that Stagnation of Government. In that new form'd Administration. In the beginning of that War, I had the Satisfaction to find myself acting in my own Element in Support of Government. But when the Administration divided among themselves upon Measures, which Those Men who cried down those Measures were soon after the Foremost to pursue; when Ministers themselves in Parliament took Pains to disavow the very Conduct they supported, to shew the Insufficiency of the Expence which they promoted. and the Impracticability of the Measures which they pursued, when Government in a manner deserted itself, and the War seem'd deserted by Those upon the Continent, who had the nearest Interests to support in maintaining it. When I found myself thus check'd in the Support of Government, when no Constitutional, no national, scarce a personal Motive remain'd to encourage me in continuing that Support. When Dissatisfaction in the Conduct of our Allies; Distrusts in the divided Councels at home. and Disdain at the Conduct of Those, who appear'd most favour'd, when they least deserved it of the Administration, as well as of the Crown, and of the Nation. when I saw all this, I grew weary at first; and then disgusted, and in that Disgust extended from Things to Persons, In that Disgust which had too great and too general Motives to be resisted: I own I expected no more, any national any Real Good to be built up from such Materials, and did believe it would be the least Evil, to see the Building fall, that it might

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be built up new and better. It was with Reluctance, — however, in the Prospect of that Ruin, with extreme Reluctance particularly as far as it might affect the personal Interest of the King; for whom I had long felt personal Acknowledgment and long conceived great personal Regard; It was with very painfull Reluctance in these Views that I consider'd that prospect. And tho' even thro' all that Reluctance I wish'd it nearer, yet I occupied myself rather with collecting — Materials to rebuild, than in furnishing Instruments to pull down, what I did believe must fall of itself, and therefore without endeavouring to embarass the Measures of — Government. I laid open their Inefficiency — without even the Insinuation of any personal Reflection; I laid open the rottenness of the publick situation, I suggested no Remedy for I knew of none. But in a desperate Case, I thought it fit at least, that the Danger should be known; I espoused no Party, I disclaimed none. I called upon all to examine the publick Distress, and to unite to retrieve their Country, by whatever Means it could be retrieved upon whatever Foundation.

I saw however myself but very little light in This, if I saw any, and even that Glimmering after a time seem'd extinguish'd. My Mind, I soon was oppressed with all this, with many Things which I had seen, and with the Despair of seeing any thing I wish'd to see, my Health too was considerably impair'd, and I therefore took my Resolution to leave my Country, since I found myself unsuccessfull in it, and Unhappy after having in various Ways unsuccessfully labour'd, or try'd at least to serve my Country for above Seventeen years.

Both the State of my Mind, and that of my Health too were at that time in such a Situation, that I told myself I might possibly never return to England again. I considered

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therefore my leaving England, as leaving the World, and prepared myself for the one, as I would have done for the other. Besides settling all my private Affairs with that View, I settled too, as coll as I could, all that related to my publick Situation, I held very free Discourse, both with the Ministers with whom I had Intimacy, and with considerable Men in different Parties and Situations with whom I had been us'd to discourse with Freedom. I represented to such the publick Situation in the Light I saw it in, and they did not differ much with me, or between one another in Opinion as to that. I ask'd Them severally what part I could take, that could be beneficial to the Publick. (For as to what might be beneficial to myself in this Country, even in a View of Vanity, That Consideration was excluded absolutely from the View I was then taking.) I fore'd those I dis cours'd with to own, that I was free in every Light to think only of my own Health, when I could neither act nor think at that time with any Use to the publick, And I was sorry to be convinced by them, that they could do just then, almost as little Good as I could.

One Satisfaction more I felt was wanting to me before my Departure, to justify or excuse myself personally to the King, whose Favor had been from my first Entrance into the World, tender'd to me, and that Tender frequently repeated, insomuch that from the Time of Sr. Robt. Walpole's Removal The King himself had frequently expressed his Desire to shew me Marks of his Favor, and this had been signified to me by every Minister he had from that time repeatedly, adding to this the particular Civility with which his Majesty had always treated me, and the Regard which I had conceived for his personal Character I felt that I could not be quite satisfied in leaving England without expressing My Gratitude to his Majesty, and explaining to him, why I had not till then avail'd my self of his proffer'd Favor, and had still no new Favor to desire, having only desired in my

whole

whole Life a Canonry of Christ Church for my private Governor who had lived with me ever since I was six years old, and that Favor I ask'd upon the repeated Assurance of his Majesty's wishing to do something to please me, and I obtain'd that of him in the most gracious manner as soon as I ask'd it. The King was then abroad. I therefore took the Liberty to write a Letter to him to that Effect, which the Duke of Newcastle (to whom I communicated it first) delivered to the King, who sent me a very kind Message upon it, while I was abroad.

My Scheme of going out of England, was to have gone into some of the Southern provinces, where the climate would (I thought) have agreed with my Health, and the Cheapness of living with my Circumstances, and there I proposed to stay till my own Constitution, and that of England were recovered, or at least seemed recoverable, and as I did not much expect that to either, I did expect to continue to wear out, with some more Ease in that Country, than in This, and to die out of my own Country with less Regret. But all these Prospects, you know Sir, have been totally changed.

I went alone; The Fatigue of travelling in the Condition I then was in, heated me into a Fever, and hurt my Health much in its Consequences, it brought that Fever upon my Spirits, with which I was scarce able to bear, tho' but for a little part of a Day the easy Pavement of Paris in an easy Coach, and could therefore not think of a Journey, nor indeed was I then fit to undertake it alone, if I could have travell'd. Figure to yourself, Sir, a Man in such a Situation, unable to be either employed or amused, with the additional Anxiety of Indecision, what to do, and where to go, but with a decided Dislike, and Disapprobation to continuing in the place he was in. My Time of Life, my Circumstances, my Health, my Situation in Life, all determined my Mind, in disapproving my Stay in that Place; and even

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my Inclination too, For tho I wish'd to see Paris, (which I never had done, but in a very cursory manner) yet my Health and my Spirits were at that time such, that I was neither ~~to~~ fit to live in the World and in Amusements, nor able to live out of it and much alone, and yet there I was obliged to stay, from not being able to go further. Add to all this the presence of the Young Pretender at Paris, where I could not avoid hearing of him in every Company and almost of nothing else, and of conversing chiefly with Persons, who had convers'd with him, or had still Communication with him. Figure to yourself, Sir, the Distress of this. For you may believe I desir'd to avoid any Disrespect to a person entitled to Respect, both from his Birth and from his Misfortunes. as much as I certainly desir'd plainly to avoid any Connection with him, or any appearance of any Connection or Inclination to it. This must have been a Difficulty to any one and more to one of my Make, and especially to one of my Family. But this would only have been a little Embarassment which for the sake of Curiosity &c, one would almost have compounded for, for a time, But in the Condition of Health and Spirits in which I then was. This added so much to the Inquietude of my Situation that I do not conceive a more uneasy Situation than that which I then was in, and in that Excess of Inquietude, my Mind was so much agitated oppressed and weaken'd, that I believe I did twenty Extravagancies to endeavour to throw off any way, the Weight that overwhelm'd me, and I dare say produced myself in all Respects very ill at Paris, at my first Appearance there, so that I have often wondered at the Degree of some thing more than Civility and even of Regard which they shewd to me pretty generally there. From forcing myself into Dissipations of all kind, with Time I recovered Spirits, and with them Strength, and Health, and finding myself so much mended (even from what I had

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been for some years) at that nearer Distance from England, where I found so many Resources, and had already so many Acquaintances made, I determined at last to stay out my Pilgrimage in that Place.

As I recovered Health I us'd myself to think, and to reflect more seriously again. The Peace and the Conduct in consequence of Peace, reconciled me better to England. I consider'd then too again my own Domestick Concerns, And having long since from thorough Reflection in the disposition of my Will, directed the Sale of Combury, to acquit a large Remainder of a vast Debt of my Family, which I knew could be cleared no other Way so beneficially, I began to consider, why I should not give my Father and take myself the Satisfaction which I had proposed by my Will to those who should after me inher it the Estates rais'd by my Grand Father Rochester, who purchased (with borrow'd Money) this very Estate of Combury, To save, if he could, so much of the Possessions of his Father the Chancellor, from whom our Younger Branch, now possess'd of the Title, have not inherited one foot of Land, nor one Shilling of Money.

I knew my own Temper so well, that I knew I could neither marry to continue my Family, nor serve my Country in any Office (Even if I could serve my Country by accepting an Office) while I continued loaded, (tho' not embarrass'd indeed) with a Debt, so far however embarrass'd too that tho' I could do very well single in that Situation, yet in marrying a Woman of small or moderate Fortune, I should not have been too much at Ease in my Circumstances, and I could not bear the Appearance of selling myself to Matrimony, any more than to a Court, And even an Office in such a Circumstance seem'd to me, to carry too much the Air of a Pension. All

Things

Things weigh'd, I had a Struggle with Pride and Vanity and Inclination, but plain Common Sense got the better, and so entirely, that my Mind has never even waver'd since one Instant.

I took therefore the Resolution last year to return to England, to try that Transaction. I succeeded in the opening of it, and in settling myself those Points first, which could create most Difficulty, and then I return'd to France, not trusting myself with hearing the first Town Talk, and indeed the first publication of it gave some uneasiness to me, but I have now quite got over that too, and am my own Agent (without any Pain) in settling the two Matters, remaining to be settled in that Transaction.

Having so far provided for my own Ease by this Transaction, I thought it was worth while to try if I could not compleat the Ease and Satisfaction I wanted in my Situation. And to this, pardon me Sir, when I say it to you, my Seat in the House of Commons was a considerable Obstruction.

I felt the Impropriety (to say no more) of retaining a Trust without executing it while I did, while I continued abroad, I felt too the Impossibility of my ever taking my Seat again in the House of Commons with any Satisfaction. I had seen too much of Opposition, and knew too well, the Materials of which it was made, to put to Sea again in that Rotten Vessell. I knew the Inefficiency, and had long enough felt the Difficulty, of standing single, and unconnected in that Assembly. I believed too, that my Health would not allow my Attendance there, even if I could have attended with any Satisfaction, and to any Purpose. I therefore applied to the King, to call me up to the House of Peers, which Lord Bath (without my Consent indeed) had asked for me at the time, when he himself was made a Peer, and which the

King

King, thro' presented to with much Graciousness to me, Tho' he said, he wish'd me then for his Sake, to stay in the House of Commons.

In making this Application ~~this Application~~ to the King, I chose to make it thro' Mr. Pelham, and the Duke of Newcastle, and to mark out to them, and to his Majesty that in thinking of an Administration, I could think at that time of them only. My Reasons for this Distinction were these. The Decency, The Temper, The Uncorruptedness of their Characters, and of their personal Connections. The Worthyness of their private Friendships. Their long Experience, and their extended Connections form'd from personal Attachments, as well as from the Length of time, they had been in Power. my Particular Friendship, and good Opinion of Mr. Pelham. the Great Abilities and the worthyness of the Character of the Chancellor. These Reasons made me consider them. With a View to England, as well as to a Court. as the strongest and Best and most desirable Foundations for Government. To which however, I knew Additions were wanting, both for Convenience, for Strength, and for Ornament. And those who now appear join'd with them for the present, had neither from their Behaviour, before they came into Power, nor since, led me to consider them in the Light of such Additions.

I meant therefore two Things by asking to be now call'd up to the House of Lords, The one for the Ease of my own Mind and Situation. The other to subscribe openly to the Pelham Administration, as the necessary and proper Foundation for Government, and therefore I was desirous to mark that out in the manner of asking to be call'd up. Let me explain to you however, Sir, what I mean by setting my Hand to the Pelham Administration. For if you understand by that, That I either

desire

desire, or am at present even disposed in any Degree to make a Part of it, you would understand beyond my Meaning. My Meaning is this. Government is my Principle, I wish always to uphold Government, that I have not yet seen an Administration with which I could personally take part. I thought Sr Robert Walpole a Great Minister, and a Great Man in many Respects. I thought him such while he was Minister, and tho' I know his Faults to this Country, yet I respect his Memory upon some Accounts, and love his Memory upon others. But neither the Objects, the Means, nor the Language of Sr Robt Walpole were respectable enough to engage me then to connect with him. Lord Granville's Objects I liked, with some Restrictions, but his Means I never could see, and his Language I never approved.

The Objects of the Pelham Administration I take to be right. not that I think they do what is absolutely best for England. (and I have told them so) But I believe they mean the best, and do the best that is practicable in this Conjuncture. Their Means should be better, and may be so. Their Language is decent and Right.

If then I were now just entring into the World, believing of Opposition, what I know of it now, I should most probably pin my Faith upon this Administration, and desire to connect with them as nearly as they would. But the Case is different I am not just now entring into the World, I must look to the past, as well as the Future, and perhaps my Prospect forwards is the shortest View. And therefore (tho' my Weight and my Assistance, such as they are) shall never be kept back when they are wanted truly in the publick Scale) I must consult my own personal Dignity, in my personal Conduct And that Dignity can not be given me by all that the power of an Administration, or a King can give. It must arise from

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my own personal Conduct.

I know from Experience now that it is as vain a Wish as it is a Right one, to unite Mankind in this Country, even in their common Interest, even for their Common Safety. Tho' I see with some Satisfaction in that Light) how old Divisions have been subdivided and confounded by the Events of a necessary War. I know that Divisions in this Country, must more or less however exist. That those who govern only can do real national Good. For I know what Opposition is. If I were inclined to oppose, I could build now but little upon an Opposition, I learn't it among them and If I were a Jacobite, I should have been cur'd of that in France. I feel therefore no Desire to obstruct or even to oppose Government, The personal Characters of the King, and of those nearest to Him at this time in his Councils, incline me even to wish personally to support Government. But when I look round upon the publick Situation. at Home. Abroad. To the Circumstances of the Nation — even to the very Characters of the people. To the Characters and Situations of those, who would Govern them, of those who may, and of those who should govern in the mean while. I am stopp'd short I see the Nation wants other Help, other Methods. I see Government wants other Maxims, other Support.

This checks all Ambition in me, if I have any, for I see no Object of Ambition. This suspends even the Expectation of much real national Welfare, when I look round me, especially when I look forward, I see no extended Prospects of that Kind. and I aim therefore for the present only at being an Individual.

With these Thoughts, and in this Situation, Sir, I ask'd and obtain'd this Honor of the King, to be removed from the House of Commons, And, that I might not be wanting in any mark of Duty and Respect to the King. The same Day I went to kiss his Hand, I desir'd an Audience of his Majesty only to thank him.

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more particularly, and therefore desir'd that Audience either then or at any other time when the King would be most at leisure. I had never before been alone with the King, except once to thank Him for giving the Canonry to my Tutor; I thank'd his Majesty then with telling him that he had enabled me to make an old Servant happy, and that no Man knew better than himself the pleasure of doing that, He smil'd, said He was glad to please me, and should always be so, and there ended that Audience. As soon as my Desire of an Audience was made known to the King. at this time, He call'd me into his Closet directly. He advanced towards me with a very gracious Deportment, and upon my saying, that I had taken the Liberty to desire this Audience to return my Thanks to his Majesty more particularly than I could have done in publick. The King said, He was very glad to have done a Thing to please me. I said Sr. your Majesty has always shewn much Goodness to my Family and to me. I wish I had deserv'd it better. The King said you have deserv'd very well of me, you have done me good Service in the House of Commons. You have behaved well to me and to the publick. and when he had said that he put off at once, the Air of Dignity, with which he first received me, chang'd His Manner into a more familiar Air, and with the greatest Ease and good Humour, and the most open and condescending Countenance (which set me in a moment at my Ease with Him) He ask'd me, what I thought the University would do. I told the King that I understood They were divided among themselves, But that it seem'd probable that their Choice would end in Mr Harley Lord Oxford's Son The King said, They can chuse nobody, who will do them so much Credit as you have done. I bow'd and said Sr, will your

Majesty

Majesty allow me to say to You, that I hope this Event will shew that the University is not so unreasonable as they may some time ago have been represented to your Majesty. The warmest Men of a Party who would have been named upon this Occasion were drop'd immediately, and their Choice will probably fall upon a person whom the most Temperate of the University would chuse. The King said with a Smile, they have been unreasonable enough; I replied Sir, I have seen that with great Concern, and indeed more for their Sakes, than for your Majesty's Your Interests could not be much affected by what they could do, But their own suffered essentially. The King said indeed they have hurt themselves more than me. They have hurt themselves very much. I said Sir, may I take the Liberty to say to Your Majesty that I am perswaded, if you would think it worth your Attention you might in a Short time set all that right. Your Majesty's own personal Character has already got the better of a great deal of Faction. I hope to see you live to get the better of the Rest. The King seem'd pleas'd with what I said, but made no Answer to that. And after some little Pause, said, they talk now I hear of my Lord Orrery's Son. I don't know his Name. I said Sir, Lord Boyle; But I do not find, there are much Thoughts of him there. The King said, I saw a Letter from you to the Duke of Newcastle from abroad. You told him, they thought well in France of what we had done. I said Sir, it is true that I have heard more Good of your Majesty's Government out of this Kingdom, than I have heard in it. The King smil'd a good deal at that. he ask'd me what had been said there of his Measures. I told him, that I had heard said by several, that France in this last Peace had repaid England, the Treaty of Utrecht. I said that the Reduction of Interest particularly had Struck them much. They seem'd to hope

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much that it would not succeed, while it was yet in Suspence. that I had told them always that the Weight of Government would carry it thro', that they consider'd it as a vast Advantage gain'd for England equal to paying near a Quarter of the Publick Debt. That I believ'd they saw that with a good deal of Concern. That all the Measures which had appear'd since the Peace, were look'd upon there as very wise Measures. The King said the Reduction of Interest was a great Thing done. He said We have not done ill in the War. at Sea We have done very well, and if We have not done so well at Land, it has been entirely the Fault of our Allies. I said Sir, every Body has seen that your Majesty has done your part at Land in all that depended upon yourself, not only — from this Country, but upon the Continent. The King said (as if wanting to shift the Subject) Ay That — and then stopp'd, and went on all has been owing to the Failure of our Allies. I said Sr. your Majesty saw what a strange Scene it was in the last year of the War. The King stood silent then, but looking still upon me with the same open Countenance as if He meant to encourage me to speak more to him. I said Sir, (after a little Pause) since I have the Honor to be so near to you, will your Majesty permit me to say one Thing? May I say to your Majesty, what I think is still wanting in a great Degree — And that is Authority in Government, Government Sir, has long wanted Authority, and the Consequence of that is felt in every Corner of the Kingdom. What has passed in the last twenty years, has produced a Disregard to all Government, which is felt every where in its Consequences now, and must be felt much more hereafter, unless it can be remedied. The King heard that with Attention without any Mixture of Dissatisfaction in his Countenance, and said Gravely, but without the least Emotion, My Lord that

has

has not been owing to me. I have done my Part, at least I am sure I have meant to do it. I said Sir. If I have the Honor to be more known to your Majesty, you will know that I am not of a Make to flatter – But indeed Sir, without meaning it as a Compliment, I do think all the authority that remains to Government now is center'd in your own Person. I think the whole Weight of Government depends upon your own personal Character, more than your Power; And therefore I mention this to your Majesty, and am the more solicitous that it should be thought of now, Because Your Majesty will be yourself the best Means of regaining it. Your Majesty's Character becomes more known, and People love you. The King said very gravely and very composedly. I know people think I want more Power. But they are mistaken I do not, I am contented with that that I have. If it is thought by others, that more authority is wanted for Government. It will not arise from me, it must arise from themselves. But if any Thing is wanted. It must be done gently, it must be done very temperately, and people must take care that this Opinion of me, does not carry them too far. and not to trust one Man more than they ought to trust others with, who may come after him. I said, Sir, Your Majesty shews in this how you may be trusted. I hope to see Authority many years in your Hands. I hope you will live long to do the Good that is wanting. The King shook his Head a little with a Smile, and then said with a Chearful Countenance. My Lord, I am very indifferent as to that – for my own part, I assure you, I neither wish nor fear to go out of the World. I said, Sir, It does you great Honor to say this, But indeed that is very far from being indifferent to this Country. Sir

Authority –

Authority and Weight may be regained to Government without much Difficulty. There belongs enough of both to the Crown of England. The King said I know your Opinion is for Authority in Government. You have said that more than once in the House of Commons. I have heard what you have said there. And then with a very gracious Smile, making me a Bow to retire. He said. My Lord. I have great Regard and Kindness for you, I am glad I have done something to please you, I shall be glad to shew you my Kindness for you upon all Occasions. You have done your part to Me, and to the publick, in the House of Commons. I am perswaded you will do the same in the House of Lords — upon which, I made my Bow, and retired, assuring his — Majesty how sensible I was of his Goodness, and that I should be glad of any Occasion to express my Duty and Acknowledgements.

This, Sir, is I believe almost litterally the Conversation which his Majesty honoured me with in that Audience, of which, as well for his Honor, as for my own — Satisfaction, I gave you the other Night a Relation in Confidence. What you said to me then, that some passages particularly in that Conversation, did so much Honor ~~to the~~ and Justice to the Character of the King, that they ought to be preserv'd, induced me chiefly to commit this to paper. And, when I was writing, it occurr'd to me to write as — Introductory to this Audience, some Account of my own — Conduct in publick Life, which I had it not in my thoughts to do 'till you suggested to me to write down what had passed in that Audience. And indeed the more I consider the Conversation which his Majesty honoured me with, the more I think it a Justice due to the Character of the King to preserve that Conversation. In which not only what he said, and the manner of saying it. But the in —

Consideration

Consideration of what He did not say, and even of his Looks at some parts of the Conversation, does Honor to his Judgment and to his Dignity. As the Temper and Wisdom of some Particulars of this Discourse, are worthy of the greatest Prince, and most worthy of a King of this Country. and are the more remarkable from their being said to me. and at this Time, and arising accidentally upon what had certainly not been expected by the King, in that Discourse. And to which his known Character of the greatest Sincerity adds still greater Weight and Merit.

Hyde

27 Jan 1750-1