

C. J. Fox to H. R. A.

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Sir

I have the honour to return
to your Royal Highness with many
thanks the papers which you were so good
as to leave with me. It appears to me that,
though Dumouriez's plans are rather upon
too extensive a Scale for our present Means,
a partial application of them might be
very advisable. — Your Royal Highness
has not I am sure failed to observe that
with respect to offensive Operations, he
considers continental Alliance as the
first necessary Preliminary. With regard
to the propriety there may be of forming
such Alliance your Royal Highness is far

letter informed than I can pretend to be, but I confess I have little hopes upon that point unless some previous attempt were made towards Peace, and in any case I suspect the character of the present Ministers is so low that every foreign Power would be very loth to engage with them. Your Royal Highness's account of their conduct in respect to Hanover strengthens me very much in this opinion. —

I can not express sufficiently my gratitude for your Royal Highness's condescending Visit, and for the kind manner in which you opened yourself to me upon the important Subjects which were brought into conversation. With regard to the business most personally relating to your self I mean your offer and the rejection of it, whether or not it ought

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To be brought forward in Parliament appears to me to be a question upon which your Royal Highness can take no counsel so good as your own, and whatever ^{therefore} your determination may be, I shall implicitly obey your commands without presuming to interpose my advice.

But if your Royal Highness should determine that it shall be brought forward, I think there can be no doubt but it should be done with all the strength both of numbers and authority that can be had, and that no terms should be kept, in the manner of doing it, with the Ministers. — The refusal should be considered distinctly as their Act.

With a view to strength, I would recommend, (not now but a week or two before the meeting of Parliament) that the affair should be stated to, L^d Grenville, the M^r of Buckingham, Windham, as eye and even

to Pitt, to know their sentiments upon the
matter. This might be done in as cold and
formal manner as may be thought fit,
more or less so probably according to what
one may learn of the respective dispositions
of the persons to be applied to. There need be
no party appearance, ^{still less} or any thing like
solicitation in the communication. The
persons applied to should be considered merely
as weighty Members of Parliament whom
your Royal Highness wish^d to apprize of
the ^{intended proceedings} ~~contents~~ of your friends upon a point
in which you are so much concerned. — I
have not mentioned ^{Thurlow} Thurlow, Spencer,
Cameron ^{Carlisle} & others, because I conclude there
will be opportunities before the time I mention
of consulting with them either personally
or through common friends. I will, if necessary,
speak to Grey, Whitbread the Dukes of

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Bedford, Northumberland and others. — Though I do not think very highly of Canning as a Speaker, yet from his talents, and still more from the influence he seems to have upon his acquaintance, he is of some consequence in such a business, but I do not think (though I may be mistaken) that He or even Morpeth or Lord Granville would give a decisive answer before they know ~~Pitt~~ that Pitt has been applied to. When he has been applied to, I think that even if he should refuse, they will think themselves at liberty to come forward in your Support. Your Royal Highness will of course expect & receive great support from your friends in Ireland especially if the notice to them is early enough to enable them to come without great inconvenience. I have reason to think that not only the Ponsonbys the D. of Leinster & their friends, but even Mr. Foster would

come upon any question in which your
Royal Highness conceives yourself to be
materially interested. — I am afraid if our
Royal Highness will think me very tedious
upon this subject, but if the thing is to be
undertaken I am extremely anxious it should
be done with every advantage. Whether it
should be undertaken at all, I repeat, is a
question for your Royal Highness's sole
determination.

The concern which your Royal
Highness seems to feel upon the affairs of
Hanover and of Ireland ^{does} you great honour
With respect to the former it appears to me
very doubtful whether any thing can be
usefully done in Parliament. With regard
to Ireland, it is a different question, and
I think both for your Reputation and your
Interest, it behoves your Royal Highness

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to turn your most serious thoughts to the state
of that Country with a view to forming some
system to be recommended in Parliament and
courtenanced by your Royal Highness's
approbation. I have no doubt but, if you
will apply your mind to the subject, your
good Sense as well as your humanity will
incline you to ^{the} system of conciliation, &
equal participation, between Catholics &
Protestants, of all the advantages of our
Constitution and even of the honours &
emoluments belonging to the administration
of it in its different Parts. I feel my-
self certain that this is the System which
L^d. Thurlow L^d. Morice & L^d. Hutcheson
would recommend, and I name them because
I conceive them to be persons in whom your
Royal Highness has a just & well grounded
Confidence. I would not conceal from you

Royal Highness that there are some very good
& very respectable friends of your Royal Highness
whose opinions may lean another way,
particularly for instance Mr. Foster and
Lord Roden whom you mentioned on Tuesday.
What I would recommend therefore is that,
when you shall have formed your opinion,
you should declare it unequivocally (in
private I mean of course) and the question of
Catholic Emancipation may make as good
a test as any other to discriminate those
who are willing or otherwise to ~~adhere~~
adhere to your Royal Highness's Irish
Politics. Affairs are so much altered since
Mr. Foster and his friends considered that
question, that I should not be without hope
that he would acquiesce in your Royal
Highness's opinion if it should be favourable
to the measure, but if not, it is right at all
events that your opinion should be known.

There is an another important question relative to Ireland upon which I can give your Royal Highness no opinion because I confess I have not yet heard enough to make up my own. The question I mean is whether or not the Union should be dissolved, I lean to the negative but would advise your Royal Highness to consult, L^d. Moira, L^d. Hutchinson, Mr. Foster and George Ponsonby. To the latter as well as to Grattan I will myself apply upon the whole of the Subject. — I consider this as a new Era in your Royal Highness's life in which the importance of the Crisis has led you to pay more attention than you did formerly to Political Affairs, and that Ireland, as it is the most endangered part of the Empire, is that on which you must employ your thoughts. I understand that if it were necessary, you would yourself condescend to take the

Government of it, and I am concerned
that your doing so would afford far the
best chance of any good being done there.
Now tho' a motion for that purpose in
Parliament might be objectionable, yet
by proposing measures, which might be
known to make a part of your Royal
Highness's system, one might direct the
publick consideration to ~~such~~ that object
(I mean that of your personal Government
of Ireland) and, though unsuccessful
for the present, open hopes to the despoiled
People in that country from a new reign
which might in some degree divert them
from their connections with France. — I owe
you, Sir, a thousand apologies for this
very tedious, and perhaps in some parts
unintelligible Paper, but the importance of
the subject and my attachment to your

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Royal Highness must plead my excuse. I will only trouble you with one word more of ~~your~~ general advice. If you do come forward at all, let it be with all the dignity & authority which belongs to your character & to your Situation, let it be thoroughly understood that you are in earnest, and that with respect both to Men and Measures, you are taking a part, not for the present only but with a view to the future.

I am with every sentiment of attachment & gratitude, Sir,

your Royal Highness's most
dutiful Servant

C. J. Fox

St. Anne's Hill

10. August 1803.

P. S. As I have taken the liberty of writing so very unreservedly I trust your Royal

Highness will consider this letter as
confidential, but on the other hand I
have no objection if your Royal Highness
thinks it convenient to it; being shewn to
any Person in whom your Royal
Highness has a real confidence such as
Thurlow Mordaunt. C. S. T.

Mr Fox
10th Aug. 1703.