

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

TO,

THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

BY LORD MAHON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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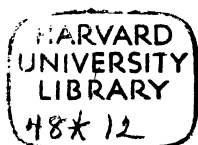
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM
THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

CHAPTER I.

The era of the Georges in England may be compared to the era of the Antonines at Rome. It was a period combining happiness and glory—a period of kind rulers and a prosperous people. While improvement was advancing at home with gigantic strides, while great wars were waged abroad, the domestic repose and enjoyment of the nation were scarcely ever for a moment broken through. The current was strong and rapid, but the surface remained smooth and unruffled. Lives were seldom lost, either by popular breaches of the law or by its rigorous execution. The population augmented fast, but wealth augmented faster still: comforts became more largely diffused, and knowledge more generally cultivated. Unlike the era of the Antonines, this prosperity did not depend “on the character of a single man (1).” Its foundations were laid on ancient and free institutions, which, good from the first, were still gradually improving, and which alone, amongst all others since the origin of civil society, had completely solved the great problem how to combine the greatest security to property with the greatest freedom of action.

It is true, however, that this golden period by no means affords us unmixed cause for self-congratulation, and contains no small alloy of human frailties and of human passions. Some of the quiet I have mentioned may be imputed to corruption, as much as some of the troubles to faction. Our pride as legislators may sink when we discover that our constitutional pre-eminence has arisen still more from happy accident than from skilful design. We may

(1) See the remarks of Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. iii. vol. I. p. 127. ed. 1830.

likewise blush to think that even those years which, on looking back, are universally admitted as most prosperous, and those actions now considered irreproachable, were not free at the time from most loud and angry complaints. How ungratefully have we murmured against Providence at the very moment when most enjoying its bounty! How much has prosperity been felt, but how little acknowledged! How sure a road to popularity has it always been to tell us, that we are the most wretched and ill-used people upon the face of the earth! To such an extent, in fact, have these outcries proceeded, that a very acute observer has founded a new theory upon them; and, far from viewing them as evidence of suffering, considers them as one of the proofs and tokens of good government (1).

In attempting to unfold, at least for a small period, this mingled mass of national wisdom and national folly,—of unparalleled prosperity and of stunning complaints,—I venture to promise the reader, on my part, honesty of purpose. I feel that unjustly to lower the fame of a political adversary, or unjustly to raise the fame of an ancestor—to state any fact without sufficient authority, or to draw any character without thorough conviction, implies not merely literary failure, but moral guilt. Of any such unfair intention I hope the reader may acquit me—I am sure I can acquit myself.

The published works which I shall quote I need not enumerate. The MSS. which I have consulted are the following:—The Stanhope Papers, at Chevening; the Stuart Papers, which were transmitted to the late King from Rome, and to which I obtained access by the gracious indulgence of his present Majesty; the very important collection of the Earl of Hardwicke, which he has laid open to me in the most liberal and friendly manner; the collections (mostly copies) of Archdeacon Coxe, which were presented by his brother to the British Museum; and the Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair, with notes by Sir Walter Scott, which I owe to the kindness of J. G. Lockhart, Esq.

January 1836.



The administration of Marlborough and Godolphin, in the reign of Queen Anne, shines forth with peculiar lustre in our annals. No preceding one, perhaps, had ever comprised so many great men or achieved so many great actions. Besides its two eminent chiefs, it

(1) "J'ai toujours trouvé que le meilleur gouvernement est celui contre lequel on crie le plus fort sur les lieux mêmes; et il suffit de citer l'Angleterre et les États-Unis d'Amérique; car cela prouve que l'on a l'œil sur ceux qui dirigent les affaires, et qu'on peut impunément

"censurer leurs mesures." (Simond, Voyage d'Italie, tom. II, p. 286.) A still more celebrated Genevese, M. de Sismondi, makes a similar observation in his recent essay, Sur l'Élément Aristocratique.

could boast of the mild yet lofty wisdom of Somers, the matured intellect of Halifax, and the rising abilities of Walpole. At another time, also, the most subtle statesman and the most accomplished speaker of their age, Harley and St. John, were numbered in its ranks. It had struck down the overgrown power of France. It had saved Germany, and conquered Flanders. "But at length," says Bishop Fleetwood, with admirable eloquence, "God for our sins permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and, by troubling sore the camp, the city, and the country (and oh that it had altogether spared the place sacred to his worship!) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead—I know not what. Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure." To our enemies, indeed, I would willingly leave the task of recording the disgraceful transactions of that period. Let them relate the bedchamber influence of Mrs. Masham with her sovereign, and the treacherous cabals of Harley against his colleagues—by what unworthy means the great administration of Godolphin was sapped and overthrown—how his successors surrendered the public interests to serve their own—how subserviency to France became our leading principle of policy—how the Dutch were forsaken and the Catalans betrayed—until at length this career of wickedness and weakness received its consummation in the shameful peace of Utrecht. It used to be observed, several centuries ago, that as the English always had the better of the French in battles, so the French always had the better of the English in treaties (1). But here it was a sin against light; not the ignorance which is deluded, but the falsehood which deludes. We may, perhaps, admit that it might be expedient to depart from the strict letter of the Grand Alliance—to consent to some slight dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy—to purchase the resignation of Philip, or allow an equivalent for the Elector of Bavaria by the cession of Sicily and Sardinia, or, perhaps, of Naples. So many hands had grasped at the royal mantle of Spain, that it could scarcely be otherwise than rent in the struggle. But how can the friends of Bolingbroke and Oxford possibly explain or excuse that they should offer far better terms at Utrecht in 1712, than the French had been willing to accept at Gertruydenberg in 1709? Or if the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough had so far raised the spirits of our enemies and impaired the chances of the war, how is that dismissal itself to be defended?

It is at the conclusion of this unworthy treaty in March, 1713, and not till then, that I have fixed the commencement of my narrative.

(1) "Jamais ne se mena traité entre les François et Anglois que le sens des François et leur habileté ne se monstret par-dessus celle des Anglois, et ont lesdits Anglois un mot commun qu'autrefois m'ont dit traitant avec eux; c'est

"qu'aux batailles qu'ils ont eues avec les François, toujours, ou le plus souvent, ils ont eu le gain; mais en tous traites qu'ils ont eu à conclure avec eux, ils y ont eu perte et dommage." (Mém. de Comines, liv. iii. chap. viii.)

At that period the two great contending parties were distinguished, as at present, by the nicknames of Whig and Tory. But it is very remarkable that, in Queen Anne's reign, the relative meaning of these terms was not only different but opposite to that which they bore at the accession of William the Fourth. In theory, indeed, the main principle of each continues the same. The leading principle of the Tories is the dread of popular licentiousness. The leading principle of the Whigs is the dread of Royal encroachment. It may thence, perhaps, be deduced that good and wise men would attach themselves either to the Whig or to the Tory party, according as there seemed to be the greater danger at that particular period from despotism or from democracy. The same person who would have been a Whig in 1712 would have been a Tory in 1830. For, on examination, it will be found that, in nearly all particulars, a modern Tory resembles a Whig of Queen Anne's reign, and a Tory of Queen Anne's reign a modern Whig (1)."

It is, therefore, a certain and a very curious fact, that the representative at this time of any great Whig family, who probably imagines that he is treading in the footsteps of his forefathers, in reality, while adhering to their party name, is acting against almost every one of their party principles !

I am far, however, from wishing to impute this change as an inconsistency, or want of principle, in either Whigs or Tories. The current of party often carries men very far, and almost imperceptibly, from the point where they first embarked; and what we scarcely blame even in individuals, we cannot, of course, condemn in successive generations. And in all variations the name is commonly the last thing that is changed: a remark which Paley makes of religion (2), and which is equally true in politics.

Besides these two great party divisions, there was also, in the reign of Anne, a handful of Republicans and a large body of Jacobites. The former generally screened themselves under the name of Whigs, as the latter under the name of Tories. But the former, comprising at that time only a few of the more violent Dissenters, and a remnant of the Roundheads, possessed hardly any influence, and deserves but little detail. Nay, even amongst that small party which was taunted as republican, by far the greater number are not to be understood as positive enemies of the throne. They wished both the monarchy and peerage to subsist, though with diminished authority. It is true, that the term of Republican Party was perpetually in the mouth of the Tories and the courtiers. But this, which at first sight might make us believe in its strength, is, in fact, only another proof of its weakness; since the idea of a republic was so generally hateful to the nation as to afford a useful byword for crimination. "It may be confidently

(1) Some instances and illustrations of this remarkable counter-change will be found in the Appendix to this volume, *ad fin.*

(2) Moral Philosophy, book v. ch. x.

“asserted,” says Mr. Hallam, of the reign of William, “that no republican party had any existence, if by that word we are to understand a set of men whose object was the abolition of our limited monarchy. . . . I believe it would be difficult to name five persons to whom even a speculative preference of a commonwealth may, with great probability, be ascribed (1).” It is surely no small proof how severely the people had suffered under the old commonwealth, to find that, with all the misconduct of the succeeding reigns, that commonwealth had left no roots nor offsets behind it.

The Jacobites, on the other hand, were at this time a most numerous and powerful party. To explain their principles and conduct will require a short historical retrospect.

The Revolution of 1688 is an event of which the English have long been justly proud. While James the Second continued a constitutional monarch, they continued a loyal people. They were neither rebellious under just authority, nor submissive under despotic encroachments. They took up arms neither too late nor too soon. If their conduct be compared with that of any other people, under similar circumstances, it may well be doubted whether any ever so completely and so admirably fulfilled their conflicting duties as subjects and as freemen.

On deposing and banishing James the Second, the proclamation of his infant son as King, with the Prince of Orange or one of the Princesses as Regent, would undoubtedly, in my opinion, have been the natural and proper course. But the doubts entertained at that time of the Prince of Wales’ legitimacy—his removal into an enemy’s country—the probability of his education as a Roman Catholic—the firm determination of William to decline a temporary trust—and the necessity of making England, in his hands, an active member of the Confederacy for maintaining the Liberties of Europe—all these prevented a compromise else so just and salutary. The result was, a vast extension of party feuds, sixty years of national division, and three civil wars. The party of the Jacobites, which would otherwise have been utterly insignificant, and soon have ceased to exist at all, grew into a large and formidable power; and the discussion turned no longer, as it should have done, on the personal guilt of James, but on the inherent right of his son.

It is also very remarkable, that even over those minds which had utterly disavowed any such inherent right, the tenet still exercised a latent but considerable influence. Compare the style of the leading statesmen of the day in addressing James the Second and his successor. Even in the worst actions of James, we find even the Opposition using more respectful and deferential language towards him than William, in the fulness of power, often received

(1) Constitutional Hist. III. 89. Baudry’s edition.

from his own official servants (1). They entertained, unconsciously, a sort of feeling that the Prince of Orange was not their rightful ruler. And how much stronger must that feeling have been amidst the multitude, which is so much less capable of appreciating arguments or drawing distinctions—which respects laws or institutions from their antiquity so much more than from their wisdom! How should this feeling warn the nations never lightly, nor without full provocation, to cast off the sway of their rulers! How does it show that, in many cases, a bad King with a good title may be happier for the state than a good King with a bad title!

Thus the Revolution, though undoubtedly a great and glorious event, was nevertheless attended with no small concomitant evils. Still, however, there was the prospect that the succession would be preserved in the line of Charles the First. But the death of Queen Mary in 1694, and of the Duke of Gloucester in 1700, having blighted these hopes, it became necessary for Parliament to provide for the succession. In 1701 was accordingly passed the celebrated Act of Settlement, excluding not only the son of James the Second (then known by the name of the Pretender), but the next Catholic heirs; and entailing the crown upon Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, a daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, and a granddaughter of King James the First. This was followed up, in 1702, by another act for abjuring the Pretender, to which William gave the Royal assent only a few hours before he expired;—a legacy worthy that great man.

On an impartial consideration, the measures of 1701 and 1702 may be considered to deserve unmixed praise. For, however desirable the project of a Regency might have been at first, it seems certain that any subsequent attempt to bring in the Pretender could not have been accomplished without ruin to both our civil and religious liberties. The Pretender being therefore excluded, who then should be chosen? With so strong a Protestant feeling as then happily prevailed in England, it would have been little short of madness to select a Catholic sovereign. No other alternative then remained, to combine hereditary right as much as possible with constitutional freedom, but to appoint the nearest Protestant heir. There was, no doubt, serious evil in selecting a sovereign who, like George the First, was a German in birth and in habits, and a stranger to the manners, to the laws, and even to the language, of the people he was called upon to govern. There was evil in selecting the ruler of a small independent state; and there was reason to fear that the interests of the Electorate might be sometimes unduly preferred to those of England. But how light and transient do not these evils appear, when compared

(1) See especially the letters to the King of Admiral Russell in the Shrewsbury Correspondence, and those of Lord Sunderland in the Hardwicke Papers. Nothing can be more blunt and insolent.

to those of priest-craft and slavery, which they averted! With what reverence ought not the promoters of the Hanover succession, during the reign of Anne, to be remembered by every patriotic friend of freedom—by every duteous son of the Church! And how much has their wisdom been shown forth, not merely by contemporary arguments, but by subsequent results—by the long period of happiness and honour which this country, through the blessing of Providence, has enjoyed under the present reigning family!

A part of this happiness and honour should, no doubt, also be ascribed to the cautious limitations which accompanied the Act of Settlement. It was provided—1. That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.—2. That in case the Crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.—3. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament.—4. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there; and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall take, advise, and consent to the same.—5. That after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalised or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents), shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a member of either house of Parliament; or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military; or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the Crown to himself, or to any other or others in trust for him.—6. That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.—7. That after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *QUAMDIU SE BENE GESSERINT*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament it may be lawful to remove them.—8. That no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

The first of these articles was a safeguard of our national religion, as the second of our national independenee. The want of

some such restraint as the fifth had been felt very strongly in the case of William and his foreign favourites, his Portlands and his Albemarles; and its enactment proved most salutary during the reigns of the first two Georges. Great advantages would in like manner have been derived from the third article, had it not, as I shall afterwards have occasion to show, been too readily repealed on the accession of George the First. The sixth article, on the other hand, was hasty and ill-considered. There can be no doubt that, in the reign of William, as in the two preceding, the number of placemen in the House of Commons was dangerously and unconstitutionally large; nor can it be denied that a fearful degree of corruption and venality had grown out of that abuse (1). But to extirpate that abuse by its opposite—by the total and unconditional exclusion of all members of the Government—seems scarcely less absurd than a physician who should advise a glutton to touch no food at all. To pronounce the favour of the Crown to be of course incompatible with the confidence of the people, appears dangerous in theory. To determine that no minister of state should bring forward and explain his measures to Parliament, would be ruinous in practice. So evident, indeed, were these and other such considerations, that, in 1706, after an interval of cool reflection, the article was repealed. But two provisions of great importance were established in its stead. First, that every member of the House of Commons accepting an office under the Crown, except a higher commission in the army, shall vacate his seat, and a new writ shall issue. Secondly, that no person, holding an office created since the 25th of October, 1705, shall be capable of being elected at all (2). These restrictions continued unchanged, and even unquestioned, during the reigns of the four Georges. It may be observed, however, that the vacating of seats by members who take office might often have been productive of most serious injury, had it not in a great measure been neutralized by the effect of the smaller boroughs. For until our new constitution of parliament in 1832, any eminent statesman, though he might be out-voted at one place, was perfectly sure of his election at another. The defeat of a great party leader, under any circumstances, such as that of Mr. Brougham in Westmoreland, or of Sir Robert Peel at Oxford, was speedily repaired at Winchelsea or Westbury.

The Act of Settlement, in favour of the House of Hanover, was, however, attended with one great but unavoidable evil—a large increase of the Jacobite party. Many of the Tories had been willing to concur in the exclusion of James the Second and his son,

(1) See, for instance, *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. pp. 886. 911, etc.

(2) See the excellent remarks of Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* iii. Baudry's edition.). I would, however, presume to doubt whether that eminent writer be not mistaken when he says, that "at

the same time were excluded all such as held "pensions during the pleasure of the Crown." That clause seems to have been rejected in 1706, since ten years afterwards a bill for that very object was brought in by General Stanhope. See the *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 374.

so long as the throne was held by other members of his family, but were most reluctant to admit so wide a departure from the hereditary line as the establishment of the House of Hanover. There was, also, a very general wish to see still upon the throne some descendant of Charles the First, a monarch whose memory had become hallowed in the minds of the people from the crime of their fathers against him, and from his consecration as the "Royal Martyr" by the Church. Under the influence of these feelings, a very considerable number of the landed gentry, and of the High Churchmen, began to cast a wistful look of expectation towards St. Germain's. "Several in England," writes a Jacobite agent in 1711, "wish the King well, who would not hazard their estates for him. If he came with ten thousand men it is thought there would not be a sword drawn against him. There are, besides, a set of men well disposed, who have taken the oaths to the government only by form, and whom General Stanhope, in Sacheverell's trial, called the Non-juror Swearers. These are very numerous in the two kingdoms (1)."

Besides these—besides the steady old Jacobites—besides the whole body of the Roman Catholics, the Court of St. Germain's also received promises of support from several leading ministerial statesmen. The extent of this infidelity, which has more recently come to light from the publication of original papers, is truly appalling. No feeling of attachment to party, nor of admiration for greatness, should make us shrink from exposing the shameful treachery of men who secretly kept up a treasonable correspondence with seals of office in their hands, and professions of loyalty on their lips. Amongst these, since 1688, had been Admiral Russell, Lord Danby, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, and, above all—it is with shame and sorrow that I write it—the Duke of Marlborough. His conduct to the Stuarts is, indeed, a foul blot on his illustrious name. He had from early life been attached to James the Second. He had received high favours from that monarch. Yet he quitted that monarch at the very hour when Fortune was turning upon him, and under all the circumstances that could add a sting to perfidy. I do not deny that a sense of patriotism, and a conviction of the dangers to which both religion and liberty were exposed under the government of James, would justify his conduct, and that he might be praised for remembering, with a truly Roman spirit, his duty to his country before his obligations to his patron. But, as Hume well observes, this defence requires that we should find on his part ever after the most upright, disinterested, and public-spirited behaviour. How difficult, then, does it become to excuse his defection when we find

(1) Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. II. p. 212, etc. ed. 1775.

him, almost immediately after its success, taking measures to provide for a change of circumstances—to stand well with the de-throned Court, should it be restored—to have to plead the most ardent vows of repentance and attachment! How difficult when we find him betraying to the enemy the secret expedition against Brest!—when we find that expedition consequently failing—and costing the lives of eight hundred British soldiers(1)! What defence can possibly be offered for such conduct! No other than that of Manlius when he pointed to the Capitol!

To the last, Marlborough persevered in these deplorable intrigues. To the last he professed unbounded devotion to the Courts both of Hanover and of St. Germain's. Thus, for example, in April, 1713, he writes to the Elector: "I entreat you to be persuaded that I shall be always ready to hazard my fortune and my life for your service." In October of the same year we find him solemnly protesting to a Jacobite agent, that he had rather have his hands cut off than do any thing prejudicial to King James's cause (2)! It may be observed, however, that a correspondence with the exiled family during the reign of Anne, though equally dangerous and hurtful to the public interests, was far less treacherous and disgraceful to the parties themselves than during the reign of William. The objects of the Jacobites had changed. Under William they wished to dethrone and expel the reigning monarch. Under Anne, on the contrary, their views were, in England at least, directed to the hope of her succession. When any of her ministers, therefore, concurred in these views, they, at least, did not concur in any personal injury or insult to the sovereign whom they served. Nay, these views were more than suspected to be in accordance with her Majesty's secret predilections.

It is to be observed, before I quit the subject of parties, that the Tories at this period were the more numerous, and comprised the bulk of the landed proprietors and parochial clergy. The Whigs, on the other hand, had in their favour nearly the whole monied interest.

The great majority of the English at this period firmly held the doctrines of the Established Church, and zealously supported its privileges. "The Church for ever!" had become a favourite cry. During Sacheverell's trial the sedan chair of the Queen used to be surrounded by an anxious crowd exclaiming, "God bless your Ma-

(1) The secret letter of Marlborough to King James is printed by Macpherson, vol. i. p. 488. Coxe (vol. i. p. 76.) endeavours to defend him, by alleging that Marlborough knew that he had sent his intelligence too late to be of any service to the French. But this would only be a further refinement of perfidy. That arch-traitor Fouché boasts of a similar course with respect to the plans of Napoleon, before the battle of Waterloo. See his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 342. ed. 1824.

(2) See Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 442. and 488. It appears, also, from the Stuart Papers at Windsor, that the chief communications with the Duke of Marlborough, towards the close of Anne's reign, were carried on through the means of Mr. Tunstal, under the cant name of "Trovers." Marlborough's cant name was "Malbranche."

“jesty and the Church! We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell!” Another proof of this salutary attachment may be drawn from the fact, that both the Tories and Whigs were accustomed to charge each other—as a ground of unpopularity—with endangering the Church; the Tories because they favoured the Roman Catholics; and the Whigs because they favoured the Dissenters. The state of each of these sects may, perhaps, require a few words of detail.

The Roman Catholics at this time seemed very inconsiderable as to numbers. In Ireland, indeed, or at least in its southern and western provinces, they comprised the mass of the labouring classes, but these at that time were men of most unruly temper and abject ignorance, and befriended by no party in the state. Swift was a Tory of that era; yet, in all the eighteen volumes of his works, it would not be easy to point out a single sentence of sympathy or interest with this portion of his fellow-countrymen. So far from it, that in some passages he is anxious to represent the Irish Protestants as English settled in Ireland, and to draw a strong line of distinction between them and the native Irish (1). In England, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics could boast of many adherents amongst the ancient peerage and gentry and other educated classes, but had hardly any hold upon the lower. In spite of their very small numbers, they were the objects of extreme alarm to the Protestants, from the remembrance of their former persecutions, and from the religious tenets and impending return of the Pretender. The most unfounded imputations against them were always greedily received. No charge was too gross, no falsehood too glaring, for the credulous animosity of the public. In fact, it is very remarkable how frequently the multitude arrives at a right conclusion from false premises; and it might be truly asserted, that such old wives' fables as the burning of London by the Roman Catholics have produced more effect against them than even the noble martyrdom of Ridley or the unanswerable arguments of Chillingworth. Very rigorous enactments had been passed against the Catholics in the reign of Queen Anne. But in practice these were for the most part moderately and mildly administered; and we find Bolingbroke asserting, in 1714, that the Catholics “enjoy as much tranquillity as any others of the Queen's subjects (2).”

Of the protestants Dissenters, who, at this period, before the rise of Methodism, were not numerous, I shall have a better opportunity of saying a few words when I come to the repeal of the Schism Act.

The manners of the English gentry, in this age, were, in a great measure, purely national; and, except at Court, had received from

(1) See, for instance, a letter to Pope so late as July 23. 1737. “We are grieved to find you made no distinction between the English gentry of this kingdom and the savage old Irish.”

(2) Letter to Mr. Prior, Jan. 30. 1714. *Corresp.* vol. II.

foreign nations neither polish nor corruption. To travel, had not yet grown to be a very common practice. It was not yet thought that a visit to more genial climes, or more lovely landscapes, was the best preparation for afterwards living happy and contented in our own. In fact, according to the old English maxims, no one could go abroad without special permission from the sovereign. Thus, in the reign of Elizabeth, Sir William Evers was severely punished because he had presumed to make a private journey to Scotland (1). In the first part of the eighteenth century, the same authority seems still to have existed, at least with respect to the great nobility. The Duke of Shrewsbury, for example, could not go abroad, in 1700, until he had obtained leave from King William (2). Thus, also, the Duke of Marlborough's application for a passport, in 1712, was opposed by several members of the cabinet (3). The fees for a passport at the Foreign Office amounted to upwards of 6*l.* (4), a sum far from inconsiderable in those days, and serving as a check upon the lower class of travellers. To travel with passports from the foreign ministers resident in England is a later, and, in my opinion, a mischievous and unwarrantable innovation.

Thus amongst the gentry and middle classes of Queen Anne's time, the French language was much undervalued, and seldom studied. At Court, however, the case was very different; and, though few could speak French very accurately, it is remarkable, how much the style of many eminent men at this period, in their private correspondence, teems with Gallicisms. The letters of Marlborough, especially, appear written by a Frenchman. Thus, for example, he uses the word "opiniatrety" for obstinacy, and "to defend" instead of to forbid (5).

At the peace of Utrecht, the population of England was not much above five millions (6). It may be doubted whether that of Scotland exceeded one million (7), or that of Ireland, two; although I need hardly observe how far less accurately and carefully such calculations were made in those days. It is certain, however, that the rural inhabitants of England then very far outnumbered those in the towns; but the latter having since increased in a much

(1) See a letter from James the First, interceding for Evers. in Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 511.

(2) Shrewsbury Corresp. p. 630.

(3) Coxe's Life, vol. vi. p. 221.

(4) Bolingbroke's Corresp. vol. ii. p. 82., note to a letter from Prior, of Sept. 1712. When I was Under Secretary of State in that department, I found the fees on each passport reduced to 2*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

(5) See Coxe's Life, vol. iv. pp. 229, 243, etc. The duty on the importation of unbound foreign books into England from June, 1711, to June, 1712, amounted only to 12*0l.* 15*s.*, and in the ensuing year to 192*l.* 3*s.* 1 (Commons' Journals, vol. xvii. p. 605.) That duty which had been doubled in 1711 appears to have been 60 per cent. *ad valorem.* (Ibid. p. 642.)

(6) See the Preface to the 1st vol. of the Population Returns, 1831, p. 48. According to the calculations of Mr. Finlaison, the population of England and Wales in 1710 was 5,066,000, and in 1700, 5,134,000, thus showing a decrease of 68,000 in ten years. It is remarkable, that all the periods of ten years between 1710 and 1830, when the population had grown to 13,800,000, exhibit, on the contrary, a steady and progressive increase. Will the wars of Queen Anne's reign account for the difference? But then, what shall we say to the wars of the French Revolution?

(7) Yet Fletcher of Saltoun estimated the number of gipsies in Scotland at not less than 200,000! A monstrous exaggeration!

greater proportion, more especially in the manufacturing districts, the two classes have come nearly to an equality (1); a change which has, I fear, involved within it the germ of other changes.

The national debt, at the accession of Anne, had been only 16,000,000*l.*, with an interest of 1,300,000*l.* In 1714, it had grown to 52,000,000*l.*, with an interest of 3,300,000*l.* (2). By the accounts presented to Parliament in that year, it appeared that the expense of the late war during twelve years, amounted to nearly 69,000,000*l.*, making a yearly average of above five millions and a half (3). The debts, during this period, seem to have been contracted on very moderate terms. Lord Treasurer Godolphin observes, in one of his letters, in 1706: "Though the land and trade both of England and Holland have excessive burthens upon them, yet the credit continues good, both with us and with them; and we can, either of us, borrow money at four or five per cent.; whereas, the finances of France are so much more exhausted, that they are forced to give 20 and 25 per cent. for every penny of money they send out of the kingdom, unless they send it in specie (4)." In 1709, the supplies voted exceeded seven millions, a sum that was unparalleled, and seemed enormous (5). In fact, though these sums at present may appear light in our eyes, they struck the subjects of Anne with the utmost astonishment and horror. "Fifty millions of debt, and six millions of taxes!" exclaims Swift: "the High Allies have been the ruin of us!" Bolingbroke points out, with dismay, that the public revenue, in neat money, amounted, at the Revolution, to no more than two millions annually; and the public debts, that of the bankers included, to little more than three hundred thousand pounds. Speaking of a later period, and of a debt of thirty millions, he calls it "a sum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is so almost to the present!" It is, I hope, with no undue partiality, that I venture to remark, how much juster and more correct on this point were the views of Secretary Stanhope. In the minutes of a conference which he held in 1716, with Abbé Dubois, I find the following remark recorded of him:—"However large our national debt may be thought, it will undoubtedly increase much more, and, believe me, it will not hereafter cause greater difficulty to the government, or uneasiness to the people, than it does at present (6)."

But, though we might astonish our great-grand-fathers at the high amount of our public income, they may astonish us at the high amount of their public salaries. The service of the country was then a service of vast emolument. In the first place, the holder of almost every great office was entitled to plate; secondly,

(1) See Colquhoun's *Wealth and Resources*, Sept. 24. 1706, and printed in the 3d volume of p. 23. Coxe's *Life*.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 265.

(5) Somerville's *Queen Anne*, p. 334.

(3) *Parliamentary History*, vol. vi. p. 1346.

(6) See the *Mémoires de Sèveillages*, vol. i.

(4) Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, dated p. 207.

the rate of salaries, even when nominally no larger than at present, was, in fact, two or three times more considerable from the intermediate depreciation of money. But even nominally, many offices were then of higher value, and, when two or more were conferred upon the same person, he, contrary to the present practice, received the profits of all. As the most remarkable instance of this fact, I may mention the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. Exclusive of Blenheim, of parliamentary grants, of gifts, of marriage portions from the Queen to their daughters, it appears that the fixed yearly income of the Duke, at the height of his favour, was no less than 54,825*l.*, and that the Duchess had, in offices and pensions, an additional sum of 9,500 (1)—a sum, I need hardly add, infinitely greater than could now be awarded to the highest favour or the most eminent achievements. There can be no doubt that the former scale was unduly high : but it may be questioned whether we are not at present running into another as dangerous extreme; whether, by diminishing so much the emoluments of public service, we are not deterring men with genius, but without fortune, from entering the career of politics, and forcing them rather to betake themselves to some lucrative profession ; whether the greatest abilities may not thereby be diverted from the public service ; whether we are not tending to the principle that no man, without a large private property, is fit to be a minister of state ; whether we may not, therefore, subject ourselves to the worst of all aristocracies, an aristocracy of money ; whether we may not practically lose one of the proudest boasts of the British constitution under which great talent, however penniless or lowborn, not only may raise, but frequently has raised, itself above the loftiest of our Montagus or Howards !

In Queen Anne's time the diplomatic salaries were regulated according to a scale established in 1669. Ambassadors-ordinary in France, Spain, and the Emperor's Court, had 100*l.* per week, and 1500*l.* for equipage ; in Portugal, Holland, Sweden, and the other Courts, 10*l.* per diem and 1000*l.* for equipage. Ambassadors-extraordinary had every where the same allowances as the

(1) A statement of the offices and emoluments enjoyed by the Duke of Marlborough :—

	Per annum.		Per annum.
Plenipotentiary to the States.	7,000 <i>l.</i>	From the foreign troops in English pay, sixpence per pound.	15,000 <i>l.</i>
General for the English forces, on Mr. How's establishment.	5,000	For keeping a table.	1,000
General in Flanders, upon Mr. Brydges' establishment.	5,000		<hr/> 54,825
Master of the Ordnance.	3,000	Offices, etc. of the Duchess.	
Travelling charges as Master of the Ordnance.	1,825	Keeper of the great and home parks.	1,500
Colonel of the Foot Guards, being twenty-four companies.	2,000	Mistress of the Robes.	1,500
Pension.	5,000	Privy purse.	1,500
From the States of Holland, as General of their Forces.	10,900	Groom of the stole.	3,000
		Pension out of the privy purse.	2,000
			<hr/> 9,500

(From Somerville, p. 260.)—Lord Dartmouth, probably with party exaggeration, says, "Her Grace "and the Duke together had above 90,000*l.* a "year salary." Note to Burnet's Hist. vol. vi. p. 33. ed. 1833.

ambassadors-ordinary, and differed only in the equipage money, which was to be determined by the Sovereign according to the occasion (1). Considering the difference in the value of money, such posts also were undoubtedly more lucrative and advantageous than at present. But, on the other hand, these salaries—and sometimes even those of the civil government at home—were very irregularly paid, and often in arrear. “I neither have received, nor expect to receive,” says Bolingbroke, in one of his letters (2), “any thing on account of the journey which I took last year by her Majesty’s order (into France); and, as to my regular appointments, I do assure your Lordship I have heard nothing of them these two years.”

Ministerial or parliamentary corruption—at least so far as foreign powers were concerned—did not in this generation, as in the last, sully the annals of England. Thus, for example, shamefully as the English interests were betrayed at the peace of Utrecht by the English ministers, there is yet no reason whatever to suspect that they, like the patriots of Charles the Second’s reign, had received presents or “gratifications” from Louis the Fourteenth. Should we ascribe this change to the difference of the periods or of the persons? Was the era of the peace of Utrecht really preferable to that of 1679, hailed by Blackstone as the zenith of our constitutional excellence (3)? Or were Bolingbroke and Oxford more honest statesmen than Littleton and Algernon Sidney?

In reviewing the chief characters which we find at this period on the political stage, that of the Queen need not detain us long. She was a very weak woman, full of prejudices, fond of flattery, always governed blindly by some female favourite, and, as Swift bitterly observes, “had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time (4).” Can it be necessary to waste many words upon the mind of a woman who could give as a reason—a lady’s reason!—for dismissing a cabinet minister, that he had appeared before her in a tie-wig instead of a full-bottom (5)? Is it not evident that in such a case we must study the advisers and not the character of a sovereign—that we must look to the setting rather than to the stone?

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and at this time Lord Treasurer and Prime Minister, is one of the most remarkable examples in history, how it is possible to attain both popularity and power without either genius or virtue. Born in 1661, and bred in Presbyterian principles, which, however, he was not slow in forsaking,

(1) See Bolingbroke’s Correspondence, vol. I. p. 114.

(2) To Lord Strafford, Aug. 7. 1713, vol. II. p. 468.

(3) Comment. vol. IV. p. 439. ed. by Coleridge, 1825.

(4) Memoirs relating to the Change, Works, vol. III. p. 287. In his Journal to Stella, he de-

scribes Her Majesty’s manner at a drawing-room:—“She looked at us round with her fan in her mouth, and once a minute said about three words to some that were nearest her, and then she was told dinner was ready, and went out.” August 8. 1711.

(5) Scott’s Life of Swift, p. 165.

he entered parliament soon after the accession of King William, and was, during four years, Speaker of the House of Commons. On quitting the Chair, in 1704, he was made Secretary of State, through the recommendation of Marlborough. He was, however, an object of suspicion to his other colleagues. "His humour," says Lord Chancellor Cowper at the time, "is never to deal clearly or openly, but always with reserve, if not dissimulation, and to love tricks when not necessary, but from an inward satisfaction in applauding his own cunning (1)." He had hitherto, in a great measure, skilfully trimmed between the Tories and the Whigs, and secured a great number of adherents from both. But, almost immediately after his junction with the latter, he began to cabal against them; obtained private interviews with the Queen, through the means of Mrs. Masham; gradually worked himself into her Majesty's confidence, and filled her with distrust of her responsible advisers. His letters at that period to Marlborough and Godolphin prove that he knew how to combine the most subtle schemes of malice with the most ardent professions of friendship. His plotting being at length partly brought to light, he was compelled to resign in February, 1708. But he immediately put himself at the head of the Tories; and, retaining his back-stairs influence at Court, and his early friends amongst the Dissenters, he, in little more than two years, undermined and overthrew the great Whig administration. He became chief of that which succeeded, obtained not only the Treasurer's staff, but the Earldom of Oxford, and, next to Mrs. Masham herself, was now the most important subject of the realm. He seems to have possessed in perfection a low sort of management, and all the baser arts of party, which enabled him to cajole and keep together his followers, and to sow divisions amongst his enemies. He spared neither pains nor promises to secure adherents. He affected upon every question a tone of forbearance and candour. But he was one of those inferior spirits who mistake cunning for wisdom. His slender and pliant intellect was well fitted to crawl up to the heights of power through all the crooked mazes and dirty by-paths of intrigue; but having once attained the pinnacle, its smallness and meanness were exposed to all the world. From the moment of his triumph, the expert party leader was turned into the most dilatory and helpless of ministers. His best friends were reduced to complain that no business could be done with him. "Lord Treasurer," says Swift, "is the greatest procrastinator in the world. He only says, 'Poh! poh! all will be well.' He told Mr. Lewis it should be determined to-night, and so he will say a hundred nights (2)." Even

(1) Private Diary, Jan. 6. 1706. Lord Cowper's Diary was printed, but not published, by the Roxburgh Club, in 1833, and I have received a copy by the kindness of the Rev. E. C. Hawtrey. It had been seen by Coxe in MS.

(2) Journal to Stella, Nov. 2. 1711; Dec. 19. 1711; and April 18. 1712. Another Tory, Lockhart, says of him:—"He was, indeed, very civil to all who addressed him, but he generally either spoke so low in their ear, or so mysteriously, that

his taste for literature was numbered amongst his faults; for in him (if I may borrow a phrase from Tillotson) it was only a specious and ingenious sort of idleness. In personal intercourse he was mild, courteous, and conciliatory; but in public affairs, whenever he could temporise no longer, and was driven to some decision, he had a bias to prerogative and arbitrary measures, as being most easy and convenient to himself (1). With all his indolence in business, he was so jealous of its possession as to claim from his colleagues a larger share of it than even the greatest genius and activity could have satisfactorily transacted. Such was the new Prime Minister of England.

His principal colleague, Henry St. John, was born in 1678. He was an only son by his father's first marriage, the heir to a good estate in Wiltshire, and sprung from a younger branch of the Lords St. John of Bletsoe — one of the most ancient and illustrious houses in the kingdom. His early education was directed by a puritanical mother, whose imprudent zeal compelled him painfully to peruse huge tomes of controversial divinity when far too young to understand their value, and thus, perhaps, implanted in his mind the first seeds of his aversion to the truths of Revelation. "I resolve," he says himself, writing to Swift in 1721, "to make my letter at least as long as one of your sermons; and, if you do not mend, my next shall be as long as one of Dr. Manton's, who taught my youth to yawn, and prepared me to be a High Churchman, that I might never hear him read, nor read him more." It is, in fact, not a little remarkable, that the two great champions of High Church at this time — Oxford and Bolingbroke — should both have been bred up amongst the Dissenters. Manton, whom Bolingbroke thus alludes to, was a non-conforming and most voluminous divine, very worthy, but a little tedious, who, being impressed with some fanciful idea as to the analogy of numbers, wrote 119 sermons upon the 119th Psalm!

Young St. John pursued his studies at Eton and Oxford, and at the dissolution of Parliament, in 1700, was elected Member for Wotton Bassett. He entered public life endowed with every gift of nature, of fortune, and of education, except the most important of all — fixed principle. A handsome person, a strong constitution, a most engaging, yet most dignified, manner, were his external recommendations; and were supported by a rich fund of reading, deep powers of thought, and boundless ambition. He looked through the characters of others with a keen and searching eye. His eloquence, both commanding and rewarding the attention of his hearers, was ready, full, and gushing; according to his own

"few knew what to make of his replies, and it would appear he took a secret pleasure in making people hang on, and disappointing them." Comment. p. 370.

(1) "Doubtless," says Blackstone, "all arbitrary

"measures, well executed, are the most convenient." Comment. vol. 4. p. 350. ed. 1825. From thence, how often are indolent men the greatest tyrants!

beautiful illustration, it flowed like a stream that is fed by an abundant spring, and did not merely spout forth, like a frothy water, on some gaudy day (1). His genius was vast and lofty, yet able to contract itself at will — scarcely any thing too great for its grasp, and scarcely any thing too minute for its care. With such splendid abilities, such active ambition, he might have been the greatest and most useful statesman of his, or, perhaps, of any age. But he utterly wanted virtue. He was no believer in revealed religion, whose tenets he attempted to sap in his writings, and disregarded in his life. He had early rushed into pleasure with an eagerness and excess that might have been forgiven his youth and his ardent passions, had he not afterwards continued them from a miserable personal vanity. He aimed at being the modern Alcibiades — a man of pleasure at the same time as a man of business; sitting up one night to reel at a drunken orgy, — sitting up the next to compose a despatch on which the fate of Europe might hang; at one hour dealing forth his thunderbolts of eloquence to the awe-struck senate, — at another whispering soft words at the ear of yielding beauty (2)! In this unworthy combination he lost all dignity of mind. There ceased to be any consistency between his conduct and his language. No man ever spoke more persuasively of the fatigues of business, yet no man was ever more fretful and uneasy in retirement. For him, activity was as necessary as air for others. When excluded from public life, there were no intrigues, however low and grovelling, to which he did not stoop in order to return to it. Yet all his writings breathe the noblest principles of independence. “Upon the whole of this extraordinary character,” says his intimate friend, Lord Chesterfield, “what can we say but, Alas! poor human nature!”

As a writer, Lord Bolingbroke is, I think, far too little admired in the present day. Nor is this surprising. His works naturally fail to please us from the false end which they always have in view, and from the sophistical arguments which they are, therefore, compelled to urge. As a politician, he wished to prove that the peace of Utrecht was honourable; as a philosopher, that the Christian religion was untrue. To one or the other of these points his observations are almost always tending. It is no wonder, therefore, if, from the worthlessness of the materials, we are disposed to undervalue the beauty of the workmanship. But, surely, his style, considered apart from his matter, seems the perfection of eloquence. It displays all the power and richness of the English language; and, in all its changes, never either soars into bombast,

(1) See the letter on the Spirit of Patriotism.

(2) Voltaire, in one of his letters, relates, or invents, “ce que disait à ses compagnes la plus fameuse catin de Londres: Mes sœurs, Bolingbroke est déclaré, aujourd’hui, Secrétaire d’Etat: Sept mille guinées de rente, mes sœurs, et tout pour nous!” See a note to Swift’s Works,

vol. xvii. p. 291. Lord Bolingbroke’s beautiful lines to one of these ladies,—

“Dear, thoughtless Clara,” etc.—

seem to prove, that had he applied himself to poetry he would have excelled in it.

or sinks into vulgarity. We may observe with admiration, that, even when defending the cause of tyranny, he knows how to borrow his weapons from the armoury of freedom. The greatest praise of Bolingbroke's style is, however, to be found in the fact, that it was the study and the model of the two greatest minds of the succeeding generation—Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt. The former, as is well known, had so closely embued himself with it, that his first publication was a most ingenious, and, to many persons, deceptive imitation of its manner. To Mr. Pitt it was recommended by the example and advice of his illustrious father, who, in one of his letters, observes of Oldcastle's Remarks, that they "should be studied, and almost "got by heart, for the inimitable beauty of the style (1)." Mr. Pitt, accordingly, early read and often recurred to these political writings; and he has several times stated in conversation to the present Lord Stanhope, that there was scarcely any loss in literature which he so deeply deplored, as that no adequate record of Bolingbroke's speeches should remain. What glory to Bolingbroke, if we are to judge of the master by his pupils!

My observations upon Bolingbroke's character have drawn me from my slight sketch of his political career. It remains for me to say, that, having entered the House of Commons in 1700, he almost immediately became one of the most shining and admired speakers of that fastidious assembly. He took the side of the moderate Tories, and more particularly attached himself to Harley. With him he joined the administration of Marlborough and Godolphin, in 1704, and, notwithstanding his youth, was appointed Secretary at War. Marlborough, especially, appears to have taken the warmest interest in the promotion of a rising statesman, whose abilities he discerned, and on whose friendship he relied. "I am very glad," he writes to Godolphin, "that you are so well pleased with "Mr. St. John's diligence, and I am very confident he will never "deceive you (2)." On his part, St. John professed—perhaps he felt at the time—the warmest attachment to his illustrious patron, and addressed him in such terms as the following: "The vast addition of renown which your Grace has acquired, and the wonderful preservation of your life, are subjects upon which I can never express the thousandth part of what I feel. France and faction are the only enemies England has reason to fear, and your Grace will conquer both (3)." How little was it then foreseen, that the statesman who thus wrote would become the most deadly opponent of the hero—the champion of "France and faction," and thus, by his own avowal, the enemy of England!

(1) To lord Camelford, May 4. 1754. Letters published by Lord Grenville.

(2) Letter to Lord Godolphin, July 13. 1704.

(3) Secretary St. John to the Duke of Marlborough, May 17. 1706. In a previous letter of Au-

gust 18. 1706, we find him professing to the Duke "the strongest ties of gratitude," and anxiously deprecating "an ill peace, which is certain ruin to us!"

St. John, in fact, still continued his close connection with Harley. He plunged deep with that crafty leader into the intrigues of Mrs. Masham; with him he also was detected, and compelled to resign, in February, 1708. But on this event he immediately joined the Tories, threw into their scale, till then suspended, the whole weight of his ability, and by them was, at no distant period, triumphantly borne back into office. In September, 1710, he was made Secretary of State, with the supreme direction of foreign affairs. For this post he was peculiarly qualified, by not only understanding, but writing, the French language most correctly — an accomplishment which even at present is by no means common, and which at that period was very rare. His task in both conducting and defending the negotiations for peace was extremely arduous. “When I undertook,” he says himself, “in opposition to all the confederates, in opposition to a powerful turbulent faction at home, in opposition even to those habits of thinking which mankind had contracted by the same wrong principle of government, pursued for twenty years, to make a peace, the utmost vigour and resolution became necessary (1).” It is on St. John that the shame of the inglorious treaty of Utrecht should mainly rest. He directed all its steps from London; and some fresh difficulties having unexpectedly arisen, he undertook to remove them by a journey to Paris, and a conference with Torcy. At nearly the same time, July 1712, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Bolingbroke, and on this new political theatre displayed the same talent and won the same ascendancy as in the House of Commons.

These two statesmen, Oxford and Bolingbroke, were the leading members of the Tory administration. At the head of the opposition, at this period, were Lords Somers, Cowper, and Halifax, in the House of Peers; General Stanhope and Mr. Robert Walpole in the Commons. One far greater than all — the illustrious Marlborough — was no longer in England. Mortified at the unworthy personal attacks to which he was exposed, and more especially at the base charge of speculation levelled against him under the name of Sir Solomon Medina, he had withdrawn to the Continent in November, 1712, and was rejoined by his Duchess in the following spring. After some wandering, they fixed their residence at Antwerp, where they could carry on a close correspondence with their political friends, and from whence (as was shown by the event) a very short notice might, on any sudden emergency, summon them to England.

(1) To Lord Strafford, April 8. 1712, Corresp. vol. 1. p. 486.

CHAPTER II.

After the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, the eyes of all England were turned with anxious and undivided attention to the chances of the Royal succession. That this could be no very distant prospect became evident from the frequent illnesses and declining strength of the Queen. A few months more, it seemed probable, would sever the last remaining link which united the posterity of Charles the First with the throne of England. Warned by her Majesty's precarious health to look forward, her ministers were much divided in their wishes; all, indeed, professing alike their attachment to the Hanover succession, but the greater number of them secret partisans of the Pretender.

The Lord Treasurer, on this as on every other occasion, appears doubtful in his objects and crooked in his means. So early as 1710, he had sent, through Abbé Gaultier, an overture to Marshal Berwick, the Pretender's natural brother, to treat of the restoration of the Stuarts; Anne retaining the crown for her life, and securities being given for the religion and liberties of England. Peace was, however, he declared, an indispensable preliminary; and he seemed no less anxious that the whole negotiation should be carefully concealed from the Court of St. Germain's, of whose usual indiscretion he was probably aware. Berwick, as may well be supposed, raised no objection to these or any other terms; and Oxford promised that next year he would transmit a detailed and specific plan for their common object. No such plan, however, arrived; and, when pressed by the French agents, the Treasurer only descanted on the importance of first securing the army, or returned such answers as "Let us go gently," and "Leave it all to me." As the general election approached, Oxford became somewhat more explicit, but still gave nothing in writing beyond one insignificant sentence (1), and no more in conversation than seemed requisite to secure the powerful support of the Jacobites for his administration. The advice he offered was also sometimes of a very questionable nature, as that James should leave Lorraine, and go, for example, to Venice, where he might indeed, as Oxford urged, have more easy intercourse with the travelling English; but where, on the other hand, he would have been very far re-

(1) "Je parlerai à M. l'Abbé (Gaultier), avant son départ, au sujet de M. le Chevalier." April, 1713. The secret letters of Gaultier and Iberville to Torcy are not amongst the Stuart Papers, but in the French diplomatic archives. Sir James

Mackintosh had access to them in 1814; and some extracts from his collections, by an accomplished literary friend of his and acquaintance of mine, in the Edinburgh Review, No. 125, have been very useful to me.

moved from England, and unable to profit by any sudden conjuncture in his favour. On the whole, Marshal Berwick and the Pretender himself soon became convinced that Oxford's view was chiefly his own present maintenance in power, and that he had no serious intention of assisting them (1).

In fact, notwithstanding this negotiation, there are several strong reasons for believing that Oxford was, at heart, no enemy to the Hanover succession. He had mainly helped to establish that succession in 1701, and his vanity had, therefore, an interest in its success. It was the safer and the legal side — no small recommendation to a very timid man. His Presbyterian connections—his frequent overtures for a reconciliation with the Whigs—his perpetual disagreements with his more decided Jacobite colleagues—his avowed contempt of the old Stuart policy—might all be pleaded as arguments on the same side. I say nothing of his loud and eager professions of zeal at the Court of Hanover; but, on the whole, I do not doubt that he would readily have promoted the accession of that family, if he could have been assured of their favour afterwards, or if he could have brought them in with small trouble and no hazard to himself. But indolence and caution were always the main springs of his character; and, perhaps, those of his contemporaries knew him best who believed that he had no fixed designs at all (2).

Bolingbroke, on the contrary, had plunged into the Jacobite intrigues headlong and decisively. Of the usual incitements to Jacobitism—high doctrines of divine right and indefeasible allegiance—he was, indeed, utterly destitute; but he was no less destitute of that zeal for civil rights and the Protestant religion which bound the hearts of his countrymen to the Hanover succession. Without any prejudice on either side, he looked solely and steadily at his personal interests. He perceived that his Tory connections and his ties with France made him an object of suspicion at Hanover, and left him little to expect from that family upon the throne. The same reason, however, would render him a favourite with “King James the Third,” especially should that empty title become more substantial through his aid. He, therefore, determined to forward the views of the Jacobites. We find him, at the end of 1712, in secret communication with them (3); and during the two following years, he is repeatedly mentioned by the French agents, Gaultier and Iberville, in their private letters, as holding with them most confidential intercourse, and giving them most friendly counsels.

(1) “ Il est moralement certain que toutes les avances qu'il nous avoit faites n'avoient eu pour motif que son propre intérêt, afin de joindre les Jacobites aux Torys, et par là se rendre le plus fort dans le Parlement, et y faire approuver la paix.” *Mém. de Berwick*, tom. II. p. 132. ed. 1778.

(2) See Bolingbroke's Letter to Wyndham, and Cunningham's Hist. vol. II. p. 308. The latter, however, is, I must admit, very poor authority for any fact or opinion.

(3) Macpherson's Papers, vol. II. p. 367.

Of the remaining members of the cabinet, the Jacobites could also reckon on Secretary Bromley (1), and the Dukes of Buckingham and Ormond. Some others, such as Lord Chancellor Harcourt, may be considered as uncertain or wavering; and several, like the Bishop of London, as sincere friends to the Protestant succession.

It may easily be supposed that an administration thus variously composed could not long remain cordially united. Oxford and Bolingbroke gradually came to be considered as leaders of separate and jarring divisions. The former, as far as professions could go, was indeed most smooth and complying. In his own expression, "If the company should say Harrow on the Hill or Maidenhead were the nearest way to Windsor, I would go with them, and never dispute it, if that would give content, and I might not be forced to swear it was so (2)." But, in practice, Lord Oxford was by no means the easy colleague he describes. All those who knew him bitterly complain of his little jealousies and want of confidence, of the undue share which he claimed in business, of his dilatory manner of transacting it. So early as May, 1711, we find Bolingbroke write to Lord Orrery,—“We who are reputed to be in Mr. Harley’s intimacy] have few opportunities of seeing him, and none of talking freely with him. As he is the only true channel through which the Queen’s pleasure is conveyed to us, there is and must be a perfect stagnation, till he is pleased to open himself, and set the water flowing.” The feuds between the two ministers were frequently composed, more especially by Swift, their common friend. But as the subject matter of division still remained, it always broke out afresh with aggravated rancour.

Such was the state of parties when parliament met in April, 1713.

At this period the ministers were by no means apprehensive of defeat in either House. Of the Upper, Swift writes, on the day before the meeting, “Lord Treasurer is as easy as a lamb. They are mustering up the proxies of the absent Lords, but they are not in any fear of wanting a majority, which death and accidents have increased this year (3).” In the Commons their preponderance was even more secure. But that House being then under the operation of the Triennial Act, and in its third and last session, both parties showed great timidity in all their movements, and were anxious not to commit themselves to any measures that might impair their popularity at the ensuing elections.

On the 9th of May, the following message was presented from her Majesty to the House of Commons:—

(1) Bromley is mentioned in Iberville’s instructions as “un homme attaché presque ouvertement au parti du Roi (Jacques).” Sept. 26. 1713.

(2) Harley to Lord Godolphin, Sept. 10. 1707. Append. to Somerville, p. 626.

(3) Journal to Stella, April 8.[1713. Bolingbroke also expected that “the session will be quiet and short.” To Lord Orrery, March 6. 1713.

“ Anne R. As it is the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to make peace and war, I have ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with France, which had been signed by my order, and have concluded a treaty with Spain, which will be signed at Utrecht as soon as the Spanish ministers are arrived there.”

These treaties were then laid before the House. The stipulations being already well known, and a large majority of the Commons having shown a determination to support them, no debate was attempted on the general question. It would have been but poor generalship to have attacked the whole line with such inferior forces, instead of singling out the weakest points. The Opposition accordingly made a resolute stand on the 8th and 9th articles of the Treaty of Commerce, to which they knew that many of the Ministerial members were disinclined. This 9th article provided that all laws made in Great Britain since 1664, for prohibiting the importation of any goods coming from France, should be repealed; and that, within two months, a law should be passed that no higher custom duties should be paid for goods brought from France than were payable for the like goods brought from any other country in Europe. Now the latter clause was a direct violation of the Methuen Treaty, according to which the duties on the Portuguese wines were always to be lower by one third than the duties on the French (1); and this violation would, of course, have lost the English all their trade with Portugal, which was at this time by far the most thriving and advantageous they possessed. Their rising manufactures of silk, of linen, and of paper were, moreover, threatened with unequal competition and probable ruin. The merchants and practical men of business—in that unenlightened age such men were usually preferred to theorists and speculators—with scarcely an exception, viewed this project with dismay; and it has been calculated, on apparently good grounds, that, had the project passed, the annual balance against, or loss to, Great Britain, would have been not less than 1,400,000*l.* (2): so that, on the whole, I think we may fully agree with Bishop Burnet, that, “ if even we had been as often beat by the French as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty (3).”

The subject was debated in the House of Commons on the 14th of May, the day appointed to bring in a bill to make good the 8th and 9th articles of the Treaty of Commerce, when the Opposition put forth all their strength. Mr. Gould, an eminent merchant, Mr. Lechmere, an eminent lawyer, Sir Peter King, and General Stanhope, particularly distinguished themselves on that side. They were ably answered by Sir William Wyndham and

(1) See the treaty in the Commons' Journals for 1713, p. 348.

(2) Macpherson's History of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 21. ed. 1805.

(3) Burnet's History, vol. ii. p. 680. fol. ed.

Mr. Arthur Moore (a person who, by his industry and abilities, had, much to his honour, raised himself from the station of a footman); and, though they were joined by several of the other party, such as Sir George Newland and Mr. Heysham, they were, on the division, outvoted by 252 against 130. Yet Bolingbroke himself admits that “the treaties met with the coldest reception when they were laid before the Houses; and those who were frightened out of their senses, lest they should not be made, affected to appear very indifferent to them when they were made (1).” On the 9th of June, the House resolved itself into committee on the Bill, and heard several merchants at their bar argue and protest against it. A debate then ensued, remarkable for a singular burst of party feeling. General Stanhope, to confirm the statements of one of the merchants, had quoted in his speech some words from the preamble of an act passed in Charles the Second’s reign. Upon this, the Speaker, supposing Stanhope to be mistaken, rose, and exclaimed, “There is no such thing in that Act!” The General hereupon desired the clerk at the table to read the Act in question, when it appeared that his quotation was right, and both he and several other members then inveighed with much passion on the Speaker’s blunder. This little anecdote most strongly shows the mutual animosities and rancour of the times. In the House of Commons, any rude interruption from the Speaker, or any harsh invectives against him, are, perhaps, the very furthest extremity to which its party spirit ever runs!

On the following days, some more mercantile petitioners were heard at the bar against the Bill; and the former speakers on that side renewed and enforced their arguments, thus backed by the testimony of practical men. Through these means, a powerful effect was made upon the Ministerial phalanx. Sir Thomas Hammer, member for Suffolk, a man of great weight with the House on all occasions, and more peculiarly on this, because in his general politics a Tory, supported the objections of the Whigs; and at last, on the 18th of June, on the question that the Bill should be engrossed, it was decided in the negative by 194 to 185. Thus was warded off one at least of the dangers of the inglorious negotiations at Utrecht (2)!

Emboldened by this hard-won victory, the Whig leaders determined to try an address in both Houses, entreating the Queen “to use her most pressing instances for removing the Pretender from the Duke of Lorraine’s dominions.” This was moved in the Lords by the Earl of Wharton, on the 29th of June, without any previous notice. The Court party were taken completely by sur-

(1) To Mr. Prior, July 4. 1713. Corresp. vol. [ii]. p. 487. “two or three days’ uncertainty, an opinion spread that the Lord Treasurer gave up the point.”

(2) According to Bolingbroke, “The reason of the majority was, that there had been, during To Lord Strafford, June 20. 1713.

prise. A pause ensued. At last, Lord North rose, and endeavoured to have the motion set aside, observing, that it would show a distrust of her Majesty's intentions. He asked, also, where, after all, they would have the Pretender live; since most, if not all, the powers of Europe were, like the Duke of Lorraine, on terms of friendship with her Majesty. But, no one venturing openly to oppose the motion, it was unanimously carried.

On the 1st of July, General Stanhope brought forward the same motion in the Commons. Here also no opposition was attempted. But Sir William Whitlocke artfully threw out, that he "remembered the like address was formerly made to the Protector for having Charles Stuart removed out of France." This was meant to remind the House how soon afterwards, in spite of that vote, Charles had been restored to the throne. The Jacobites, however, having the fear of the approaching elections before their eyes, remained perfectly quiet; and the two addresses were carried up to her Majesty, whose answers were in the same sense, but evidently cold and constrained.

The negotiation opened in consequence at Paris led to no good result. It was always skilfully eluded by the French ministers, and never heartily pressed by the English. Their agent, Prior, speaks of it with ridicule in his letters. "To say the truth, my dear Lord Bolingbroke, M. de Torcy thinks us all mad. He asked me many questions, which, for the best reason in the world, I did not answer; as, for instance, how we can oblige a man to go from one place when we forbid all others to receive him (1)?" But even further, it is asserted, in the secret correspondence of Gaultier, that Bolingbroke himself had, with singular baseness, privately suggested to the Duke of Lorraine the pretexts for eluding his own public demands (2)!

Some other proceedings of this session seem to deserve attention. The House of Commons proposed to renew the duty on malt for another year. A question then arose whether or not this duty should be laid on the whole island; the Scotch members being most eager and vehement against bearing any share of it. Finding themselves out-voted, and the Bill passed the Commons, they held several private conferences with the peers of their party; sent an address to the Queen; and, finding this ineffectual, indignantly agreed to move for an act for dissolving the union between the two kingdoms. Such a motion was accordingly brought forward by the Earl of Findlater, on the 1st of June, and produced a long debate. Lord Peterborough indulged his lively fancy. He observed, "that though sometimes there happened a difference between man and wife, yet it did not presently break the marriage; so, in the like man-

(1) Bolingbroke's Correspond., vol. ii. p. 678.

(2) To M. de Torcy, Dec. 15. and 14. 1713.

“ner, though England, who in this national marriage must be supposed to be the husband, might, in some instances, have been unkind to the lady, yet she ought not presently to sue for a divorce, the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by this match.” The Duke of Argyle said, “that it was true he had a great hand in making the Union : that the chief reason that moved him to it was the securing the Protestant succession, but that he was satisfied that might be done as well now if the Union were dissolved; and that, if it were not, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland or liberty in England (1)!”

It does not appear that Bolingbroke—undoubtedly the greatest orator of the time—took any part in the debate. But his remarks upon the subject in a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury may excite some serious reflections at the present period : “Your Grace will wonder when I tell you that they intend to move in our House, on Monday, to dissolve the Union. You may be sure that all those whose spirits are naturally turbulent and restless—all those who have languished under expectation, and all those who have any personal resentment, take this occasion to add to the cry and to pursue their own views by intermingling them in this cause..... We shall, I believe, ground on this motion a bill to make it high treason, by any overt act, to attempt the dissolution of the Union. If, after this, we go on to show them all reasonable indulgence, and at the same time to show to them and to all mankind a firmness of resolution and a steadiness of conduct, good will have come out of evil, and we shall reap some benefit from this CONTRA-TEMPS (2).”

To any one who considers either the nature of this question, or the usual feelings and conduct of the House of Lords, the division on Lord Findlater's motion will appear not a little surprising. Fifty-four peers voted for it, and exactly as many against it. Proxies were then called for; and, there being 13 in the affirmative, and 17 in the negative, it was rejected by a majority of only four. But the fact is, that this subject, like every other in the session, was considered not so much on national as on party grounds. And if such a course could ever deserve indulgence, it would surely be at a crisis when the fate of the Hanover succession hung trembling in the balance, and with it the fate of the Protestant establishment, of the British Constitution,—of every thing that we cherish as dear, or respect as venerable (3)!

(1) Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 1217. See also Lockhart's Comment. (p. 414—437.) for a very full account of this proceeding.

(2) Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 409.

(3) A curious account of this division is given in a letter to Swift from Erasmus Lewis, at that

time M. P. for Lestwithiel. He tells us that both the Tory peers who voted with the Lord Treasurer against the dissolution of the Union, and the Scotch who voted for it, were “under agonies” lest they themselves should be victorious! “In all the time I have been conversant in business,

Another party matter was the favour shown by the House of Commons to Dr. Sacheverell. The sentence of the House of Lords, forbidding him to preach during the space of three years, expired on the 23d of March; and on the Sunday following he held forth, for the first time, at his own church of St. Saviour's, and, taking for his text the words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do (1)," drew an unseemly parallel between his own sufferings and the Redeemer's Passion. The House of Commons, anxious to show their disapprobation of the former proceedings against him, appointed him to the honour of preaching before them on the Restoration Day; and the Court was no less forward in conferring a rich benefice upon him. Never, perhaps, had any man attained a higher pitch of popularity. We are told, that as he passed to and from the House of Lords, on his trial, the by-standers used eagerly to press about him, and strive for the happiness of kissing his hands (2). We are told that, on his journey through Wales, even our princes in their progresses could scarcely have vied with his reception (3): that the day on which his sentence expired was celebrated, not only in London, but in several parts of the country, with extraordinary rejoicings (4). Would not all this appear to imply that he must have possessed some degree of talent or of merit? Yet the concurrent testimony of some of his friends, as well as of his enemies, represents him as utterly foolish, ignorant, ungrateful—his head reeling with vanity, his heart overflowing with gall (5). This venerated idol, when we come to try its substance, appears little more than a stock or a stone. But Sacheverell was considered as the representative of a popular party doctrine—as the champion and the martyr of the High Church cause; and the multitude, which always looks to persons much more than to principles, can rarely be won over, until even the clearest maxim appears embodied in some favourite leader.

The 7th of July had been appointed by the Queen as a day of public thanksgiving, for what she termed "the safe and honourable peace lately concluded." Both Houses went in procession to St. Paul's; and in the evening there were extensive illuminations blazing forth from the city, and magnificent fire-works played off

"I never before observed both sides at the same time acting parts which they thought contrary to their interests!" See Swift's Works, vol. xvi. p. 71.

(1) St. Luke, ch. xxiii. 34. On this sermon we find in Swift's Journal to Stella, April 2.: "I went to Lord Treasurer's at six, where I found Dr. Sacheverell, who told us that the bookseller had given him 100*l.* for his sermon preached last Sunday, and intended to print 30,000. I believe he will be confoundedly bit, and will hardly sell above half."

(2) Burnet's History, vol. ii. p. 542 fol. ed.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 533.

(4) Tindal's History, vol. vi. p. 106.

(5) Sir Walter Scott truly observes: "Although the Tory ministry was formed in consequence of the ferment raised by this silly tool, the eminent writers of their party seldom mention him but with contempt." Note to Swift's Works, vol. vi. p. 250. As to Sacheverell's real principles, I have found the following entry in a "Minute of what was resolved on by his Majesty and Earl Bolingbroke," October 14. 1715 (Stuart Papers),—"Sacheverell to make his way to the King (on his landing) unless he can be more useful in London."

from the river. The Queen, however, was prevented by illness from attending; and the Whigs kept aloof from a pageant which, in their eyes, must have appeared a profanation.

On the 16th of the same month the Queen was so far recovered as to be able to prorogue Parliament in person. "My Lords and Gentlemen," she said, "at my coming to the Crown I found a war prepared for me. God has blessed my arms with many victories, and at last has enabled me to make them useful by a safe and honourable peace. I heartily thank you for the assistance you have given me therein, and I promise myself that, with your concurrence, it will be lasting. To this end I recommend it to you all to make my subjects truly sensible of what they gain by the peace."

It is curious to contrast this address of Queen Anne with that of the Prince Regent, a century afterwards, on closing the session of 1814. We shall find that the shameful peace of Utrecht is commended with far higher praise than the triumphant peace of Paris. It was not necessary to ask statesmen "to make my subjects truly sensible" of the glory of the latter. We may observe, also, that the Prince Regent, in alluding to the great victories of the war, pays a proper and natural tribute to "the consummate skill and ability displayed by the great commander whose services you have so justly acknowledged." In Queen Anne's speech, on the contrary, the Duke of Marlborough is meanly and enviously shut out from all notice. Did Harley and St. John really think that his glory depended on their notice, or that they could lower his fame by suppressing his praises?

The Parliament, thus prorogued, was dissolved a few days afterwards. At this period the hopes of the leading Whigs seem to have been greatly depressed. The Hanoverian minister was told by Stanhope that "the greatest number of country gentlemen is rather against us than for us;" and the General added his opinion, that "if things continue ever so short a time on the present footing, the Elector will not come to the Crown unless he comes with an army (1)." The Whigs made, however, the most of their cause in their appeals at the elections. They inveighed, and not without success, against the Treaty of Commerce of their opponents. To show their concern for trade, and especially for the staple commodity of England, they in most places wore pieces of wool in their hats; while on the other hand the Tories assumed green boughs, as seeking to identify themselves with the most popular event in English history—the Restoration (2).

It is a melancholy reflection for human nature, how easily and

(1) Schutz to Bothmar, Oct. 3. 1713. Macpherson, *like manner symbols assumed on the Pretender's* vol. II. p. 505. *birth-day in 1716. The Jacobites wore white roses*

(2) *Hist. of Europe, 1713 and 1714. I find from and the Whigs farthing warming-pans! (Letter a letter in the Stuart Papers, that there were in of Mr. Thos. Innes, London, June 11. 1716.)*

completely even the most intelligent classes of even the most intelligent people may sometimes be imposed upon. There seems some inherent proneness in mankind to great national delusions. The same men whom we find as individuals watchful and wary, not readily trusting professions, nor often misled by appearances, as a body will often swallow open-mouthed the most glaring absurdities and contradictions; and the press, which ought to be the detector of such delusions, will sometimes stoop to be their instrument. Thus, in the elections of 1713, it is certain that a very great majority of the English people were zealously attached to the rights of the House of Hanover. The Tory administration was well known to be on ill terms with that family, and was publicly accused of favouring the cause of its rival. We might, therefore, have presumed that the people of England must needs have taken one or the other course—have cooled in their zeal either for a Protestant King, or for Jacobite ministers. Yet, with wonderful blindness, they resolutely adhered to both; and, while devoutly praying for the Electress Sophia, as heir presumptive, while solemnly burning, on the 18th of November, amidst unanimous huzzas, figures of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender (1), they yet returned to Parliament a vast majority of friends to an administration which, in all its actions, studied the advantage of one at least of those three personages. The Whigs, it is true, were victorious in several places, and, on the whole, perhaps, were not losers by this election, as compared to the last; but they still formed but a feeble fraction of the House of Commons; while, in the House of Peers, on the other hand, they continued to exert a manifest ascendancy.

The scope of this work appears to me to impose the necessity, and the period of a general election to afford the occasion, for my giving some details on the composition of both Houses at this period.

First, then, of the House of Lords. It comprised, at this period, one Prince of the Blood Royal, the Electoral Prince of Hanover, under the title of Duke of Cambridge; twenty-two other Dukes, two Marquesses, sixty-four Earls, ten Viscounts, and sixty-seven Barons. These, with twenty-six Spiritual and sixteen Scotch Representative Peers, made up a total of 207; several of whom, however, as Roman Catholics, could take no part in public business. In comparing these numbers with those at the accession of William the Fourth, we find them, at this latter period, amount to 390, including four Spiritual and twenty-eight Temporal Representative Peers from Ireland—an increase, certainly, not at all more than commensurate with the improvement of properties and the increase of population. In fact, the proportion between the Peers and the population will be found nearly the same at both periods.

(1) Hist. of Europe for 1713 and 1714, p. 203. The 18th of November was the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession.

Were such limits to be outstepped in any very great degree, the result could not fail to be felt injuriously by the landed interest, as withdrawing considerable proprietors from the representation of the counties, and throwing that representation into inferior hands.

Of the 207 Peerages which existed at the accession of George the First, not more than fifty-two remained unaltered at the death of George the Fourth. But the rest were by no means all extinctions. Many appear changed only from promotions in rank—as, for example, the Earls of Exeter and Salisbury; and, on the other hand, several are continued in collateral branches, and under lower but more ancient titles, as was the case, for instance, with the Dukedom and Earldom of Shrewsbury. It may not be undeserving of notice as a singularity, that though, in 1714, the body of Peers was so much smaller than in 1830, a greater number of them held the rank of Dukes.

The House of Commons then, and throughout that century, consisted of 558 Members; 513 being sent from England, and 45 from Scotland. It is well worthy of observation, how large a number of the family interests and local ties which still exist, or, at least, which existed before Lord Grey's administration, were in force at this early period. We find, in this Parliament, a Drake returned for Amersham, a Grimston for St. Albans, a Whitmore for Bridgnorth, a Musgrave for Carlisle, a Cholmondeley for Cheshire, a Bathurst for Cirencester, a Bankes for Corfe Castle, a Lowther for Cumberland, a Wynn for Denbigh, a Mundy for Derby, a Foley for Droitwich, and another Foley for Hereford, a Hervey for Bury St. Edmund's, a Mostyn for Flint, an Eliot for St. Germans, a Berkeley for Gloucestershire, a Brownlow for Grantham, an A'Court for Heytesbury, Lord Hinchinbrook for Huntingdon, Sir Edward Knatchbull for Kent, a Sibthorp for Lincoln, a Walpole for Lynn, a Wentworth for Malton, a Bruce for Marlborough, a Vaughan for Merioneth, Thomas Cartwright for Northamptonshire, a Fitzwilliam for Peterborough, an Edcombe for Plympton, a Fleetwood for Preston, a Cocks for Reigate, a Vernon for Stafford, a Cecil for Stamford, a Dowdeswell for Tewkesbury, a Greville for Warwick, and a Forester for Wenlock (1). These hereditary seats in Parliament, combining in some degree the permanence of Peerages with the popularity of Elections—these feelings of mutual kindness, which bound together our wealthy gentry and their poorer neighbours, and brought them into frequent and friendly intercourse—these bulwarks against any sudden and overwhelming tide of popular delusion—appear to me to have been one of the main causes of the good working

(1) See a list of this House of Commons in the Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 1246. The list is, however, incorrect in some particulars; and thus, for instance, does not contain the name of Steele. He was member for Stockbridge. (Hist. of Europe for 1713 and 1714, p. 265.)

of our ancient constitution, and, still more, of its long duration. Thanks, in great measure, to them, the constitution of England might long be compared to its country,—smooth yet not uniform, diversified yet not rugged, equally removed from the impracticable heights of democracy or the dead level of despotism (1)!

In support of this opinion I may be permitted to observe, that, in the times of Queen Anne as in ours, all the eminent statesmen of the age, with scarcely one exception, owed to the smaller boroughs, now disfranchised, either their introduction into public life, or their refuge during some part of it. Lord Chancellor Cowper sat for Beralston, Lord Chancellor King for the same place, Harley for Tregony, Craggs afterwards for the same, Walpole for Castle Rising, Steele for Stockbridge, Addison for Malmesbury, Prior for East Grinstead, Stanhope for Wendover, Lord Chesterfield for St. Germans, Pulteney for Heydon, Shippen for Bramber, and Bolingbroke for Wotton Basset! Such were the brilliant results of our late representative system. We have now irrevocably cut off the fountain head. But we wisely expect that the stream will not cease to flow!

I am not, however, a blind and indiscriminate admirer of our former Parliamentary constitution. Its most indefensible part, I mean the sale and purchase of seats, may be traced at a much earlier period than is commonly supposed. When Mr. Hallam states that this practice is never mentioned in any book that he remembers to have seen, of an earlier date than 1760 (2), he, for once, departs from his usual accuracy. Thus, for instance, we find Lady Mary Montagu write to her husband in 1714, when he wished to come into Parliament, "Perhaps it will be the best way to deposit a certain sum in some friend's hands, and buy some little Cornish borough (3)." Thus also, "it is notorious," said the Earl of Dorset, in Parliament, when arguing against the system of triennial elections, "that a great number of persons have no other livelihood than by being employed in bribing corporations (4)."

Reports of the speeches in either House, which now exercise so powerful an influence upon the public mind, were at this period almost unknown. We find, indeed, some account of striking sentences, or the principal arguments of a few Parliamentary leaders. But, in the first place, these do not seem to have been brought before the public by a daily press; and, secondly, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, that the record of a single protracted debate at the present time is longer than the record of a whole session in the reign of Queen Anne. Strangers, also, were much more frequently

(1) Dante says of Cesena, though in a different sense from that of a balanced constitution—

"Così com' ella siè tra 'l piano e 'l monte)
Tra tirannia si vive e stato franco."

Inf. c. 27. v. 53.

(2) *Constitut. Hist.* iii. 219. Baudry's edition.

(3) *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 148. ed. 1820.

(4) *Parliamentary History*, vol. vii. p. 297.

excluded than at present ; and questions of foreign policy especially, were often (as now in North America) debated with closed doors. In the Parliamentary History for March, 1714, we find that the Commons having the day before made an order for clearing the House of all strangers, not excepting the Peers, it was moved in the Lords to make the like order, without excepting the Commons. But this motion was successfully opposed by the Duke of Argyle, who said, very much in the style of a courtier, "It is for the honour of this august assembly to show that they are better bred and have more complaisance than the Commons !" A strange argument for legislators !

Still less was there at this period any publication of the lists of the divisions. In 1696, the printing and circulating the names of a minority in the House of Commons had been unanimously voted a breach of privilege, and "destructive of the freedom and liberties of Parliament (1)." It may, however, be doubted whether the just responsibility of members to their constituents was thereby at all impaired ; since, on any doubtful point, the electors would of course address an inquiry to their representative as to the vote he had given ; and if even he were so utterly base as to wish to deceive them, still he could not answer falsely, whilst there were many hundred witnesses to the real fact. To suppose a question not calling for any such inquiries from constituents, is to suppose a question of very little public importance, or constituents of very little public spirit. We may, therefore, perhaps, infer that the modern practice of lists in the daily papers is more useful for the gratification of curiosity than for the maintenance of principle ; and we may regret that so many hours should be wasted in the House of Commons by explanatory speeches, when the same object might be attained by explanatory letters. At present more members speak to satisfy their supporters out of doors, than to convince their opponents in the House.

In Queen Anne's reign, the place of daily reports of the debates was in a great measure supplied by frequent party pamphlets. It was through these that the people were sometimes instructed and restrained, and more often spurred and goaded, in the politics of the day. Never before had England seen this paper warfare waged with such fierce and deadly rancour. Never before had it been conducted by such eminent abilities. On the one side, the Whigs could boast of the graceful and easy style, the inimitable humour and the fertile fancy of Addison ; of the buoyant spirit, the keen and biting vehemence of Steele. On the other side, the Tories possessed in Swift perhaps the greatest master of satire that ever lived. He was bold, vindictive, and unscrupulous. He was seldom restrained either by delicacy or compassion. He had a

(1) Commons' Journals, vol. xi. p. 572.

thorough knowledge of all the baser parts of human nature—for they were his own. If, indeed, it be possible that an accomplished satirist should ever be an amiable man, Swift at least was not that prodigy; and his life and character appear consumed by the same fiery rancour which glows in his writings. We find him bred as a Whig, under Sir William Temple—patronised as a Whig, by Lord Somers—boasting of himself as a Whig, in his writings (1)—and then, without a pretence of principle, without the slightest charge against his friends on public grounds, and merely on an allegation of personal neglect, turning round to the Tory leaders at the very moment when those leaders were coming into office, and having evidently no better reason for deserting his cause than that he thought it in danger. We find him instantly single out all his former friends for his libels, and assail them with all the deadly resentment of a renegade. The illustrious Somers, for example, his early friend, so lately held up as “the modern Aristides,” becomes “a false, deceitful rascal (2).” We find him in some cases even making a boast of insincerity; and thus saying of Lord Rochester, “Though I said I only talked from my love to him, I told a lie, for I do not care if he were hanged (3).” We find him now urge his greedy claims for reward upon both Bolingbroke and Harley; and at length, in the spring of 1713, extort the Deanery of St. Patrick’s from a reluctant Queen and hollow friends. We find him, a beneficed clergyman, indite a sarcastic allegory on the principal sects of Christianity; we find him indulge in the grossest and most unseemly allusions, even when writing to a young, an unmarried, and a virtuous woman, who had become attached to him (4)—a woman whom his cold-hearted cruelty afterwards hurried to an early grave. Such is my opinion of his character. I turn to his writings, and my contempt for the man is at once lost in my admiration of the author. What vigour and vivacity of style! How rich is his variety of illustration, how terrible his energy of invective! How powerfully does he cast aside to the right and to the left all extraneous or subordinate topics—grapple at once with the main matters at issue—and give battle to the whole strength of his opponents! Though nearly all written as mere occasional pieces, and to serve an immediate object, his works have been deservedly classed by posterity as permanent productions, and display more, perhaps, than any other, the whole force of plain and homely language.

It has already been mentioned that, in the reign of Queen Anne, party pamphlets and lampoons had attained a new degree of both talent and importance. The great Whig administration had borne these attacks, for the most part, with inward soreness but osten-

(1) Works, vol. iii. p. 240, etc.

(2) Works, vol. iii. p. 275; and vol. ii. p. 155.

(3) Journal to Stella, Dec. 30. 1710.

(4) Ibid. Oct. 4. 1710, etc.

sible indifference. It was not till a libel was heard from the pulpit, and a nickname applied in a sermon to a minister of state (1), that the resentment of Godolphin drew his colleagues into the unfortunate impeachment of Sacheverell. The Tory ministers, on the other hand, who had been, while out of office, the prime movers of these attacks, did not bear the libels, to which they in their turn became exposed, with the same patience as their predecessors. In this, as in almost every other matter, they had recourse to the most violent measures. In one day, Secretary St. John had no less than twelve booksellers and publishers taken up for libels on the administration (2). Not satisfied with such activity, he, in January, 1712, brought down a message from her Majesty to the House of Commons, complaining of the "great licence which is taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government;" and declaring that "this evil seems to be grown too strong for the laws now in force." The House of Commons, at that time completely under the control of St. John and his colleagues, in their answer went even beyond the Royal message, and lamented that, "not only are false and scandalous libels printed and published against your Majesty's government, but the most horrid blasphemies against God and religion. And we beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty that we will do our utmost to find out a remedy equal to this mischief." Accordingly, in March, 1712, the House having resolved itself into committee, Sir Gilbert Dolben moved the following resolutions:—

"1. That the liberty taken in printing and publishing scandalous and impious libels creates divisions among her Majesty's subjects, tends to the disturbance of the public peace, is highly prejudicial to her Majesty's government, and is occasioned for want of due regulating the press.

"2. That all printing presses be registered with the names of the owners and places of abode; and that the author, printer, and publisher of every book set his name and place of abode thereto."

A bill founded upon these two resolutions was ordered by the House to be brought in; but it was dropped in the course of the session, several members having, as they believed, found a more effectual method for suppressing the evil in question by laying a heavy duty on all newspapers and pamphlets. This was done; and the tax, according to Swift, exceeded the intrinsic value of both the materials and the work; yet, considered as a party mea-

(1) *Folpone* to Lord Godolphin. Another nickname applied at the time to the same nobleman, from his ungainly looks, was *Baconface*.

(2) *Journal to Stella*, Oct. 24. 1711. St. John says himself, in one of his letters, "My Lord Marlborough's stupid chaplain continues to spoil

"paper. They had best, for their patron's sake as well as their own, be quiet. I know how to set them in the pillory, and how to revive fellows that will write them to death." To Mr. Harrison, Sept. 21. 1711. *Corresp.* vol. i. p. 226.

sure, it failed in its effect: for the zeal of the opposition, which must at all times be keener than that of the party in power, speedily found funds to continue its attacks, while the Tory writers did not always enjoy the same advantage; so that, as their chief libeller afterwards complained, this impost was "to open the mouths of our enemy and shut our own (1)." In fact, no point of modern legislation seems more perplexing than that of the abuses of the public press. Their grievance—which is, in fact, power without responsibility—is great and undoubted; but a despotic remedy for them would be a greater grievance still. Under the benignant influence of a free constitution, libellers, like vermin in summer, will naturally grow and thrive. It is a matter well worthy the inquiry of an enlightened age, whether we must needs bear the lesser evil for the sake of the greater good, or whether it be possible to check the licentiousness of the press without impairing the liberty out of which it springs.

In considering this question, we must measure the mischief of libels, first, by the false opinions or inflamed resentments which they may raise amongst the people; and, secondly, by their effect on the illustrious objects of their venom. In the latter respect it is true that the very extent of the evil happily works out its own cure. So common and unscrupulous are now the attacks on every one engaged in public life, or even filling an elevated rank, that few men can fail to become completely callous and unmoved by them. But the case, I may observe, was very different in less turbulent times, or with more sensitive tempers. How often have not such malignant falsehoods damped the brightest energies, and discouraged the most active patriotism! They have quelled spirits which had not shrunk before embattled armies, which had confronted the terrors of a parliamentary impeachment—the Tower and the block. Of all the leading statesmen at the time of Anne, the two who appear to have possessed the greatest mastery of temper and powers of self-control are Marlborough and Somers. The former, in the opinion of Adam Smith, even surpassed in these qualities all other great public characters of modern times. Yet we find both Somers and Marlborough writhing and embittered by the sting of even the most insignificant literary insects. The private letters of the Duke are filled with complaints against "the villanous way of printing, which stabs me to the heart (2)."—"I find," says Lord Somers, "that in any reign, and with any success, there will be little cause to envy any one who has a share of the ministry in England (3)." Are these, we may be al-

(1) Swift, *Four last Years of the Queen*, Works, vol. v. p. 301. I may observe, however, that a foreign ambassador writes in 1716, "Printers run great risks in printing any thing that displeases the Government." Count Gyllenborg to Gorts. London, Oct. 23. 1716. (Papers laid before Parliament.)

(2) To the Duchess, April 16. 1711; and several others.

(3) Letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, December, 1704.

lowed to ask, the feelings with which a generous country should desire its great men to regard it? Is it not also to be feared that the country may thus have lost the advantage of much enterprise and genius which would otherwise have been exerted for its service? And, above all, have we any ground to hope that the very excess of the evil, which undoubtedly works out its own cure so far as private feelings are concerned, has at all the same effect with regard to public delusion or exasperation?

From this long, but I hope not superfluous digression, I return to the schemes and proceedings of the British administration. In the period between the dissolution of the old Parliament and the meeting of the new one, in February, 1714, the party of Bolingbroke in the cabinet appears to have exerted a decided preponderance over that of Oxford. In the same proportion as his influence increased, the tendency of every measure grew more and more in favour of the Pretender and his partisans. We have now laid open to public view, in Macpherson's and Lockhart's volumes, the most confidential correspondence of that period, secret reports from the agents both of Hanover and of St. Germain's; and it is very remarkable that, widely as these letters differ in all their views and wishes, and sources of information, they yet perfectly agree as to the fact of the new counsels of England being for the interests of the latter. The Hanoverians write with bitterness and alarm; the Jacobites in a most confident and joyous tone. "The changes," says the Jesuit Plunkett (1), "go on by degrees to the King's advantage; none but his friends advanced or employed in order to serve the great project. . . . Bolingbroke and Oxford do not set their horses together, because he (Oxford) is so dilatory, and dozes over things, which is the occasion there are so many Whigs chosen this parliament. Though there are four Tories to one, they think it little. . . . The ministry must now sink or swim with France (2)." So strong was, in fact, the Jacobite conviction on this point, that the Pretender wrote with his own hand recommending the ministry to the support of his friends in England; and on the 19th of September, Nairne, his Under Secretary of State, sent a still more specific injunction to the Jacobites that they should assist the Tories at the elections, and promote all the measures of the Court.

The new appointments at that Court were likewise nearly all

(1) This Plunkett, under the name of Rogers, was a stirring Jacobite agent, who had previously dipped in a most detestable conspiracy against the Duke of Marlborough. He assured the ministers that Marlborough and the principal Whigs meant to fire the city, seize the Queen, murder Oxford, etc. See *Coxe's Life*, vol. vi. p. 187.

(2) Letters dated Oct. 7. and 28. 1713. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 439. and 446. The Queen is always termed Princess Anne, and often men-

tioned with bitterness on account of her conduct to her father. Several old catches against her and Queen Mary's proceedings at that time have been handed down by tradition in old Jacobite families. Here is one that I remember to have heard from a Cornish gentleman:—

"William and Mary, George and Anne—
Four such children never had man!
They turned their father out of door,
And called their brother a son of a——."

such as to possess no small claim to this support. Sir William Wyndham became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Duke of Athol received the Privy Seal for Scotland, the Earl of Mar the seals of Secretary of State for the same kingdom. The vacant Bishopric of Rochester and Deanery of Westminster were both conferred on Atterbury, a Jacobite divine of great abilities and still greater ambition.

But one of the principal steps to which Bolingbroke and Ormond applied themselves for the promotion of their final object, and which may serve as an additional proof of it, was new-modelling the troops. Even in May we find Plunkett stating, "We are paying and discarding the army every day. It is observable those that were of Oliver's (King William's) making are laid aside (1)." The Duke of Ormond was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, thus placing under his control the principal strongholds of the coast (2); and Berwick and Edinburgh were in like manner entrusted to sure hands. But the influence of the Duke of Marlborough over troops whom he had so often led to victory and never once to failure, was naturally looked upon as a most formidable obstacle. The personal enemies of that great man were therefore eagerly brought forward by the Government, and his friends, at every opportunity, dismissed the service, or at least withdrawn from active employment. A scheme was even formed by Ormond for compelling several such officers to sell their commissions, and Government was to advance 10,000*l.* to assist some of their own creatures in becoming the purchasers (3). But this project, fraught as it was with danger to the Hanover succession, was happily baffled by Oxford's neglecting to provide the requisite funds; and, in fact, throughout all this period the usual inertness of that minister, and perhaps we may add his disinclination to the Jacobite cause, acted as a drag-chain on the headlong career and downward descent of his colleagues (4).

It was not only in their negotiations abroad and their government at home, that the English ministers befriended the heir of the Stuarts; they had much at heart a still more effectual step for his service, by persuading him to renounce, or at least pretend to renounce, the Roman Catholic faith. An apparent accession to the Church of England was, therefore, on high authority, and on many occasions, eagerly pressed upon James. In July, 1712, we find a letter from the Duke of Buckingham, urging that measure with the utmost vehemence as the one thing needful (5). In February,

(1) Macpherson's Papers, vol. II. p. 412. See an account of the regiments disbanded in the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xvii. p. 293.

(2) A previous and ineffectual attempt had been made to induce the Earl of Dorset to give up Dover Castle. See H. Walpole's letter to Mann, May 17. 1749.

(3) See Swift's Works, vol. vi. p. 444. note.

(4) Marshal Berwick observes, "Le Trésorier différait de jour à autre de régler l'armée malgré les sollicitations du Duc d'Ormond avec lequel à l'insu d'Oxford j'étais en commerce de lettres." (Mém. vol. II. p. 128.) See also the extracts from the Stuart Papers, Appendix.

(5) Macpherson's Papers, vol. II. p. 327.

1714, Oxford dictated a letter from Gaultier to the Pretender, assuring him that if he wished to be sure of the succession, it was absolutely requisite that he should dissemble his religion, or change it for that established amongst his countrymen; and that so long as he continued a Roman Catholic the Queen would do nothing for him (1). The language of Bolingbroke, on many occasions, was the same; and at last he observed to Iberville, that if the Elector of Hanover ever did mount the throne of England it would be entirely through the fault of the Pretender, in refusing to do what was quite indispensable to gain the hearts of the nation and allay their apprehensions (2). Nor were these remonstrances and wishes confined to Protestant statesmen; it appears from other letters of Iberville that several leading Catholics concurred in them (3). "According to the information I receive on all hands," writes that agent, "there is not one Tory fool-hardy enough to say a single word that shall pledge him to acknowledge King James after the death of the Queen, nor perhaps who is really disposed to favour him, unless he will become a member of the Church of England. It seems to me that within the last few days the Protestant Jacobites speak pretty openly in this sense. Nay more, most of them think that he cannot hesitate or scruple to take that course. They believe that the delay in his doing so at this dangerous crisis of the Queen's health (a delay of which they all disapprove) is owing only to his expecting some assurances that if he takes that step he shall be acknowledged as the heir (4)."

The Pretender was now nearly in the same situation as his great-grandfather, Henry the Fourth of France; when many even of his Huguenot followers implored him to sacrifice his faith for the attainment of his throne. His uncle also, Charles the Second, had, in 1660, consented to suppress his secret religious predilections. But to the great and lasting honour of James he disdained any such unworthy compromise with his conscience; and he wrote a very able letter, to be circulated amongst his partisans in England, and in which he declared his fixed determination neither to dissemble nor to change (5); a rare and admirable instance of religious sincerity in princes. It was hoped, however, by the Pretender, that this letter might have the good effect of increasing the confidence of his friends, since he who thus preferred his conscience to his interests might be more surely relied on in his solemn promises to respect the religious establishment and constitutional rights of others. But such an argument was far too refined for popular apprehension; his sincerity, though a merit in him, must

(1) Gaultier, to the Pretender, Feb. 6. 1714.

(2) Iberville to Torcy, July 2. 1714.

(3) Letters of Iberville, between June 28. and July 1st. 1714.

(4) Iberville to Torcy, February 26. 1714.

(5) See this letter in Maoperson's Papers, vol. II. p. 528. The ill effect it had produced is mentioned by Iberville to Torcy, just before the Queen's death. July 20. 1714.

have been a misfortune to England had he come to the throne; and, however praiseworthy might be the sentiments of his letter, its general circulation at such a period cannot be considered otherwise than ill-timed and injudicious.

This letter, however, by no means put an end to the importunities of the Jacobites with the Pretender, nor to their exertions for him. Both continued with unabated ardour; and the latter, at least, with good prospects of success.

On the other side, the friends of the Protestant succession, fully aware of their danger, no less endeavoured to take their measures in case of an appeal to arms. In the absence of Marlborough, and in want of his master-mind, they considered Stanhope as their military chief; and that general became the pivot of several important schemes and missions. He held some private conferences with the principal officers of the French refugees, a numerous body, and zealous for the Protestant cause. He despatched several officers to the opposite coasts to ascertain the movements of the troops, and to guard against the Pretender secretly collecting and landing at the head of any considerable force (1). He and his friends were also brooding over a scheme no less adventurous and decisive than that which they dreaded in their opponents; for they had it in contemplation that, on the Queen's death, or dangerous illness, or perhaps even greatly declining health, the Elector should come over with a body of troops (2). Such a design was, of course, kept scrupulously secret; yet, as we shall find, it came to the knowledge of ministers in the course of the ensuing spring. It was supported by Marlborough with all his influence, and he sent General Cadogan from abroad to concert with Stanhope the necessary arrangements for that purpose (3). Yet the Duke positively refused to commit himself in documents, by putting his name to an association which had been framed by the most eminent of the Whigs in England, and brought to him at Antwerp by Mr. Onslow—a refusal not unattended, on their part, by some disappointment and suspicion.

The Court of Hanover, however, on this as on other occasions, showed but little readiness to second the exertions of its friends in England. The Dowager Electress was still living at the advanced age of eighty-two, and sometimes appeared jealous of the attention of her son to affairs in which she, as the next heir, considered herself chiefly concerned. From age she was slow and dilatory, as much as the Elector from temper. Both of them displayed, also, either an ill-judged parsimony, or a surprising poverty, in refusing

(1) "The officers sent by Mr. Stanhope to the Boulonnais and Flanders are returned; and report that they found no troops in motion there, only that nine Irish battalions and a regiment of dragoons were advanced from Lorraine, and in quarters at Douay, Valenciennes, and Hesdin, and that the officers said openly that

"they had orders to be ready to march upon a moment's warning." Kreyenberg to Robethon, Feb. 16. 1714. Macpherson's Papers, vol. II. p. 587.

(2) Macpherson, vol. II. p. 472, etc.

(3) See Coxe's Life of Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 263.

to lay out small sums, from time to time, according to the advice and entreaties of their English correspondents. In vain was it urged upon them that a very moderate expense might secure some doubtful elections or determine some wavering friends (1). In vain did Marlborough especially beseech the Elector not to spare his money, and offer to assist him with a loan of 20,000*l.* So far from being able or willing to enter into such expenses, the Elector, at this very period, was himself soliciting a pension for his mother from Queen Anne (2)!

Such means as calling in an armed force and buying mercenary partisans—the sword and the purse—appear strange expedients for securing a succession which was not only the regular and appointed course of law, but rooted in the hearts of three fourths of the English people at that period. Yet let us not too rashly condemn the statesmen who had recourse to these expedients. Let us remember how firmly established was the administration against which they had to strive; how fearful the dangers from which they finally delivered us! Nor let it be forgotten that no suspicion of any personal lucre or advantage to themselves, nor of illegal violence against their opponents, ever attached to their counsels, either for the application of money or for the landing of troops.

The broken health of the Queen, at this period, was another circumstance that stimulated both parties to exertion, as showing the importance of time. Her Majesty's constitution had in early life been injured by repeated miscarriages. Having of late years grown large and unwieldy, she could no longer take her former exercise of hunting, whilst she still continued to indulge somewhat too freely at her table; and she became subject to fits of the gout, which gradually grew more and more frequent and severe. Other ailments also intervened. On the 24th of December, she was seized with an inflammatory fever, and for several days remained alarmingly ill. Meanwhile various reports spread abroad, and, as usual, the less that was known the more there was rumoured. Even her Majesty's death was more than once asserted. The monied men were seized with a panic. The funds fell. A run was made upon the Bank, and a deputation hastened up in fear and trembling to the Lord Treasurer, to request his advice and assistance. Under his direction, the Queen wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor announcing her recovery (3); and a short time afterwards still more satisfactorily confirmed her own account, by arriving in London and opening Parliament in person.

The alarm, however, caused by Anne's undoubted jealousy of Hanover, and supposed predilection towards St. Germain's, was

(1) Baron Schutz to Bothmar, Dec. 11. 1713. Halifax and Sunderland pressed that day for 2000*l.* "to carry the elections of the Common Council of London;" and Stanhope added, "We are all sure that being masters of the Common

"Council, London will present to Parliament any address we choose!"

(2) See Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 336.

(3) See this letter, dated February 1., in Tindal (vol. vi. p. 136.).

not so easily appeased. The ground for it, in fact, grew daily stronger. One of the first objects of Lord Bolingbroke and Mrs. Masham had been to remove as much as possible from Court all warm partisans of the Hanover succession. None of these were left about her Majesty, except the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, who afforded no handle for dismissal. The Duke was Master of the Horse, a well-meaning man, but of shy proud habits and slender understanding; insomuch that, on one occasion, we find Marlborough justifying himself as from a serious imputation, from any idea of having trusted or employed him in affairs of importance (1). The Duchess, on the other hand, was a bold, imperious woman, with all that firmness of mind which her husband wanted. It was found that she was accustomed to ply the timid conscience of the Queen with hints on the terrors of Popery and the duty of securing the Protestant establishment. The floodgates of party virulence were instantly opened upon her; and a Protestant clergyman led the van against the inconvenient Protestant zealot. In his "Windsor Prophecy," Swift poured forth some most vehement invectives against the Duchess, reproaching her with having red hair, and with having connived at the murder of her first husband. It is difficult to guess which of these two accusations the Duchess resented most deeply, the latter being without a shadow of foundation, while the former, unhappily, could not be denied. To tell the truth of a lady's person is sometimes still more unpardonable than to spread falsehoods about her character. Certain it is, however, that the Duchess of Somerset became Swift's most deadly enemy, and, by her influence with her Royal mistress, was one of the principal means of excluding him from higher church preferment.

It may easily be supposed that however strong might have been Anne's Jacobite predilections, she found it necessary to conceal them with great care; and this was especially the case, since in her mind they were so frequently struggling with natural timidity and conscientious fears for the Established Church. Yet, in more than one instance, her family feelings burst through the veil which usually surrounded them. One of these is related by Lockhart of Carnwath. That zealous Jacobite having brought up what he terms a "high monarchical" address from the county of Edinburgh, was told by the Queen that she did not doubt his affection to her person, and hoped that he would not concur in any design to bring over the Prince of Hanover during her lifetime. Somewhat surprised at this sudden mark of confidence, "I told her," says Lockhart, "that her Majesty might judge from the

(1) "I beg you will have so kind an opinion of me as to believe I can't be so indiscreet as to employ the Duke of Somerset in any thing that is of consequence." To the Duchess, July 19.

1708. Swift says of Somerset, that he "had not a grain of judgment; hardly common sense." Works, vol. x. p. 300.

“ address I had read, that I should not be acceptable to my constituents if I gave my consent for bringing over any of that family, either now or at any time hereafter. At this,” adds Lockhart, “ she smiled, and I withdrew, and then she said to the Duke of Hamilton she believed I was an honest man and a fair dealer (1). ”

CHAPTER III.

Although the scope of this work does not lead me to notice, in detail, the merely local affairs of Scotland or Ireland, I must not omit that both the sister countries were then in a state of extraordinary ferment. In both, the Jacobite leaven was working far more strongly than in England; and it can scarcely be doubted, but that in Scotland that party comprised a majority, not only as to numbers, but also as to property. The Whig ministers had constantly kept a very apprehensive eye upon the Highland chiefs, whom they knew to have generally most disaffected principles and always most devoted followers. I may even assert, that the fierce and nearly fatal struggle which finally took place in 1745 had been clearly foreseen and anticipated, even in the reign of Queen Anne; and it has been a matter of just reproach to Walpole, that, preferring present ease to future safety, he did not, during his twenty years of peace and power, bring forward any measures to break the discipline and avert the danger of these military bodies (2). So early as 1708, Stanhope had introduced a bill for that object, but had not been able to carry it through. The administration which came to the helm in 1710 was, as may well be supposed, by no means inclined to destroy these useful and ever ready weapons of the Jacobites; on the contrary, it even secretly assisted them with money. Their own Solicitor General for Scotland, Sir James Steuart, declared in the House of Commons that, to his certain knowledge, 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* had been yearly remitted to the most decided of the Highland clans (3). For this discovery Steuart was dismissed from office, but it formed the subject of a keen attack from the Duke of Argyle in the House of Lords. Oxford admitted the fact; but said in his defence that he had only followed the example of King William, who, after reducing the Highland clans, had allowed still more considerable pensions as hush-money (4).

(1) Lockhart's Comment, p. 817.

(2) See some judicious observations, ascribed to Mr. Macaulay, Edin. Review, No. 117, p. 248.

(3) Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 1278., and Lockhart's Comment, p. 459.

(4) Ibid. p. 1339. The payments of King William were made through the Earl of Breadalbane. It is said that, on being asked by the minister for a particular account of his disbursements, Breadalbane replied, “ Why, my Lord, the

Nothing was alleged against this apology, and the Lord Treasurer's conduct was approved by the House. It may be observed, however, that if the payments of King William had been suspended during several years, there was required a reason as well as a precedent before they were renewed.

On the whole, it must be admitted that to rule Scotland at this period was a task of no ordinary difficulty. Its system of administration was, no doubt, fraught with gross and manifold abuses; but I believe that even the highest degree of perfection would not have secured it against the animosity and accusation of the Scotch. That high-spirited people bore with impatience any government from London—the ideas of subjugation and dependence were constantly floating before their eyes, and lending a distorted medium to every object they surveyed. In no part of their dominions had the Stuarts been urged to exercise such arbitrary and grinding power; in none had William the Third encountered more harassing and vexatious opposition. Even his practised patience had become at length exhausted. On one occasion, when the Duke of Hamilton was extolling Scotland to him, "My Lord," exclaimed his Majesty, "I only wish that it was a hundred thousand miles off, and that you were King of it!" The Union, which was designed as a remedy to these heart-burnings, proved at first only their aggravation. Never did a treaty produce more ultimate advantage to a nation; never was any received with such general and thorough hatred (1). I have already had to detail the violent attempt made in the House of Lords for its repeal; but that repeal was constantly held out as a bait by the Scotch Jacobites; and some even went so far as to declare that if they failed in regaining their freedom, they hoped at least to be able to deprive us of ours (2)!

Ireland, at this period, was scarcely in a more tranquil situation. The ministers had sent in the autumn, as Lord Lieutenant, one of the most prominent characters of the age, the Duke of Shrewsbury. After having been connected in turn with almost every party, Shrewsbury's views as to the great point of the succession might at this time be considered doubtful. During his administration in the reign of William, he had stooped to a treasonable correspondence with St. Germain's. On the other hand, when passing through Paris, on his way to Italy, he had, if indeed we may trust his own account in his journal (3), skilfully parried an indirect

"money is spent—the Highlanders are quiet— and that is the only way of accounting among friends!" Chambers' *Rebellions of 1689 and 1715*, p. 325.

(1) Swift calls it with his usual felicitous expression,

"Blest Revolution! which creates
"Divided hearts, united States!"

Works, vol. xiv. p. 69.

(2) As a remarkable instance of this bitter feeling,

see the conversation between Stanhope and Lockhart, as reported by the latter. (Comment. p. 479.)

"As you Englishmen," said Lockhart, "have made slaves of us Scotchmen, I should be glad to see you reduced to the same state!"

(3) "My old acquaintance, the Duke of Lauzun, one day took occasion to commend the Prince of Wales, and wished that by any means I might have an opportunity of seeing so fine a youth. I told him I questioned not his merit, but had no great curiosity. But if I must see

proposal from that quarter. On the other hand, again, decided Jacobite partialities might be presumed from the part he had taken in tripping up the Whig administration of 1710, and from the trust reposed in him by the opposite party. Had he not been expected to come into the secret views of Bolingbroke and Ormond, he would surely never have been stationed at such confidential posts as Paris and Dublin. Yet, as will appear in the sequel, he deceived these ministers as he had their predecessors; his old principles triumphed, and, at the last crisis, he came forth a most timely and useful asserter of the Protestant cause.

The Duke arrived at Dublin on the 27th of October. His instructions were to take the same line as the Government in England; to profess unabated zeal for the House of Hanover, and thus lull the public apprehensions, and prevent a Protestant cry at the elections. Accordingly, he seized the first opportunity, at a public entertainment, to declare that "he was still the same as in 1688," and to drink to the "pious and glorious memory of King William;" which, in Ireland, has always been a favourite party symbol. Soon afterwards, a riot having taken place in the Dublin election, and being, of course, like every other mischief, imputed to the Roman Catholics, the Duke ordered several of their chapels to be closed. Yet, with all his pains and professions, the Irish elections turned for the most part in favour of the Opposition. Scarcely had Parliament met before a struggle ensued in the Commons as to the choice of Speaker; and Sir Alan Brodrick, the Whig candidate, was elected by a majority of four. The Whig party fell next upon the Lord Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, who had lately countenanced the Jacobites almost without disguise, and an address was voted to the Queen for his removal. On the other side, the Lords, where the Court party was the stronger, took up the Chancellor's cause, passed a counter-address in his favour, and severely censured Mr. Nuttall, a lawyer, for having called his Lordship "a canary-bird," which, it seems, is an Hibernian term of reproach. It became evident that a collision was preparing between both Houses, and that the Lower was ripe for the most violent determinations. In this state of things, the Ministers, not less afraid of its effects in Ireland than of its example in England, sent directions to Shrewsbury to prorogue the Parliament, and it sat no more this reign. The Duke, on his part, anxious to watch the progress of events at Court, obtained leave of absence, and set out for England, leaving Sir Constantine Phipps and two Archbishops as Lords Justices.

That more important assembly, the Parliament of Great Britain, met on the 16th of February, 1714, and though the Tories had a large and undoubted majority in this House of Commons, yet here,

"him, I would much rather it were here than in England. This reply dashed all further discourse of this kind." *Corresp.* p. 198.

also, the choice of Speaker fell upon a member who had lately opposed several of their measures, Sir Thomas Hanmer. No person was even set up on the other side; partly on account of the weight and merit of Sir Thomas, partly because Oxford and Bolingbroke had hopes of regaining him and the other moderate Tories, and partly from their difficulty in agreeing amongst themselves as to the choice of a candidate.

The earliest attention of both Houses was turned to the public press, and to those pamphlets of which my last chapter gave a full account. Her Majesty's opening speech had contained a "wish that effectual care had been taken, as I have often desired, to suppress those seditious papers and factious rumours by which designing men have been able to sink public credit, and the innocent have suffered. There are some who are arrived to that height of malice as to insinuate that the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under my government!"

It soon appeared that, as far as this system of libels was concerned, both Houses, though in very opposite directions, were smarting from its stings. The Tory House of Commons proceeded against the "Crisis," a new pamphlet of Steele's (1). The Whig House of Lords proceeded against an answer to that pamphlet, called "The Public Spirit of the Whigs." Swift was well known to be the author, but had not affixed nor announced his name; so that the anger of the Peers could wreak itself only on the publisher and printer. These were immediately summoned to the bar. And here it may be observed that Swift, throughout his whole career, never showed the slightest scruple at allowing his underlings to suffer in his place, nor thought of relief to them by exposure of himself. The alleged ground of offence in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," was a bitter and insulting attack upon the whole Scotch nation in treating of the Union; and the majority of the House took up the matter warmly. The Lord Treasurer, on his part, protested he knew nothing of the pamphlet, exclaimed against the malicious insinuations contained in it, and readily joined in an order for committing the publisher and printer to the custody of the Black Rod.

It may assist our judgment of Oxford's character to observe, that at the very time he was thus professing his ignorance of the author, and his detestation of the book, he wrote a letter to Swift in a counterfeit hand, expressing his sympathy, and enclosing a bill for 100*l.* (2). Lord Wharton, however, still pressed to have Barber,

(1) The "Crisis" is a very poor performance. Sir Walter Scott says of it, "It is chiefly a digest of the Acts of Parliament respecting the succession, mixed with a few comments, of which the diction is neither forcible, elegant, nor precise; while by the extraordinary exertions made to obtain subscriptions it is plain that the relief of the author's necessities was the

"principal object of the publication." Life of Swift, p. 185.

(2) The letter was as follows:—"I have heard that some honest men who are very innocent are under trouble, touching a printed pamphlet. A friend of mine, an obscure person, but charitable, puts the enclosed bill in your hands to answer such exigencies as their case may im-

the printer, closely examined, with a view of discovering the “villanous author.” But the artifice of Oxford warded off the blow. He directed a prosecution against Barber himself, which rendered his evidence as to the author no longer admissible in law. The Scotch Peers, headed by the Duke of Argyle, now went up in a body to the Queen, with a demand for vengeance on the insult they had suffered. At their request a proclamation was issued, which promised a reward of 300*l.* for discovering the author of the libel; but this and the other legal measures were skilfully dropped by the Lord Treasurer as soon as the clamour had abated.

In the Commons, Steele having put his name to his pamphlet, and being a member of the House, suffered far more severely than Swift in the Lords. The party tone of his former essays in the *Tatler*, and the triumph of his late election, had made him peculiarly hateful to the Tories; and their animosity against him burst forth on the very first day of the session. Sir Thomas Hammer having been proposed as Speaker, Steele, somewhat presumptuously, perhaps, for a new member, rose to support the nomination. “I rise up,” he said, “to do him honour”—words which immediately drew from the majority an ironical cry of “*Tatler! Tatler!*” and, as he afterwards came out, he was greeted with—“It is not so easy a thing to speak in the House”—“He fancies because he can scribble”—and other such sneering observations. These, however, were but the first mutterings of the impending storm (1). It burst on the 11th of March by a direct attack from Mr. Hungerford, (a lawyer, who had been expelled a former House of Commons for bribery,) seconded by Auditor Foley, a kinsman of the Lord Treasurer. They quoted some passages in the “*Crisis*,” which implied that the Hanover succession was in danger under her Majesty’s government, and took good care to apply to the Queen what was intended for the Ministry. So determined was the hostility of the Court party, that it was not without much demur that a week was allowed to Steele to prepare for his defence; and on the appointed day Auditor Foley actually moved that he should withdraw without making any defence at all! The latter proposal was, however, too gross and glaring to be admitted. Steele, nevertheless, did not think proper to take his seat on the side-benches as a member, but stood at the bar as a culprit, with Stanhope on one side, and Walpole on the other. Addison also sat near, and prompted him upon occasion. Thus ably supported, he spoke for nearly three hours, with great eloquence and spirit, and then retired. It was now generally expected that Foley would sum up the case, and answer the defence paragraph by paragraph.

“mediate require. And I find he will do more, this being only for the present.” The name and the date are given in Swift’s endorsement, and the letter is printed with his Works (vol. xvi. p. 126.).

(1) See Mr. Steele’s apology, printed in the *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 1286.

But the Auditor, confident of his ready majorities, and thinking further trouble needless, contented himself with saying, "Without amusing the House with long speeches, it is plain that the writings that have been complained of are seditious and scandalous, injurious to her Majesty's Government, the Church, and the Universities; and I move that the question should be put there-upon."

This motion occasioned a very warm debate, in which there were several powerful speeches on the side of Steele. But of these the most remarkable were those of Walpole and Lord Finch. "By the present mode of proceeding," said the former, "Parliament, which used to be the scourge only of evil Ministers, is made by Ministers the scourge of the subject. . . . Mr. Steele is only attacked because he is the advocate for the Protestant succession. The cause which he so ably defends gives the offence. Through his sides the succession is to be wounded. His punishment will be a symptom that the succession is in danger, and the Ministry are now feeling the pulse of Parliament to see how far they may be able to proceed. . . . From what fatality does it arise that what is written in favour of the Protestant succession, and countenanced by the late Ministry, is deemed a libel on the present administration (1)?"

Lord Finch was son of the celebrated Tory leader, Nottingham. He owed some personal obligations to Steele, who had formerly refuted a libel on his sister. He now rose to defend her defender: but addressing the House for the first time, and overcome by the bashfulness usually felt on that occasion, he found all his attempts to express himself in vain, and sat down in confusion, merely saying, "It is strange I cannot speak for this man, though I could readily fight for him." These words being overheard, produced a general feeling in his favour; the whole House rang with encouraging "Hear! Hear!" and thus called on, Lord Finch rose a second time, and delivered a speech fraught with high public spirit and natural eloquence. He particularly justified Steele in his reflections on the Peace of Utrecht. "We may," he said, "give it all the fine epithets we please, but epithets do not change the nature of things. We may, if we please, call it here honourable; but I am sure it is accounted scandalous in Holland, Germany, Portugal, and over all Europe except France and Spain. We may call it advantageous; but all the trading part of the nation find it to be otherwise: and if it be really advantageous, it must be so to the ministry that made it."

Such was the beginning of a public career which, though not illustrious, was long, useful, and honourable. As Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, Lord Finch formed part of several admi-

(1) The notes of this speech were found amongst Sir Robert Walpole's papers, and are published by Coxe in his *Life*, vol. i. p. 44.

nistrations, and held his last cabinet office above half a century from the time of his outset (1).

Of the speeches delivered against Steele no account appears. But when the question was put, that his publication should be declared a scandalous libel, and the author expelled the House, it was carried by 245 votes against 152—a most fierce and unwarrantable stretch of party violence.

Soon after this transaction, a generous effort was made in the House of Lords on behalf of the ill-fated Catalans. The treatment of that poor people by Oxford's administration is perhaps the foulest of all the blots upon its memory. They had first been roused to revolt at the instigation of England. In the name of the Queen had Lord Peterborough summoned them to arms, and solemnly promised to secure to them their ancient Fueros, or provincial liberties. Under this belief had they nobly fought and suffered. Through their aid had the Austrian cause been for several years maintained in Spain, and its standards twice seen to float from the towers of Madrid. That cause, it is true, was laid prostrate for ever in the burning streets of Brihuega and the bloody plain of Villa Viciosa. But it fell from no fault of the Catalans themselves. They had performed, and were even yet performing, their part of the contract, while ours, on the contrary, was shamefully withheld. At the Peace of Utrecht, their promised Fueros were utterly neglected by the English plenipotentiaries, and nothing beyond an amnesty (that is, mere personal pardon) was stipulated for them. We even find Lord Bolingbroke sneering at what he calls their "obstinacy (2)," and attempting to prove that "it is not for the interest of England to preserve the Catalan "liberties (3)!"

The shamelessness of Lord Bolingbroke's conduct will appear yet more glaring, if we contrast it with that which the same people had received from the French, and remember that the French, with all their great qualities, have never been thought remarkable for a liberal interpretation or an exact fulfilment of their treaties. These are points on which we have often, and not unjustly, compared their faith with the Punic. But on this occasion they might well have retaliated upon ours. During the reign of Philip the Fourth, the Catalans had risen in another insurrection against the Castilian government (4). In that insurrection they had received

(1) He resigned the Presidency of the Council in July, 1766, and died in 1769, aged 81. Lord Waldegrave says of him, that at the Admiralty, "his whole conduct was so unexceptionable, that faction itself was obliged to be silent." (Memoirs, p. 139.)

(2) Letter to the Queen, Dec. 17. 1713, in Lord Bolingbroke's Correspondence.

(3) Case of the Catalans, in Tindal's History, vol. vi. p. 288.

(4) The Catalan wars of that century might form

a very interesting narrative. When Dr. Dunham observes, that "for the domestic portion of this "and much of the following reign, there are no "native contemporary authorities extant; at least "we know of none;" (Hist. of Spain and Portugal, vol. v. p. 93.) he overlooks the *Guerra de Cataluña en tiempo de Felipe IV., por Don Francisco de Melo*; one of the most valuable and authentic historical records in the Spanish language. See Mr. Dunlop's Memoirs of Spain, vol. I. p. 287.

assistance from the French, as in the latter from the English. In both cases had there been mutual engagements, in both were their struggles for independence finally foiled; but did the French forsake them at the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, as the English at the Peace of Utrecht in 1712? So far from it, that we find the 55th article of that treaty provide, in the most positive manner, for the restoration and maintenance of the Catalan Fueros (1); and what is more, we find that under the guarantee of France these privileges were effectually respected.

The Catalans, now forsaken by their Austrian as well as by their English allies, and opposed to both the monarchies of France and Spain, yet stood heroically firm, and determined to wage the contest for their freedom single-handed. But their noble spirit failed to rouse any sense of justice or humanity in Bolingbroke; and so far from befriending them, by word or deed, he now prepared to assist in their reduction, and to fill up the measure of his own disgrace by despatching an English squadron to the Mediterranean. The Admiral, Sir James Wishart, was directed, in his first instructions, "to repair with the fleet before Barcelona, then besieged by the enemy, and demand immediate payment of the value of the Queen's stores in the town, or a sufficient security for payment in some reasonable time: to take care to time his arrival before the town according to the advices from Lord Bingley (then designed to be sent to Madrid as ambassador): by the strongest representations to induce the regency of Barcelona to accept of the terms that shall be obtained for them: to take all the necessary measures pursuant to the Queen's intentions to put an end to the confusions that now reign in those parts, and all proper methods of persuasion to induce the inhabitants of Majorca to submit to the terms that shall be offered them; and, in case of refusal, to employ his squadron in countenancing and assisting all attempts which may be made for reducing them to a due obedience (2)." On these instructions, we may observe, first, that England was under the same engagements to secure the privileges of Majorca as those of Catalonia at the time Sir James Wishart received direct orders to attack the former; and, secondly, that the whole expedition was planned in concert with, and in deference to, Sir Patrick Lawless, the Spanish envoy in London, who, during the preceding September, had presented a memorial to Bolingbroke, stating that "His Catholic Majesty hopes the Queen will order a squadron of her ships to reduce his subjects to their obedience." Thus England was actually not merely forsaking her faithful and ill-fated allies, but leaguering herself with France and Spain against them!

It was at this point that the House of Lords, with a generous

(1) See the *Corps Diplomatique*, ed. 1728, vol. vi. In what he says on this point. (*Hist. of Rebell.* part 2. p. 271. Lord Clarendon is very inaccurate vol. vii. p. 388. Oxf. ed.)

(2) See the case of the Catalans, p. 261.

feeling of compassion, took up the cause of the oppressed. The first step—a motion for papers on the 17th of March—was not opposed by the Ministry. On the 31st, the subject was resumed by Lord Cowper's moving an address to the Queen, "That her endeavours for preserving to the Catalans the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties having proved ineffectual, their Lordships made it their humble request that she would continue her interposition in the most pressing manner in their behalf." Lord Cowper was ably supported by his former colleagues, Sunderland and Halifax; while on the other part, Bolingbroke declared "that the Queen had used her endeavours to procure to the Catalans the enjoyment of their ancient liberties and privileges; but that, after all, the engagements she had entered into subsisted no longer than while King Charles was in Spain!" But that miserable subterfuge (then urged for the first time) made no impression on the House. The Ministers found it necessary to lower their tone; and Lord Chancellor Harcourt could only observe, that the address would be more welcome to her Majesty if the word "ineffectual," as applied to her former endeavours, were left out. Thus amended, the address passed without opposition, and was presented the next day (1). Her Majesty's answer was as follows:—

"My Lords,—I heartily thank you for this address, and the satisfaction you express in the endeavours I have used for securing the Catalans their just liberties. At the time I concluded my peace with Spain, I resolved to continue my interposition, upon every other proper occasion, for obtaining those liberties, and to prevent, if possible, the misfortunes to which that people are exposed by the conduct of those more nearly concerned to help them." The last sentence is an evident and angry allusion to the Cabinet of Vienna (2). But the address of the House of Lords was by no means fruitless of relief for the Catalans. Bolingbroke immediately sent fresh orders to Sir James Wishart not to appear before Barcelona, nor to attack the Majorcans till he should hear from Lord Bingley and receive directions from England; and Lord Bingley's instructions were also (in appearance at least) considerably modified.

Meanwhile the Lord Treasurer greatly surprised the House by moving for leave to bring in a bill "For the further security of the Protestant succession, by making it high treason to bring in any foreign troops into the kingdom." At first sight, this measure seemed to point at St. Germain's; but it was, in reality, directed against Hanover, and adverted to the secret design, already men-

(1) The Lords obtained also the concurrence of the Commons in this address. *Commons' Journals*, vol. xvii. p. 275.

(2) This was the tone taken by all the ministerial writers of the time: "How dreadful," says

Swift, in his *Public Spirit of the Whigs*, "must be the doom of those who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their Prince!" *Works*, vol. iv. p. 446.

tioned, of bringing over the Elector with a body of troops. Bolingbroke, however, dissembling his real drift, and finding himself hard pressed by the Opposition, observed, in the course of the debate, that he doubted not his noble friend who had introduced the motion meant only such foreign troops as might be brought into the kingdom by the Pretender. This the Lord Treasurer himself confirmed. But it was answered that, in that case, such a bill was altogether unnecessary; and that the law already provided sufficient weapons, such troops being either open enemies, if foreigners, or traitors and rebels, if natives; and on the whole, the motion was so coldly received by the House, that it does not seem to have been carried further.

The Ministers, however, undaunted by this check, attempted to retrieve their reputation by a decisive vote in both Houses, that the Protestant succession was not in danger under her Majesty's government. In the Lords, this question came on early in April. The debate was very remarkable, from the fact that a body of Peers, hearty friends to the Protestant succession, but holding Tory politics, and hitherto supporters of the Tory Administration, separated from it on this trying occasion. The chief of these were the Archbishop of York and several other prelates; the Earls of Abingdon, Jersey, and Anglesea, Lords Ashburnham and Carteret. Anglesea was especially hostile in his language: looking full at the Treasurer, he said, that "if he found himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil Minister from the Queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold." But, in spite of this schism, the Ministerial vote was passed by seventy-six against sixty-four; and thus, in fact, it was passed by the twelve Peers of the new creation.

The house of Commons, on the 15th, displayed a similar scene. The House having, on the motion of Sir Edward Knatchbull, resolved itself into committee on the same question of the Protestant succession being out of danger, there appeared, as in the Lords, a secession from the Government of many moderate Tories, (the Hanoverian Tories, as they were then termed,) with the Speaker at their head. A very powerful speech from him drew over a considerable number on this occasion; and, on the division, the Court could only muster 256 against 208. Next day, on reporting the resolution to the House, another fierce debate arose. Walpole applauded the public spirit of the Speaker, but added, that he despaired of seeing truth prevail; since, notwithstanding the weight of a person of his known integrity and eloquence, the majority of votes had carried it against reason and argument. Stanhope endeavoured to prove the Protestant succession in danger by this single induction, that, as was universally acknowledged, 'it had been the French King's intention, so it was still his interest, and he had it more than ever in his

power, to restore the Pretender. But the Opposition did not venture on a second division.

In the Lords, the Whigs showed their resentment in a far less justifiable manner. The Earl of Wharton moved, that her Majesty might be requested “to issue out a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender dead or alive.” The last clause—a direct encouragement to murder—might disgrace even a barbarous age and a false religion; and it is with great regret that I find such illustrious names as Halifax and Cowper ranged in defence of this savage and unchristian proposal. They, Whigs as they were, by a strange anomaly, relied mainly on the precedent of James the Second, in setting a price on the head of his nephew the Duke of Monmouth: so inconsistent do men sometimes become from party spirit! To oppose this address was by no means safe or prudent at that time, as laying open the opponent to the charge of Jacobitism; yet Lords North and Trevor did not shrink from this duty. The former concluded his speech by saying, that no man had more respect and affection for the House of Hanover, or would do more to serve them than himself; but that they must excuse him if he would not venture damnation for them. The latter moved as an amendment, “That the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land.” Many of the Whig peers concurred with the amendment; all the Whig bishops had withdrawn from the debate; and the House of Lords, to their honour, rejected Lord Wharton’s proposal.

The House of Lords, on the same day, passed two resolutions: 1. That no person, not included in the Articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France or Spain, should be capable of any employment, civil or military. 2. That no person, who is a natural born subject of her Majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of public minister from any foreign potentate.—These resolutions were levelled entirely at Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irishman, who was then in London as agent from the Court of Spain in the treaty of commerce. He had been an adherent of James the Second, had intrigued in the cause of his son, was in frequent and close communication with Bolingbroke, and held the Roman Catholic faith. All these might be just grounds of jealousy; but, as mere truth and reason have seldom sufficient weight with the vulgar, some of the leading Whigs did not scruple to add several absurd and groundless allegations. Walpole had even gone so far as to allude to him, in the House of Commons, as a man “strongly suspected of having imbrued his hands in the blood of the late Duke of Medina Celi and Marquis of Leganez (1),”—an utter calumny. The Ministers, however, wisely yielded to the popular

(1) Coxe’s Life, vol. i. p. 48.

prejudice ; and sent to Lawless a friendly suggestion to withdraw into Holland.

In the midst of these parliamentary proceedings, the Ministers were thrown into the greatest confusion by an unexpected diplomatic demand. The Hanoverian envoy, Baron Schutz, had, instead of any precise instructions from his Court, received an order to consult and be guided by Somers, Halifax, Cowper, and other undoubted friends of the Protestant succession. All of them were, at this period, unanimous in thinking that their great object could not be better secured than by the presence of one of the Hanover family in England. So long as they had indulged any hope of regaining the Queen's favour, they had been unwilling to urge, or even to allow, a measure which they knew to be peculiarly distasteful to her Majesty ; but seeing her now thoroughly wedded to Tory counsels, they looked much more to the safety of her legal successor than to her own satisfaction. They saw, besides, that the active intrigues of the Jacobites could only be withstood by equal activity and vigour on the other side ; and their plan was that the Electoral Prince, having been created a peer by the title of Duke of Cambridge, should come over and take his seat. With such views, and under the guidance of these statesmen, Schutz, on the 12th of April, suddenly waited upon Lord Chancellor Harcourt, and told him that he had orders from the Electress Sophia to ask for the writ of the Prince as Duke of Cambridge. The Chancellor, much discomposed, changed colour and looked down (1) ; and, after a long pause, answered that he would speak of it to the Queen. On Schutz's taking his leave, the Chancellor followed him to the door, and begged him to observe that he had not refused the writ, but only wished, in the first place, to take her Majesty's orders. A cabinet council was immediately summoned. At its conclusion, Harcourt wrote dryly to the envoy, stating that the Queen, not having received the least information of that demand from him, or in any other manner whatsoever from the Court of Hanover, could hardly persuade herself that he acted by direction from thence ; but that the writ of the Duke of Cambridge had been sealed at the same time with all the others, and lay ready to be delivered to the envoy whenever he called for it. It soon appeared how great was the resentment of the Queen, and the perplexity of Ministers. Three days after Schutz had an interview with the Lord Treasurer. " He told me," says the envoy in his despatches, " that he never saw the Queen in a greater passion. " He said I ought to have addressed myself to the Secretary of State, or to him, who would not have failed to advise very properly in the affair ; protesting that he had no service more at heart, after the Queen's, than that of the Electoral family ; and

(1) See an account of this conversation in the despatch of Schuts to Robethon, April 13. 1714 Macpherson's Papers, vol. II. p. 590.

“that he was vexed at what had happened, the Queen taking it as the greatest mark of contempt that could be given her. He added, that had it not been for this incident, her Majesty would have invited the Electoral Prince to pay her a visit next summer, forgetting that he had told me, but a moment before, that she was too much afraid to see any of the Electoral family here, and that, this alone excepted, she would willingly grant every thing else that could be demanded of her. He heaped together several very unintelligible things in this discourse (1).”

It also appears that Oxford, in this conversation advised Schutz, as a friend, to appear no more at Court. Finding that Schutz was not disposed to take this hint, it was followed two days after by a positive and formal injunction from the Secretary of State; and he was informed, at the same time, that the Queen considered his conduct as a grievous insult, and had directed her minister to solicit his immediate recall from the Elector. Alarmed at this, and having acted without special orders, Schutz set out himself for Hanover, to convey the writ and justify his conduct in demanding it.

At first sight this transaction appears, no doubt, honourable to the zeal and sincerity of the Whigs. But a close and impartial examination tends, on the contrary, in some degree to disparage the course which they pursued on this occasion. It was generally known that the Queen had always entertained a rooted and unconquerable aversion to the presence of any of the Electoral family in England. Besides that weak minds often shrink from the sight of an heir, as reminding them of death, she might justly fear the cabals and intrigues which would gather round the Court of her intended successor; and might remember how much she herself, in that very situation, had been able to thwart and embarrass the Government of William. She might remember the jealousy and apprehension which Queen Elizabeth, from the very first period of her reign, had manifested against acknowledging the claim, or receiving the visit, of Mary of Scots (2). In short, it was positively certain that her Majesty would never willingly allow any of the Hanover family to reside in England, and that no minister of hers could venture to propose it.

Such had been the state of things so early as 1705. In that year the Whigs were in place, and the Tories in opposition. The

(1) See Macpherson's Papers, vol. II. p. 899.

(2) See Buchanan's History of Scotland, 17th book. "I will be Queen of England as long as I live," says Elizabeth. "What! do you think I am willing to have my grave-clothes always before my eyes? Kings have this peculiarity, that they have some kind of sentiments against their own children, who are born lawful heirs to succeed them. How then is it likely I should stand affected towards my kinswomen, if she be once declared my heir? Just as Charles the Seventh was toward Louis the Eleventh. Be-

sides, and that which weighs most with me, I know the inconstancy of this people; I know how they loathe the present state of things; I know how intent their eyes are upon a successor. It is natural for all men, as the proverb is, to worship the rising rather than the setting sun. I have learnt that from my own times, to omit other examples: when my sister Mary sat at helm, how eagerly did some men desire to see me placed on the throne!" etc. English Version, vol. II. p. 158. ed. 1690.

ground of the two parties was opposite to what it became nine years afterwards, and their conduct was opposite also. In 1705 the Tories, wishing, on the one hand, to harass the Government, and, on the other hand, to manifest their own attachment to the Protestant succession, brought forward motions in both Houses to invite the Princess Sophia, as presumptive heir, to come over to England. The Whigs, being then in office, and compelled to take the orders of the Queen, withstood, with all their might, this plausible proposal, and argued that, in a matter of that delicate and domestic nature, the inclinations of her Majesty were not to be coldly overlooked, still less openly opposed (1). The proposal was, however, so entirely in accordance with the general principles of the Whigs, that several amongst them in both Houses, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, refused to take part against it, and joined with the Tories on that question. Such men might, with perfect propriety and consistency, pursue, in 1714, the same object they had already urged in 1705. But, with regard to the main body of the Whigs, I must own, notwithstanding my approval and admiration of their general policy at this time, that I think it very difficult to excuse their conduct in these two instances—that they may be charged with too little patriotism at the first period, or with too much party-spirit at the latter.

The application of Schutz, and the consequent indignation of the Queen, made her ministers determine on strong remonstrances with the Court of Hanover. They appointed as ambassador, first Lord Paget, and almost immediately afterwards the Earl of Clarendon—depending, perhaps, on his illustrious name, for of talents or of judgment he was certainly utterly destitute. We find it stated of him in a grave despatch, that when he was appointed governor of Pennsylvania, and told that he should represent her Majesty, he fancied that it was necessary to dress himself as a woman, and actually did so (2)! The Queen wrote to the Elector, and to Princess Sophia, with her own hand, on the 19th of May, deprecating, in the strongest terms, the proposed visit of the Prince, and holding out threats as to the consequences if he came. On the other hand, the Whig chiefs, and more especially the Duke of Marlborough, continued in their letters to be no less vehement in urging the necessity of his Highness's immediate arrival (3).

It is difficult to say to what decision these opposite exhortations would have led, had not an unexpected incident postponed it.

(1) See Somerville's *Queen Anne*, p. 111.; and Cox's *Marlborough*, vol. II. p. 240.

(2) Bothmar's despatch to Robethon, June 16. 1714. Macpherson's *Papers*. This Lord Clarendon was Edward, the third Earl of the first creation; he died in 1728.

(3) "By this remedy," writes the Duke to Robethon, on the 8th of May, "the succession will be secured without risk, without expense, and

"without war; and likewise it is very probable
"that France, seeing herself prevented in that
"manner, will abandon her design of assisting
"the Pretender. . . . In my humble opinion, it
"would be proper to use despatch, and that the
"Prince should set out before Lord Paget ar-
"rives." Cadogan wrote still more pressingly
from London on the 7th. . . .

This was the sudden death,—if, indeed, at eighty-three any death should be termed sudden—of the good old Princess Sophia. She had been much affected at reading the peremptory letters from the Queen; and on the next day after their receipt, the 28th of May, whilst walking in the gardens of Herrenhausen, she was seized with an apoplectic fit, and fell dead into the arms of the Electoral Princess, afterwards Queen Caroline. She was a woman of most amiable temper and no mean acquirements, being perfect mistress of the Dutch, German, English, French, and Italian languages, and during her long life she had never belied the character that becomes an English and a Royal birth. She used to say that she should die happy if she could only live to have “Here lies Sophia, Queen of “England,” engraved upon her coffin; and it is remarkable within how very few weeks her wish would have been fulfilled.

The death of the Princess enabled the Elector, now become immediate heir to the English crown, to steer his course without disobliging either the Sovereign or his friends. After pausing for nearly three weeks, he answered the Queen’s letter in most civil and submissive, but very vague terms; and despatched orders to Baron Bothmar, his envoy at the Hague, to proceed to London, and to consult with the Whig leaders, whether, after all the unavoidable delay that had occurred, any idea of sending over the Electoral Prince had not better be postponed till next Session.

Meanwhile the English Ministers were not inactive. Oxford, who had constantly endeavoured to keep well with the Court of Hanover—who perhaps really intended its interests—who had early in the year sent thither his cousin Mr. Harley with warm expressions of duty and attachment, saw, with despair, that the late events had confirmed the distrust and aversion in that quarter, whilst he had failed to push his negotiations with the other. His influence with the Queen was also daily declining, or, rather, had already ceased. In spite of all his whispers and manœuvres, Bolingbroke, in conjunction with Atterbury, perceiving how necessary it was to their ultimate designs still further to discourage, nay, even to crush the Dissenters, drew up in Council, and brought into Parliament, as a Government measure, the celebrated Schism Act. This Act enjoins—That no person in Great Britain shall keep any public or private school, or act as tutor, that has not first subscribed the declaration to conform to the Church of England and obtained a licence from the diocesan, and that upon failure of so doing the party may be committed to prison without bail; and that no such licence shall be granted before the party produces a certificate of his having received the sacrament, according to the communion of the Church of England, within the last year, and also subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

This tyrannical act, introduced in the Commons on the 12th of May by Sir William Wyndham, was of course vehemently opposed

by the Whigs. We know that Sir Peter King, Mr. Hampden, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Robert Walpole spoke against it, although nothing beyond their names has been preserved on this occasion. But some observations of General Stanhope, which appear in the scanty reports of those debates, and which seem to have excited much attention, may perhaps be said, without undue praise, to be far in advance of the time at which they were delivered, and to show a large and enlightened toleration, which it was reserved for a much later generation to feel, acknowledge, and establish. We are told that he "showed, in particular, the ill consequences of this law, as it would of course occasion foreign education, which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, which was still worse, would fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own country. He illustrated and strengthened his argument by the example of the English Popish seminaries abroad, which, he said, were so pernicious to Great Britain, that, instead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wish those already in force against Papists were mitigated, and that they should be allowed a certain number of schools."—It is singular that some of the most plain and simple notions, such as that of religious toleration, should be the slowest and most difficult to be impressed upon the human mind.

The Schism Act passed the Commons by a majority of 237 against 126. In the Lords, the second reading was moved by Bolingbroke (1), and ably opposed by Lords Cowper and Wharton. "It is somewhat strange," said the latter, "that they should call schism in England what is the established religion in Scotland; and therefore if the Lords, who represent the nobility of that part of Great Britain, are for this bill, I hope that, in order to be even with us and consistent with themselves, they will move for the bringing in another bill to prevent the growth of schism in their own country." Lord Halifax drew an animated contrast between the oppression now meditated on our own Protestant Dissenters and the protection and encouragement of the reformed Walloons by Queen Elizabeth, and of the French Huguenots by William the Third, when both fled hither from domestic persecution. Lord Townshend said that he had lived a long time in Holland, and had observed that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful commonwealth lay in the number of its inhabitants; and, at the same time, he was persuaded that, if the States should cause the schools of any one sect tolerated in the United Provinces to be shut up, they would soon be as thin of people as Sweden or

(1) We have no account of Bolingbroke's speech on this occasion. In his letter to Wyndham he urges the best, perhaps the only argument that could be alleged on that side: "The evil effect is

"without remedy, and may therefore deserve indulgence; but the evil cause is to be prevented, and can therefore be entitled to none."

Spain. The Earl of Nottingham concluded an eloquent speech on the same side with a bitter and impressive allusion to Swift, whose favour with the Ministers was now firmly established and generally known. "My Lords," he said, "I have many children, and "I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live "to give them the education I could wish they had. Therefore, my "Lords, I own I tremble when I think that a certain Divine, who "is hardly suspected of being a Christian, is in a fair way of being "a Bishop, and may one day give licences to those who shall be "intrusted with the education of youth (1)!"

All parties looked with great interest to the conduct of the Lord Treasurer on this occasion. It was, as usual, in the highest degree irresolute and ambiguous. In the Cabinet, he proposed to soften the most rigorous clauses; in the House, he declared, that he "had "not yet considered of it;" and having induced the Opposition to allow the second reading to pass without dividing, took care to absent himself on the day when it finally came to the vote (2). Such vacillating weakness sealed his political ruin.

In committee, the Opposition moved many important amendments and carried a few. First, they inserted a clause, that Dissenters might at least have schoolmistresses to teach their children to read. Next, they removed the conviction of offenders against the act from the justices of the peace to the courts of law. A right of appeal was also provided; and a clause added, to exempt from the act any tutor employed in a nobleman's family—it being, of course, impossible for a nobleman to entertain or to countenance any other than excellent principles!

On the other hand, the independent and Hanoverian Tory Peers, headed by Lord Anglesea, moved that the act should extend to Ireland; a proposal which was combated by the Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, but which, on a division, passed by a majority of six. On the third reading (June 10.), the whole bill was carried by 77 against 72; thus proving that the ascendant of the Whig party in the House of Lords had been grievously shaken by the late creation; and that, when opposed to all the Hanoverian Tories, in addition to the Government, they had no longer the majority in their hands. A strong protest was entered against the bill, and it deserves notice that this was signed by several of the Bishops.

When the bill, thus amended, was sent to the Commons, a short debate ensued. Stanhope proposed, that the tutors in "the families of members of the House of Commons might be put upon "the same footing as those who taught in the families of noblemen; "it being reasonable to suppose that the members of that House,

(1) The Earl of Nottingham had previously been the object of some of Swift's fiercest attacks, and might no doubt entertain a personal resentment against him. See especially the ballad—"An ora-

"tor dismal of Nottinghamshire," etc. (Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 378.)

(2) See Somerville's *Queen Anne*, p. 561.

“ many of whom were of noble extraction, had as great a concern “ as the Lords for the education of their children, and an equal “ right to take care of their instruction.” A very aristocratic argument for a popular privilege! Several members of both parties were of Stanhope’s opinion; but Mr. Hungerford, backed by the Ministerial bench, represented that the least amendment now made might occasion the loss of the bill; and, on a division, the one proposed was lost by 168 against 98. And thus was passed through both Houses one of the worst acts that ever defiled the Statute Book. Happily for us, it never came into operation; for it so happened that the very day that had been fixed for its commencement was that on which the Queen expired. The Government which succeeded suspended its execution; and its repeal, as will afterwards be shown, was one of the acts of Lord Stanhope’s administration.

At the time, however, the passing of this bill appears to have flushed the Jacobites with the most eager hopes, insomuch as to draw them from their usual fenced and guarded caution in debate. One of them, Sir William Whitlocke, Member for the University of Oxford, speaking in the House of Commons of the Elector, said: “ If he comes to the Crown, which I hope he never will—” Here there was a loud cry and confusion, the Whigs all calling out that Sir William should be brought to the bar to answer for his words. But he, with great adroitness, eluded their attack, and repaired his own imprudence. He said he would retract nothing; he only meant that, as the Queen was younger than her heir presumptive, he hoped she would outlive him (1)!

Some of the Jacobites, moreover, showed an inclination not to confine themselves to words. Two Irish officers were arrested, the one at Gravesend and the other at Deal, bearing passes from the Earl of Middleton, and enlisting men for the Pretender. Their detection was due to some secret information given to Lord Wharton, and to the legal steps he took in consequence; and the affair being not merely a national but a party one, made a great noise. Apprehensions were entertained that James, instead of trusting to the favourable disposition and broken health of the Queen, and awaiting her succession, might attempt to prosecute his claim by her dethronement—a blow which would have struck down the Tories in office as much as the Whigs in opposition, and which roused the dormant zeal of the former. Partly, therefore, to guard against this danger, and partly to lull the suspicions of their doubtful partisans, the Hanoverian Tories, who, by joining the Whigs on some questions, had already produced such strong addresses from the House of Lords, the Ministers, on the 23d of June, issued a proclamation for apprehending the Pretender whenever he

1) Lockhart, vol. 1. p. 469.-

should attempt to land in Great Britain, and promising a reward of 5000*l.* for that service. Bolingbroke took an early opportunity of assuring the French agent that “in fact this will make no difference (1)”—nor can I think that it did. The measure was, however, received with great expressions of satisfaction in both Houses, and the Lower even passed a resolution for increasing the promised reward to 100,000*l.* A bill was also rapidly passed, making it high treason to list or be enlisted in the Pretender’s service; and thus did Bolingbroke and his adherents endeavour to retain the mask which had already begun to drop, but which it was not yet expedient to cast aside. These were the last important proceedings of this session, which was closed on the 9th of July by the Queen in person with a short and dissatisfied speech.

Meanwhile, the division amongst the Ministers and the murmurs of their partisans had been daily rising higher. A letter at this period from Swift to Lord Peterborough portray the scene with his usual harsh dark colours (2):—“I was told the other day of an answer you made to somebody abroad who inquired of you the state and dispositions of our Court,—that you could not tell, for you had been out of England a fortnight. . . . It appears you have a better opinion of our steadiness than we deserve; for I do not remember, since you left us, that we have continued above four days in the same view, or four minutes with any manner of concert. . . . I never led a life so thoroughly uneasy as I do at present. Our situation is so bad, that our enemies could not, without abundance of invention and ability, have placed us so ill if we had left it entirely to their management. . . . The height of honest men’s wishes at present is to rub on this session, after which nobody has the impudence to expect that we shall not immediately fall to pieces; nor is any thing I write the least secret, even to a Whig footman. The Queen is pretty well at present; but the least disorder she has puts us all in alarm, and when it is over we act as if she were immortal. Neither is it possible to persuade people to make any preparation against an evil day. . . . I am sure you would have prevented a great deal of ill if you had continued among us; but people of my level must be content to have their opinion asked, and to see it not followed.”

Bolingbroke himself was no less loud in his complaints. “If my grooms,” he says, “did not live a happier life than I have done this great while, I am sure they would quit my service (3).” His breach with the Lord Treasurer, which had long been widening, was now open and avowed. Their common friend, Swift,

(1) Iberville to Torcy, July 2. 1714. Bolingbroke afterwards told Gaullier that the measure had been proposed in the Council by Oxford, and that he had not ventured to oppose it.

(2) Swift to Lord Peterborough, May 18. 1714, vol. xvi. p. 132.

(3) Letter to Swift, July 13. 1714.

made indeed another effort for their reconciliation, and induced them to meet at Lady Masham's, when he preached union to them warmly, but in vain. Finding his remonstrances fruitless, and unwilling to take part against either of his patrons, he declared that he would leave town, and cease his counsels. Bolingbroke whispered him, "You are in the right," whilst the Lord Treasurer said, as usual, "All will do well." Swift adhered to his intention, and retired into Berkshire, and with him departed the last hopes of Oxford (1).

Another former friend of the Lord Treasurer had become not less active in striving for his downfall than she had been in promoting his power. Lady Masham, still the ruling favourite of the Queen, was now the close confederate of Bolingbroke and the Jacobites. In July, she was so far impelled by her resentment as to tell Oxford to his face, "You never did the Queen any service, nor are you capable of doing her any;" and what is more surprising, Oxford bore this taunt with silence and submission, made no reply, and went to sup with her at her house the same evening (2)! Such meanness never yet averted a fall.

What had Oxford to oppose to these bedchamber intrigues? Nothing. His own artifices had become too refined for success, and too frequent for concealment. His character was understood. His popularity was gone. His support, or, at least, connivance, of the Schism Act, had alienated his remaining friends amongst the Puritans. Nay, even the public favour and high expectations with which he entered office had, from their re-action, turned against him. The multitude seldom fails to expect impossibilities from a favourite statesman; such, for instance, as that he should increase the revenue by repealing taxes; and, therefore, no test of popularity is half so severe as power.

We also find it positively asserted by Marshal Berwick, in his Memoirs; that the Court of St. Germain's had intimated to the Queen, through the channel of the Duke of Ormond and of Lady Masham, its wish to see the Lord Treasurer removed (3). It is the more likely that Ormond was employed in this communication, since it appears that in the preceding April, he had offered to receive a letter from the Pretender to the Queen, and to put it into the hands of her Majesty, which Oxford had always declined to do (4). Thus, then, all the pillars which had hitherto upheld his tottering authority were sapped and subverted, and on the 27th of July came the long expected crisis of his fall. Her Majesty had

(1) The best account of this celebrated quarrel is to be found in one of Swift's later letters to the second Lord Oxford, June 14. 1787. (Works, vol. xix. p. 158.) There is something very mournful and affecting in the tone of those recollections of his friends.

(2) Erasmus Lewis to Swift, July 17. 1714. Oxford had refused the lady a job of some money

out of the Asiento contract; of course after that he "could do no service to the Queen!"

(3) Mem. vol. ii. p. 133. A little before this time (June 9.) Oxford had addressed a long letter to the Queen, which was printed in the report of the Committee of Secrecy next year. It is artful and submissive, but seems to have produced no effect.

(4) Gaultier to Torcy, April 25. 1714.

that afternoon detailed to the other Members of the Council some of The grounds of her displeasure with Oxford; and it is remarkable, that even his confidant and creature Erasmus Lewis appears to admit their just foundation (1). After a personal altercation, carried on in the Queen's presence, and continued till two in the morning, Anne resumed the White Staff; and the whole power of the state with the choice of the new administration were left in the hands of Bolingbroke.

The first step of the new Prime Minister was an attempt to cajole his political opponents. On the very day after Oxford's dismissal, he entertained at dinner, at his house in Golden Square (2), Stanhope, Walpole, Pulteney, Craggs, and the other most eminent Whig members of the House of Commons; but he altogether failed either to conciliate or delude them. The Whigs positively required, as a security for the Protestant succession, that the Pretender should be removed from Lorraine; whilst Bolingbroke confessed that such a banishment of her brother would never be sanctioned by the Queen. It is difficult to conceive how Bolingbroke could possibly have anticipated any other issue to these overtures than disappointment; and they are the more surprising, since, on the same day, he had an interview with the chief agent of France and the Pretender, whom he assured of his undiminished regard (3), and since he was, in fact, steadily proceeding to the formation of a purely Jacobite administration. His projected arrangements were as follows: The Seals of Secretary, and the sole management of foreign Affairs, were to remain with himself; whilst to prevent his being overshadowed by any new Lord Treasurer, that department was to be put into commission, with Sir William Wyndham at its head. The Privy Seal was to be transferred to Atterbury; Bromley was to continue the other Secretary of State; and the Earl of Mar, the third for Scotland; the Duke of Ormond, Commander-in-Chief; the Duke of Buckingham, Lord President; and Lord Harcourt, Chancellor. To fill up the other inferior appointments was considered a matter of great difficulty, there being very few whom Bolingbroke thought sufficiently able to be useful, or sufficiently zealous to be trusted (4). But the Cabinet he intended (for it was never nominated), consisting, as it did, of scarcely any but Jacobites, and comprising not a few who afterwards openly attached themselves to the Pretender, and were attainted of high treason, can

(1) "The Queen has told all the Lords the reasons of her parting with him (Oxford), viz.: "That he neglected all business; that he was very seldom to be understood; that when he did explain himself she could not depend upon the truth of what he said; that he never came to her at the time she appointed; that he often came drunk; lastly, to crown all, that he behaved himself towards her with bad manners, indecency, and disrespect.—*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis, etc.* I am distracted with the thoughts

"of this and the pride of the conqueror." To Swift, July 27. 1714.

(2) Political State, Aug. 1714, p. 83.

(3) "Il m'a assuré qu'il étoit dans les mêmes sentiments à l'égard de Montgoulin (the Pretender), pourvu qu'il prit les mesures qui conviendroient aux honnêtes gens du pays." Gaultier to Torcy, Aug. 7. 1713, N. S.

(4) "The sterility of good and able men is incredible." Erasmus Lewis to Swift, July 27. 1714.

leave no no doubt as to his ultimate design, and must convince us that, had the Queen lived only three months longer, our religion and liberties would have been exposed to most imminent peril.

In the midst of his triumph, the new Prime Minister found his exultation dashed with alarms at the approaching re-appearance of Marlborough on the political scene. That illustrious man had early in the spring determined to return to England so soon as the session should be closed, and was already at Ostend, awaiting a favourable wind. His motives for coming over at this period have been often canvassed, but never very clearly explained. On the one hand, we find, from the despatches of the Hanoverian agents, that his journey had not been undertaken in concert with them (1). On the other hand, the common rumour of his secret cabals and intended junction with Bolingbroke is utterly disproved by the evidence of Bolingbroke himself, who in his most private correspondence, expresses his apprehensions at this journey, and hints that it proceeded from some intrigues of Lord Oxford (2). How far may we believe this latter suspicion to be truly founded? It is certain that, at the close of 1713, Oxford had written to the Duke in most flattering terms, and obtained a grant of 10,000*l.* to carry on the works at Blenheim. It is no less certain, however that the confidential letters of the Duchess, during June and July, 1714, speak of Oxford with undiminished aversion (3). On the whole, I am inclined to think that Marlborough had had some private communication with the Lord Treasurer, but had not committed himself in any even the slightest degree; that he was returning to England to see and judge for himself of the prospect of affairs; and that he did not feel himself so far pledged to his former colleagues as to be entirely debarred from any new political connection.

But a mightier arm than even that of Marlborough was now stretched forth to arrest the evil designs of Bolingbroke. The days, nay, even the hours, of Queen Anne were numbered. Her Majesty's spirits had been so much agitated by the altercation in her presence, on the night of the 27th, as greatly to affect her health; and she herself said to one of her physicians, with that instinct of approaching dissolution so often and so strangely found before any danger is apparent, that she should not outlive it. The imposthume in her leg being checked, her gouty humour flew to her brain; she was seized with an apoplectic fit early in the morning

(1) Bothmar to Robethon, July 16. O. S. 1714.
 "It is surprising that the Duke of Marlborough comes over at such a crisis, and does not rather wait until it is seen which of the two competitors will carry it with the Queen. Lord Sunderland himself does not understand this."

(2) "Lord Marlborough's people give out that he is coming over, and I take it for granted that he is so; whether on account of the ill figure

he makes abroad, or the good one he hopes to make at home, I shall not determine. But I have reason to think that some people, who would rather move heaven and earth than either part with their power or make a right use of it, have lately made overtures to him, and have entered into some degree of concert with his creatures." To Lord Strafford, July 14. 1714.

(3) See Cox's Life, vol. vi. p. 239.

of Friday the 30th, and immediately sank into a hopeless state of stupefaction. It may easily be supposed what various emotions such an event at such a crisis would occasion; yet it is a very remarkable proof of the bad opinion commonly entertained of her Majesty's counsels, and of the revolutionary result anticipated from them, that the funds rose considerably on the first tidings of her danger, and fell again on a report of her recovery (1).

Bolingbroke and the Jacobites, stunned and bewildered by this sudden crisis, were unable to mature their plans so rapidly as it required. The Whigs, on their part, were found much better prepared; having already, under the guidance of Stanhope, entered amongst themselves into an organised association, collected arms and ammunition, and nominated officers. They had in readiness several thousand figures of a small fusee in brass, and some few in silver and gold, to be distributed amongst the most zealous followers and the most active chiefs; as signals in the expected day of trial (2). Stanhope was now taking every measure for acting with vigour, if necessary, on the demise of the Queen—to seize the Tower, to secure in it the persons of the leading Jacobites, to obtain possession of the out-ports, and to proclaim the new King. Most anxious eyes were also cast upon the coasts of Dover, where the hero of the age and the idol of the army was daily expected from Ostend.

The genius of the Duke of Marlborough would no doubt have rendered any such struggle successful, but it was reserved for the Duke of Shrewsbury to avert its necessity. That eminent man—the only individual who mainly assisted in both the great changes of dynasty of 1688 and 1714—cast aside, at this crisis, his usual tergiversation and timidity, and evinced an honest zeal on behalf of “the good old cause.” His means, it is true, were still strongly marked with his characteristic duplicity. Whilst Bolingbroke appears to have fully confided in his attachment, he secretly concerted measures with two of the great Whig Peers, the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset. The result appeared on Friday the 30th. That morning the Council met at Kensington, it being then, as now, composed only of such councillors as had received a special summons, and the high officers alone were present. The news of the Queen's desperate condition had just been received. The Jacobites sat dispirited, but not hopeless, nor without resources. Suddenly the doors were thrown open, and Argyle and Somerset announced. They said that, understanding the danger of the Queen, they had hastened, though not specially summoned, to offer their assistance. In the pause of surprise which ensued, Shrewsbury rose and thanked them for their offer. They immediately taking their seats, proposed an examination of the phy-

(1) See Swift's Works, vol. vi. p. 487.

(2) Lockhart's Comment., p. 463.

sicians; and on their report suggested that the post of Lord Treasurer should be filled without delay, and that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be recommended to her Majesty. What a scene for a painter! Shrewsbury, with his usual lofty air and impenetrable smoothness—the courtly smile, under which the fiery soul of St. John sought to veil its anguish and its rage—the slow, indecisive look of Ormond—and the haughty triumph of Argyle!

The Jacobite ministers, thus taken completely by surprise, did not venture to offer any opposition to the recommendation of Shrewsbury; and accordingly, a deputation, comprising Shrewsbury himself, waited upon her Majesty the same morning, to lay before her what seemed the unanimous opinion of the Council. The Queen, who by this time had been roused to some degree of consciousness, faintly acquiesced, delivered the Treasurer's staff to Shrewsbury, and bade him use it for the good of her people. The Duke would have returned his staff as Chamberlain, but she desired him to keep them both; and thus, by a remarkable, and I believe unparalleled, combination, he was invested for some days with three of the highest offices of Court and State, being at once Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. How strange to find all these dignities heaped upon a man who had so often professed his disinclination to public business—who had, during many years, harassed King William with applications to resign, and repeatedly entreated his friends to allow him to be “an insignificant cipher, instead of a bad figure(1)” “Had I a son,” he said on one occasion, “I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman(2)!”

Another proposal of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, which had passed at the morning meeting, was to send immediately a special summons to all Privy Councillors in or near London. Many of the Whigs accordingly attended the same afternoon, and, amongst them, the illustrious Somers, who, in spite of his growing infirmities, would not—for the first time in his life—be absent from the post of duty. His great name was in itself a tower of strength to his party; and the Council, with this new infusion of healthy blood in its veins, forthwith took vigorous measures to secure the legal order of succession. Four regiments were ordered to London, seven battalions recalled from Ostend, an embargo was laid on all the ports, and directions sent that a fleet should put out to sea.

The next day the Queen had sunk back into a lethargy, and the physicians gave no hopes of her life. The Council hereupon sent orders to the heralds-at-arms, and to a troop of the life-guards, to be in readiness to proclaim the successor. They sent express to

(1) See his letter to Lord Halifax, August 24, 1706, in the Shrewsbury Correspondence.

(2) To Lord Somers, June 17, 1701.

Hanover Mr. Craggs, with a despatch to the Elector, earnestly requesting him to hasten to Holland, where a British squadron should attend him, and be ready to bring him over, in case of the Queen's demise. They also wrote to the States of Holland, reminding them of their guarantee to the Protestant succession. They appointed Lord Berkeley to command the fleet. They ordered a reinforcement to proceed to Portsmouth, and an able general officer to Scotland; great importance being attached to the former, and much disaffection apprehended in the latter; and, in short, no precaution was neglected to insure tranquillity, or to check disturbances in any quarter where they might arise.

At seven the next morning, the 1st of August, the great event took place—the Queen expired! She had not recovered sufficient consciousness either to take the sacrament or to sign her will. “The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday—the Queen died “on Sunday! What a world is this, and how does Fortune banter “us!” says Bolingbroke (1).

CHAPTER IV.

Never, perhaps, were the most reasonable calculations of judicious and reflecting men more thoroughly or more happily falsified than at the death of Queen Anne. Looking to the distracted state of parties in England—to the storm of disaffection ready to burst forth in Ireland and Scotland—remembering that the Hanover succession would be discountenanced by all the Catholic powers from religion, and by many of the Protestant from policy—that France, and Spain, and Italy, were as favourable to the Pretender as they dared—that the Emperor, from German jealousies of the Elector, was by no means desirous to see him on the British throne—that his claims would be promoted only by the exhausted republic of Holland, or the infant monarchy of Prussia—viewing, also, the genius of Bolingbroke and his ascendancy over the Queen—the demise of the latter could only be anticipated as a period of violent struggles and a doubtful victory. Yet the skilful interposition of Shrewsbury, and the prudent measures of the Council, completely warded off the expected conflict; and no son, with the most undisputed title, and in the most loyal times, ever succeeded

(1) Letter to Swift, Aug. 3. 1714. Iberville writes the day before to the King of France: “Miserd
“Bolingbroke est pénétré de douleur.... il m'a
“assuré que les mesures étaient si bien prises,

“qu'en six semaines de temps on aurait mis les
“choses en tel état qu'il n'y aurait eu rien à
“craindre de ce qui vient d'arriver.”

his father with more apparent unanimity and quiet, than now a foreign and unknown prince was hailed as King of England.

We are, indeed, assured that Atterbury, immediately on the Queen's demise, proposed to Bolingbroke to attempt proclaiming James at Charing Cross; and offered himself to head the procession in his lawn sleeves. But Bolingbroke, shrinking from an enterprise so desperate, with the majority of the Council and the Executive Government against them, the Bishop is said to have exclaimed, with an oath, "There is the best cause in Europe lost for want of spirit!" With this exception, the Jacobites appear to have been utterly helpless and surprised; their real inferiority of numbers being now most strikingly displayed. George the First was proclaimed in London, in York (1), and the other principal cities of England, amidst the loudest acclamations:

Previous to the proclamation, however, and immediately after her Majesty's demise, the Council had met; and the Hanoverian resident, M. Kreyenberg, produced an instrument in the Elector's own writing (2), nominating the persons who, as provided by the Regency Act, and in conjunction with the seven great officers of state, were to act as Lords Justices until the King's arrival. The list was found to contain the names of eighteen of the principal Peers, nearly all belonging to the Whig party; such as the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Argyle; Lords Cowper, Halifax, and Townshend. Two omissions, however, excited great surprise and displeasure: the most patriotic statesman and the most illustrious warrior of the age being passed over in Somers and Marlborough. The increasing infirmities of the former might, indeed, supply a pretext for his being omitted; yet, had they even made the nomination an empty compliment, it was one due and required by his character. The exclusion of Marlborough, and of his son-in-law Lord Sunderland, was commonly ascribed to a personal pique of the Elector against the former, who, during the campaign of 1708, had, in pursuance of his duty and of the public service, forborne to communicate any part of the plan of operations (3). But it is probable that the real motive for the slight put upon these illustrious men was a jealousy of great party leaders, an impression derived from Tory insinuations that they had attempted to dictate to Queen Anne, and a resolution to avoid a second "Junta."

(1) An account of this ceremony is given by Lady Mary W. Montagu, in a letter to her husband from York (vol. ii. p. 137. ed. 1820): "I went to-day to see the King proclaimed, which was done the Archbishop walking next the Lord Mayor, and all the country gentry following, with greater crowds of people than I believed to be in York; vast acclamations and the appearance of a general satisfaction; the Pretender afterwards dragged about the streets and burned; ringing of bells, bonfires and illumina-

tions; the mob crying 'Liberty and Property!' and 'Long live King George!'... All the Protestants here seem unanimous for the Hanover succession."

(2) There were two duplicates of this instrument; the one deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other with the Lord Chancellor. See the Lords Justices' speech to Parliament, Aug. 5. 1714.

(3) Coxe's Life, vol. iv. p. 309.

It may easily be supposed what just resentment swelled in the bosom of Marlborough at the news of his unexpected exclusion. He had landed at Dover on the very day of the Queen's death. Proceeding to London, his public entry drew forth so warm a welcome from the people as more than atoned for the insult of his sovereign. It might truly be called a triumph—whether we consider the hero thus restored to his country, or the joyful festivities which greeted his return. Two hundred gentlemen on horseback, headed by Sir Charles Cox, member for Southwark, met him on the road; the procession was joined by a long train of carriages; and, though his own broke down at Temple Bar, and he was obliged to enter another, the accident only gave fresh delight to the spectators, as serving to display his person to their view. He appeared in the House of Lords on their meeting, and took the oaths; but then, deeply chagrined at his exclusion, retired into the country until the arrival of the King.

The Lords Justices having met, chose Addison their secretary, and ordered all despatches addressed to the Secretary of State to be brought to him. Thus Lord Bolingbroke, so lately supreme, found himself obliged to wait like some humble suitor at the door of the Council Chamber with his bag and papers, and to receive commands instead of giving them. One principal object of anxiety was Ireland, where it was feared that the Catholics might attempt a rising; and the Lords Justices at first had it in contemplation to send thither immediately, and without waiting for the King's sanction, Sunderland as Lord Lieutenant, and Stanhope as Commander-in-Chief (1). But the unanimity and quiet which they saw around them allayed their apprehensions; and, in fact, the Lords Justices of Ireland (the Archbishop of Armagh, and Sir Constantine Phipps) peaceably proclaimed the King on the 6th of August; nay, more, in vindication of their suspected zeal, issued a proclamation for disarming Papists and seizing their horses. At Edinburgh, also, the same ceremony took place without opposition.

According to the provisions of the Act of Regency, Parliament met on Sunday, the day of the Queen's demise. Secretary Bromley moved, That the Commons should adjourn to the Wednesday following, the Speaker being in Wales; but Sir Richard Onslow replied that the occasion was too critical, and time too precious for any to be wasted; and it was carried that the House should adjourn only to the next day. The three following days were occupied in taking the oaths. On the 5th the Lords Justices came down to the House of Peers; and the Lord Chancellor, in their name, delivered a speech, announcing their authority; observing, that as several branches of the revenue had expired with the Queen, they recommended to the Commons to provide anew for

(1) Despatch from Bothmar to Robethon, Aug. 3. 1714. Macpherson's State Papers.

the dignity and honour of the Crown ; and concluding : " We for-
 " bear laying before you any thing that does not require your im-
 " mediate consideration, not having received his Majesty's plea-
 " sure. We shall only exhort you, with the greatest earnestness,
 " to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to our Sovereign's
 " interest, as being the only means to continue among us our pre-
 " sent happy tranquillity." In pursuance of this intimation, loyal
 and dutiful addresses to his Majesty were unanimously carried in
 both Houses, expressing, according to the motley combination of
 feelings which it is thought proper to profess on such occasions,
 their deep grief at " the death of our late sovereign lady Queen
 " Anne, of blessed memory," and their lively pleasure at the ac-
 cession of a monarch of such " princely virtues," and " undoubted
 " right to the crown (1)." Their next business was the settlement
 of his Civil List. The Tories, by rather too glaring a manœuvre
 for favour at Court, proposed one million, which was more by
 300,000*l.* than had been granted to Queen Anne. But the wisest
 of the King's friends perceived that such an augmentation would
 furnish grounds for future complaints of Royal rapacity, proceed-
 ing, perhaps, from the very same party which had urged it. The
 proposal, therefore, though not openly opposed, was discouraged
 and dropped; and the sum of 700,000*l.* was voted. During the
 progress of the bill, Horace Walpole, brother of Robert, moved,
 That the committee should be instructed to insert a clause for the
 payment of the arrears due to the Hanover troops in the pay of
 England. These arrears, amounting to 65,022*l.* (2), had been
 withheld ever since July, 1712, when the troops in question, and
 several other regiments in English pay, had protested against the
 shameful secession of the Duke of Ormond, and indignantly left
 the English standards. To the Whigs this conduct appeared most
 public-spirited and praiseworthy, while the Tories held it forth as
 something hardly short of military desertion. The payment of the
 arrears had therefore long been a point of contention between
 the two parties, and only a very few weeks before had been nega-
 tived by a large majority in this same House of Commons (3). But
 the accession of the sovereign of these troops to the throne of
 England proved to be a most conclusive argument, and effected
 many strange conversions; the motion of Horace Walpole was se-
 conded by Sir William Wyndham, and was carried without oppo-
 sition. Another clause, moved by Horace Walpole, for a reward
 of 100,000*l.* to be paid by the Treasury to any person apprehending
 the Pretender if he should attempt to land, passed also. Several
 other money bills having been carried received the Royal assent
 by commission, and this short session was closed by prorogation.

(1) " We are as full in the House of Commons
 " as at any time. We are gaping and staring to
 " see who is to rule us. The Whigs think they
 " shall engross all. We think we shall have our

" share." Erasmus Lewis to Swift, Aug. 7, 1714.

(2) See the items in the Commons' Journals,
 vol. xvii. p. 577.

(3) See Lockhart's Comment., p. 469.

Nor was the Regency less prosperous and undisturbed in the foreign relations of the kingdom. The Court of France, confounded by the Queen's sudden death, and dreading any pretext for another war whilst their wounds from the last were still green, determined peaceably to acknowledge King George. A verbal assurance to this effect was first brought over by Lord Peterborough, who, with his usual activity, had hastened from France on the first news of the great event in England (1); and this was speedily followed and confirmed by a letter from Louis himself to the Lords Justices. The recognition of the Hanover succession by this haughty monarch was considered, as it proved, an earnest that it would likewise be acknowledged by the other European powers. The first use made by the Lords Justices of the peaceable disposition of Louis is one that does them high honour, as tending to retrieve that of the country. They interceded in behalf of the unhappy Catalans, so infamously betrayed by the late administration, and now closely pressed by the combined forces of France and Spain. Prior received orders to make an application on this subject, while new instructions were sent out to Admiral Wishart in the Mediterranean, and a communication entered into with one of the Catalan deputies in London. But it was already too late. The doom of that heroic people was sealed. The application of Prior was civilly declined, and a fresh and more peremptory one prevented by the storm and reduction of Barcelona on the fatal 11th of September.

During these transactions the eyes of all England were intently and anxiously directed to Hanover.

The new King was a man of more virtues than accomplishments. His private character—if, indeed, the character of a King can ever be called private—was upright, honourable, and benevolent. He was apt to remember services much longer than injuries—a quality rare in every rank of life, but least of all common with princes. He was steady in his friendships; even in his temper; sparing, and sometimes niggardly, in his expenses. This severe economy also extended to his time, which he distributed with the precision of a piece of machinery, and of which he devoted no small share to public business. A desire for peace was in him combined with tried valour and military knowledge, and he loved his people as much as he was capable of loving any thing. But, unhappily, his qualities, however solid, were not shining. A heavy countenance—an awkward address—an aversion to the pomp of majesty, nay even to the acclamations which greeted him, disgusted the multitude; while men of education were mortified at finding that he neither loved nor encouraged any branch of literature or science, nor any one of the fine arts, except music. Politicians complained

(1) See Lord Stair's Diary in the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 828.

of his unbending obstinacy and contracted understanding. "His views and affections," says Lord Chesterfield, "were singly confined to the narrow compass of his electorate; England was too big for him." A diffidence of his own parts made him reluctant to speak in public, and select for his familiar society persons of inferior intellect and low buffoonery; nor did he ever show a proper dignity, either in his mind or manners.

It may seem absurd to reckon amongst the faults of this prince that he was already fifty-four years of age, attached to German customs, and utterly ignorant of the English language; yet there can be no doubt that these were the circumstances which most impeded his good government or extensive popularity. A hard fate that the enthronement of a stranger should have been the only means to secure our liberties and laws! Almost a century of foreign masters!—such has been the indirect but undoubted effect of the Great Rebellion. Charles and James, driven abroad by the tumults at home, received a French education, and pursued a French policy. Their government was overthrown by a Dutchman; George the First and George the Second were entirely German; and thus from 1660 to 1760, when a truly English monarch once more ascended the throne, the reign of Queen Anne appears the only exception to a foreign dominion.

Let not these observations mislead the reader as to my opinion of that crisis. Far from me be any feeling of aversion, or even of indifference, to the Hanover succession! On the enthronement of that family depended, I most firmly believe, the security of our laws, of our properties, of our religion, of every thing that we either cherish or revere. In spite of every drawback, the cause of Hanover was undoubtedly the cause of liberty, and the cause of the Stuarts the cause of despotism. These two adverse principles will be found in almost all ages, and under every variety of parties, to carry on their fierce and unceasing warfare; the bright spirit is constantly struggling against the malicious fiend. But let it be observed, that amongst all the masks which the hateful demon of despotism knows how to assume, none is more dangerous and ensnaring than when it puts on the disguise of revolutionary licence—when it combats its rival with his own weapons, and seems only to aim at a greater extension of liberty. Thus are the friends of constitutional and settled freedom (unassailable on all other points) too often taken in the rear and overpowered. Can it be doubted, for example, that in France, in 1791, when the struggle lay between the Gironde, or partisans of the new limited and representative monarchy, and the Montagne, or the clamourers for further democratic changes, the cause of liberty was really with the former, and the cause of despotism with the latter? Would not the former, by their success, have maintained a constitutional freedom? Did not the latter, by prevailing, only conduct the

nation through the dismal road of anarchy to its inevitable termination—a military despotism? To trace these two principles at work, and to assign to each its proper side at different periods, is one of the most curious and most instructive tasks in history.

The Earl of Clarendon, the ambassador from Queen Anne, had reached Hanover on the 16th of July, and a few days afterwards had his first audience at the country palace of Herrenhausen. The Elector was profuse in his expressions of attachment and gratitude to her Majesty, disclaimed all intention of displeasing her, and imputed the application of Schutz entirely to Princess Sophia (1). But on the 5th of August arrived Mr. Craggs, with an account of the Queen's dangerous illness; and the same night three expresses—one to Lord Clarendon, and two to the Elector—brought the news of her death. George received the intelligence with composure and moderation. He immediately summoned his ministers. He determined to entrust the government of his German dominions to a council, with his brother, Prince Ernest, at its head; that his eldest son (afterwards George the Second) should accompany him to England; that the greater part of his family should follow a few weeks after; but that his young grandson, Prince Frederick, should remain at Hanover. No small testimony to his merit and good government was displayed in the extreme grief of the people at his approaching departure; and his exaltation could not console them for their loss. The King, as a parting gift, intimated to the magistrates that they might ask some favour from him; and, at their request, he took the excise off provisions, and released the insolvent debtors from prison.

The delay which took place in his departure—he did not set out till the 31st—has been ascribed to profound policy, and to the prudent wish of obtaining some further intelligence from England (2); but writers are too frequently unwilling to assign any common motive to any Royal action, and they forget that George the First was always deliberate and phlegmatic in his movements, and had many matters of business to settle in his electorate. On his arrival at the Hague he received compliments from the States and foreign ministers, and communications from his friends in England, and he finally matured his arrangements for the new administration. At length, at six o'clock on the evening of the 18th of September, the King and Prince landed at Greenwich, where a vast concourse of the principal nobility and gentry had hastened to welcome their arrival. George showed very flattering attention to the leading Whigs, such as Marlborough, Sunderland, and Somers, but took no notice whatever of Ormond or Harcourt; and it was after many

(1) Despatches from Lord Clarendon to Secretary Bromley, published by Coxe. "When," says Lord Clarendon, "I came to mention Schutz's demand, the Elector said these words: 'J'espère que la Reine n'a pas cru que cela s'est fait

" par mon ordre; je vous assure que cela a été fait à mon insu; la défunte Electrice avait écrit à Schutz sans que je l'aie su pour s'informer pour quoi le Prince n'avait pas en son sort.'" etc.

(2) Coxe's Memoirs of Walpole, vol. 1. p. 60.

difficulties, and in total silence, that Oxford was admitted the next morning to the honour of kissing his hand.

Even before his Majesty's landing, he had, in some degree, disclosed his political intentions by sending directions to remove Bolingbroke from his office of Secretary of State, and to appoint in his place Lord Townshend. This order was executed on the last of August with strong marks of displeasure against the fallen minister; Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Cowper taking the seals from him, and locking the doors of his office. The bitter mortification of Bolingbroke pierces through the thin veil of his philosophy, as he writes to Atterbury:—"To be removed was neither matter of surprise nor of concern to me. But the manner of my removal shocked me for at least two minutes. . . . I am not in the least intimidated from any consideration of the Whig malice and power: but the grief of my soul is this—I see plainly that the Tory party is gone (1)."

The nomination of the new ministry by the King was a full triumph to the Whigs. He showed, however, a jealousy of those veteran chiefs who, under the name of Junta, had formerly directed them, by giving his chief confidence to a man hitherto of much less weight amongst them—Lord Townshend, already appointed as Secretary of State, and now considered as Prime Minister. Stanhope was made the second Secretary, and the Duke of Montrose succeeded the Earl of Mar for Scotland. Walpole, at first, received only the subordinate appointment of Paymaster-General, and was excluded from the Cabinet; but, daily rising as a debater and financier, before many months, was found so useful in the House of Commons as to be highly promoted. The Duke of Shrewsbury, having resigned his offices of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord Treasurer, was succeeded in the former by Lord Sunderland; whilst the latter was put into commission, with Lord Halifax at its head. As further favours to Halifax, he was raised to an Earldom, and allowed to transmit to his nephew his lucrative sinecure of Auditor of the Exchequer. Lord Cowper became Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Wharton, Privy Seal; and the Earl of Nottingham, President of the Council. Mr. Pulteney was Secretary at War, and the Duke of Argyle Commander-in-Chief for Scotland. In Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh and Sir Constantine Phipps were removed from the office of Justices, and the latter replaced as Chancellor by Mr. Brodrick. High posts in the Royal household were given to Somerset and Devonshire. The Privy Council was dissolved, and a new one formed, which, according to the higher ideas of the office at that time, consisted of

(1) Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 681. In a previous letter, printed in Bolingbroke's own correspondence, he says, "I served the Queen to the last gasp as faithfully, as disinterestedly, as zealously as if her life had been good for

"twenty years, and she had had twenty children to succeed her . . . on the same principle will I serve the King if he employs me." To Lord Strafford, Aug. 13. 1714.

only thirty-three members. The Cabinet Council was to comprise Nottingham, Sunderland (when in England), Somers (1), Halifax, Townshend, Stanhope, the Lord Chancellor, and Marlborough. The latter had been most earnestly entreated by the Duchess—even as she states, upon her knees,—not to accept of any employment in the new reign. She urged that the exploits he had achieved, and the wealth he had amassed, would render him of far more use to the Court than the Court could be to him; and that he ought never to put it in the power of any King to use him ill. It might have been expected that Marlborough would have yielded to the arguments of one to whom he once declared, “I do assure you, upon my soul, I had much rather the whole world should go wrong than that you should be uneasy (2).” But the brilliant meshes of a Court are seldom spread in vain (3). The Duke consented to resume his offices of Captain General and Master of the Ordnance; and was, besides, gratified by appointments bestowed upon his three sons-in-law, Lord Godolphin, the Earl of Bridgewater, and the Duke of Montagu. He soon found himself, however, reduced to a mere shadow of his past authority; he was treated with much respect, but no sort of confidence; scarcely ever invited to the Cabinet, of which he nominally formed a part, and confined to the most ordinary routine of his official functions. We are told that, though Commander-in-Chief, he could not obtain even a lieutenantancy for a friend; and that not unfrequently he requested Pulteney, the Secretary at War, to solicit in his place; and used to add, “Do not say it is for me; for whatever I ask is sure to be refused!”

Such neglect to such a hero may palliate, but cannot excuse, his hateful treachery. It appears from the Stuart Papers, that, whilst Marlborough continued, at least in name, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, he sent a sum of money to France as a loan to the Pretender just before the rebellion of 1715, which this money, no doubt, assisted in raising (4)!

The new Secretary of State, Charles Viscount Townshend, was born about the year 1676, of a very ancient family in Norfolk. His father, Sir Horatio Townshend, was, according to Clarendon, “a gentleman of the greatest interest and credit in that large county, of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune, which he engaged very frankly in the King’s cause (5).” On the Restoration, his zeal was rewarded by a peerage, and afterwards by the further rank of Viscount. Charles, the second Lord, on first taking his seat in the House of Lords, joined the Tory party; but his more matured conviction led him to act with the Whigs, and

(1) Lord Somers was at this time too infirm for any active office. A further pension of 2000*l.* a year was, however, granted him. See *Comm. Journ.* vol. xviii. p. 110.

(2) Letter to the Duchess, May 29. 1702.

(3) “*La Cour.*” says La Bruyère, “ne rend pas heureux, mais empêche de l’être ailleurs.”

(4) Lord Bolingbroke to the Pretender, Sept. 25. 1715, *Stuart Papers.* See Appendix.

(5) *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vii. p. 322. ed. Oxford, 1826.

he especially attached himself to Somers. He did not, however, take any prominent part in politics until, in 1709, he was appointed joint plenipotentiary with Marlborough to treat of peace at Gertruydenberg, and in the same year ambassador to the States General. As such, he concluded with them the Barrier Treaty; and the recommendation of Slingeland, Heinsius, and their other leading men, proved afterwards of no small service to him with George the First. Returning home, on the expulsion of the Whigs from office, he continued to support them in Parliament; and drew still closer the personal friendship and county connection, which already united him to Walpole, by a marriage with his sister. Few men, perhaps, ever deserved or obtained a higher reputation for integrity; and it is no small proof of the general opinion, that, though he so decidedly forsook his first political connection, he was never exposed to any taunt of base or interested motives. His mind was frank and open; his intentions generous and honourable. To both his wives he was a most kind husband; to all his children a most affectionate father; and to his servants a benevolent master: "sure tests of real good nature," adds Lord Chesterfield; "for no man can long together simulate or dissimulate at home." Unfortunately, this amiable disposition was joined with a manner coarse and rough, even to brutality. He was imperious and overbearing, impatient of contradiction, and extremely tenacious of preconceived opinions. On one occasion we find him candidly own that he knew himself to be "extremely warm (1)." From this disposition, combined with the influence of Walpole over him, he was at one period betrayed into a very reckless and unjustifiable course of opposition; and the same temper sometimes led him to opinions, or, at least, to expressions, ill suited to a constitutional monarchy. "His Lordship," writes his private secretary, in 1716, "thinks it the great misfortune of this government that our Kings cannot always act up to what they judge right, but must be often obliged to have regard to the humour of their subjects (2)." Assiduity and experience, rather than natural parts, had made him an excellent man of business. As an orator, he was confused and ungraceful in his delivery; but commanding respect by his thorough knowledge of the subject, and always speaking to the point. As a minister, it may truly be asserted that none ever entered Downing Street with a more honest heart, or left it with cleaner hands.

The second Secretary of State, James Stanhope—one of the very few subjects in modern times who have combined the direction of councils with the command of armies—was born at Paris (3), in 1673. He left the University of Oxford as a mere stripling, to

(1) Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 338.

(2) Mr. Poyntz to Secretary Stanhope, Aug. 17. 1716. Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 78.

(3) From his birth abroad, it became necessary to pass an act for his naturalisation in 1696. See Commons' Journal, vol. xi. p. 420, etc.

accompany his father when sent ambassador to Spain, soon after the Revolution. Yet in spite of this early interruption to his studies, he had already acquired some classical proficiency; the intervals of leisure which he afterwards snatched from active employments made him an accomplished scholar; and we find him, in 1719, one of the most active and important years of his administration, engage the Abbé Vertot in a controversy on a very knotty point of ancient history, not without some application to modern times—the mode of election or inheritance of the Roman Senate. In 1691, taking leave of his father at Madrid, he embarked at Valencia for Italy, and in his way witnessed in Majorca the latest, I think, of the large public Autos de Fé (1). After a visit to Rome and Naples, he served for some time under the Duke of Savoy, and afterwards in the English regiment of Foot Guards, with which he joined the army in Flanders. His conduct at the siege of Namur in 1695—when, though not on duty, he went as a volunteer to the attack of the castle, and supplied the place of the officers who fell around him, until he also sunk down disabled with a wound—attracted, in a high degree, the notice of King William, who desired that, young as he was, he should always have free access to his person; and gave him a company of foot, and soon afterwards a colonel's commission. In the last Parliament of that Prince, he was elected Member for Newport; in the first of Queen Anne, for Cockermouth; and a few months later, on the breaking out of the war of the Succession, he commanded the van-guard of the English who landed in the Bay of Cadiz, and acquired as much honour as that miserable expedition could admit. In the course of that war, he obtained at different times the rank of general, the command in chief of the British army in Spain, and the diplomatic post of Envoy-extraordinary to the Court of Charles. His skill and valour, signalled on many previous occasions, shone forth above all in the victories of Almenara and Zaragoza, but were not able to avert the disaster of Brihuega. That evil day closed his career as a soldier. But even during that career, ever since his election as a member of Parliament, he had taken a frequent and active part in politics—as might be done with far less difficulty at a period when an army regularly withdrew into winter quarters, and when its commanders might therefore be spared for the Parliamentary campaign. Thus, for example, in 1710, by far the most stirring and important year of his military life—the year of Almenara, Zaragoza, and Brihuega—he had, before leaving England in the

(1) "I arrived here the 3d inst., and could get but very ill accommodations by reason of the concourse of people which are here at this time to assist at the Auto de Fé, which began last week; for Tuesday last there were burnt here twenty-seven Jews and heretics, and to-morrow I shall see executed above twenty more; and Tuesday next, if I stay here so long,

"is to be another *fiesta*, for so they entitle a day dedicated to so execrable an act. The greatest part of the criminals that are already and will be put to death were the richest men of the island, and owners of the best houses in this city." Letter to his father, Palma, May 5, 1691. MS.

spring, distinguished himself as one of the managers of Sacheverell's impeachment. In the same year, also, but during his absence, he was put in nomination for Westminster, together with Sir Henry Dutton Colt. They were decidedly the mob favourites (1); a circumstance which, at that period, did not either imply subserviency or insure success. The popular shouts at Westminster were not then reserved exclusively for despotical pledges; nor had it yet become usual for the electors to determine their choice according to the clamour of the non-electors. Accordingly, after a sharp struggle, the Whig candidates were here as elsewhere defeated by a large majority, and Stanhope could only fall back upon the burgage tenures of Cocker-mouth (2).

The general arrived from his Spanish captivity in August, 1712, to the great joy of the principal Whigs. "Your return," wrote Walpole to him, "is the only good effect that I ever hoped from our celebrated peace (3)." Even before his arrival in England, he had taken an opportunity of publicly showing his aversion for the treaty then in progress, by declining an introduction to Louis the Fourteenth, when offered by Lord Bolingbroke at Fontainebleau—a refusal then much noticed, and considered by the new administration as an insult to themselves (4). Finding that he meant to keep no terms with them, their animosity led them to appoint some commissioners, at the head of whom was Shippen, to sift and examine all his payments of late years in Spain as Envoy-extraordinary or Commander-in-chief, and if possible to establish some charge against his character, or some claim upon his fortune. It was proved, however, from Stanhope's accounts and explanations (5), that far from his owing the Government any thing, he had left them his debtors; and I find it stated in his family papers, that he thereupon claimed and received this balance, which it had otherwise been his intention to relinquish. It is added, that soon afterwards meeting Shippen in the House of Commons, he walked up and thanked him for the pecuniary benefit he had thus derived from the hostility of the commission.

On his return from his captivity, Stanhope devoted himself wholly and eagerly to what had hitherto been only a divided pursuit; and he carried into politics the same qualities which had raised him in the field. He had always been distinguished as an officer of very great activity and personal exposure to danger—as one always foremost in his charges of cavalry—as one who would

(1) Swift mentions in his Journal to Stella: "In the way we met the electors for Parliament-men, and the rabble came about our coach crying a Colt! a Stanhope! etc. We were afraid of a dead cat, or our glasses broken, and so were always of their side." October 5. 1710.
(2) See the Memoirs of the Life of James Earl Stanhope, London, 1721. I am not acquainted with the author's name; he is a warm panegyrist.

(3) Letter to general Stanhope, Houghton, Aug. 24. 1712. MS.

(4) See Tindal's History, vol. vi. p. 10. Lord Bolingbroke in his despatches does me more than dryly notice Stanhope's arrival. To Lord Dartmouth, August 22. 1712.

(5) Stanhope's answer to the Commissioners was published early in 1714, as a tract. See also Boyer's Political State, 1718, 1718, etc.

always rather cry "Come on" than "Go on" to his men; and in the council his energy and vehemence are recorded both by his enemies and friends. The "noble flame," which yet lives in the immortal poetry of Pope (1), will be found admitted even in the sneer of Bolingbroke, that "Mr. Stanhope was not apt to despair, especially in the execution of his own projects (2)." There were few men opposed to him in council who did not feel the force of his haughty and resolute spirit. But it appears that his ardour sometimes rose to violence, and betrayed him into starts of passion and precipitate decisions; that he was by no means master of his temper, and often lost it in debate (3).

Another defect—it is nearly allied to the former—of Stanhope's political character, was too much openness. He was unwilling to conceal or disguise his plans and proceedings, as state necessity but too frequently requires. He used to say that, during his administration, he found that he always imposed upon the foreign ministers by merely telling them the naked truth; since they, suspecting some deep stratagem, and thinking such candour from a rival impossible, never failed to write to their respective Courts information directly contrary to the assurances he gave them (4). But it is evident that such a scheme of policy cannot be long effectual, and is only an ingenious excuse for indiscretion. In this respect, as in most others, the character of Stanhope stands in most direct contrast to that of his predecessor, Harley, who carried his reserve and dissimulation to such an extent as most frequently to defeat itself; who, when he wished to be secret, only became mysterious, and raised curiosity instead of eluding observation.

Stanhope was, I believe, not unambitious of power; but, as to money, few statesmen have ever shown themselves more disinterested (5). He left his son, as Lord Chesterfield once said of him in the House of Peers, "little else besides the honour of a seat amongst your Lordships;" and of the landed possessions which his representative now enjoys, scarcely one fifth is derived from him. In his youth he is stated, and I believe truly (6), to have been licentious; even then, however, he was an assiduous and able man of business. Like most other distinguished generals, he, in

(1) "Carleton's calm sense and Stanhope's noble flame

"Compared, and knew their generous end the same." *Epilogue to Scirees.*

(2) Letters on History. Letter 8. vol. i. p. 225. ed. 1773.

(3) It may be observed, however, that Stanhope seldom showed this hastiness to foreigners, or in negotiations. The caustic St. Simon says of him, "Il ne perdait point le sang-froid, rarement la politesse, avait beaucoup d'esprit, de génie et de ressource." (Mém. vol. xviii. p. 332.)

(4) See some comments on this plan of Lord Stanhope by Lady M. W. Montagu. (Letter to Lady Bute, March 6. 1753.)

(5) For a remarkable instance—his reply to a magnificent offer of the Emperor Charles VI.—I venture to refer to my War of the Succession, p. 177.

(6) The authority of Cunningham, who had been personally disobliged by Stanhope, and who is seldom accurate on any subject, might be rejected. But we are told by the impartial St. Simon, "Ce général anglais avait été fort débauché." (Mém. vol. vii. p. 293. ed. 1829.) As to Stanhope's maturer years, I find that in 1708, in a private correspondence between two other persons, his "strict morals" are commended. See the Collection of Original Letters published by Mr. T. Forster. London, 1830. p. 234.

the field, gradually acquired the talent how, on any sudden emergency, to pour forth very rapidly a variety of orders, each, apparently, unconnected with the last, yet each tending to the same point from a different quarter, and forming, when put together, a regular and uniform plan. His bodily activity was no less remarkable, and appeared in the great number of special missions he undertook, and of affairs he transacted at foreign capitals whilst holding the seals of office at home. All this, I firmly believe, is no more than strict justice requires me to say of him. Yet I cannot deny that, in drawing his character, or in estimating his abilities, I may, perhaps, be misled by my affectionate and grateful attachment to his memory. I may, perhaps, be too ready to adopt the panegyric of Steele, on his "plain-dealing, generosity, and frankness—a natural and prevailing eloquence in assemblies—an heroic and inspiring courage in the field—a gentle and winning behaviour in conversation." I may, perhaps, be partial in believing, as I do, that, had his life been longer spared—had not his career been cut short so soon after he had reached the heights of power and the age of forty-seven years—the world would not have been, what Steele proceeds to call it, "in arrear to his virtue;" and that he would be generally acknowledged as inferior to few other public characters in the history of his country. It is for the reader to reflect and to decide.

It remains for me to touch upon a circumstance connected with Stanhope's appointment as Secretary of State. Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, who numbered him amongst Sir Robert's enemies, and disliked him as such, says of him, in his *Reminiscences*—"Earl Stanhope was a man of strong and violent passions, and had dedicated himself to the army; and was so far from thinking of any other line, that when Walpole, who first suggested the idea of appointing him Secretary of State, proposed it to him, he flew into a furious rage, and was on the point of a downright quarrel, looking on himself as totally unqualified for the post, and suspecting it a plan of mocking him (1)." In conversation with Archdeacon Coxe, Lord Orford afterwards improved this story into Stanhope's putting his hand to his sword (2); and, perhaps, had Lord Orford lived a little longer, it might have grown into a statement of Stanhope's actually stabbing Walpole. It relates to a period of which the narrator has just before, in his *Reminiscences*, had the unusual candour to own that he was "but superficially informed." The story is, moreover, in one of its circumstances, contradicted by a letter of the elder Horace Walpole, who states that it was he, and not his brother Robert, who first suggested the idea of appointing Stanhope Secretary of State (3).

(1) *Reminiscences*, Works, vol. iv. p. 287. ed. 1798.

(2) Coxe's *Memoirs of Walpole*, vol. i. p. 96.

(3) Letter to Etouh, Sept. 21. 1752, printed in

Coxe's second volume. Horace had been Stanhope's private secretary in Spain.

But even were there no such circumstances to shake Lord Orford's testimony, it is, I conceive, fully disproved by the tenor of the Commons' proceedings in the sessions of 1713 and 1714. All those who have perused them cannot fail to perceive that Stanhope had taken a very active and prominent part in them; and that none, even I think Robert Walpole, at that time competed with him as a leader of the Opposition in that House. It is, therefore, as it seems to me, utterly incredible and absurd that so natural and common a result of parliamentary distinction as the offer of a high civil appointment should have moved Stanhope into any expression of surprise or resentment.

But this is not all. So far from being unexpectedly raised by the favour of Walpole, it appears, on the contrary, that Stanhope, and not Walpole, was the Government leader of the House of Commons. In the contemporary writers, I find, it is true, no positive statement either to that or to the opposite effect. But I find that in the first place, Stanhope held the high office of Secretary of State, and Walpole only the subaltern post of Paymaster; so that it can hardly be supposed that the former was to be under the direction of the latter. I find, secondly, that in the Cabinet Council Walpole had not seat (1); and I would ask, whether there is a single instance of the House of Commons being led by any placeman not a Cabinet Minister? I find, thirdly, that in the ensuing session, the King's messages were brought down by Stanhope, and not by Walpole.

I believe, therefore, that Stanhope was the Government leader at first. There is no doubt, however, that as time went on Walpole showed himself the more able debater; and, accordingly, as will be seen in the sequel, he was promoted to be First Lord of the Treasury in October, 1715.

It may be observed that, with the exception of Nottingham, who of late had always acted with the Whigs, not a single Tory was comprised in the new administration. Some modern writers have severely arraigned the policy of George in that respect. They have argued that he ought to have shown himself the King of the whole people, promoted the junction of both parties, instead of the triumph of one, and formed his government on broad and comprehensive principles. But was such an union really possible? Had not the Whigs and Tories too fiercely and too recently waged war to be so suddenly combined? If even an experienced native monarch might have shrunk from this attempt, would it not have overwhelmed a stranger to our language and manners? How ill had that experiment succeeded with William the Third, a prince so far more able and energetic than George! Would it have been prudent, while the storm of a Jacobite rebellion was gathering, to

(1) Tindal, vol. vi. p. 318.

place at the helm any statesman of doubtful or wavering loyalty? For though, on the one hand, it would be most unjust to accuse the whole Tory party of Jacobite principles, it can as little be denied that many of its leaders secretly held them. Let us not, then, consider as the fault of George what was rather the misfortune of his times, nor fall into the common error of judging past events by the standard of present facts and present feelings.

Meanwhile a great number of loyal addresses from the various cities and counties continued to pour in. The Ministerial arrangements were all completed before the Coronation, which took place on the 20th of October, and which, according to custom, was signalled by several promotions both in and to the Peerage. Few of the principal statesmen of the time, whether in or out of power, failed to attend the solemnity; both Oxford and Bolingbroke were present; and there were great demonstrations of joy throughout most parts of the kingdom. The day was, however, painfully marked in some places by riot and outrage, and other such tokens of public disapprobation, especially at Norwich, Bristol (1), and Birmingham, the latter being then remarkable for its high-church and monarchical principles. The University of Oxford also chose that day to confer unanimously, in full convocation, an honorary degree upon Sir Constantine Phipps, the late Jacobite Chancellor of Ireland.

Meanwhile the innocent cause of these unhappy divisions—the Pretender, or, as he was frequently called, the Chevalier de St. George—was still residing in Lorraine. On the first tidings that his sister was either dead or dying, he had immediately posted towards the Court of Versailles; but found it so fearful of allowing England any pretext for a rupture that it would not afford him the least countenance. M. de Torcy gave him a civil but positive injunction to quit the French dominions; and, finding his partisans in England benumbed and confounded, and making no effort in his favour, he returned whence he came, after one melancholy visit to the Queen Dowager at Chaillot. From Bar-le-Duc he soon afterwards proceeded to drink the waters of Plombieres. There, on the 29th of August, N. S., he issued a manifesto, asserting his right to the Crown, and explaining the cause of his inactivity till “the death of the Princess, our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt.” When published in England, this incautious declaration produced an impression most unfavourable to the late administration, as unveiling their secret and disavowed, because defeated, designs in favour of the Jacobites. Their adherents at first insisted upon this do-

(1) The cry of the Bristol rioters was, “Sacheverell and Ormond! Damn all foreign governments!” One house was plundered, and one man murdered. In November, seven of the ring-leaders were brought to trial, and sentenced to

fine and imprisonment; “but it was thought surprising,” says a contemporary, “that not one of them suffered capitally.” (Tindal, vol. vi. p. 341.) A curious contrast to the scenes of 1831.

cument being a base contrivance of the Whigs to reflect upon the memory of the Queen and of her Tory government, but were much disconcerted at finding its authenticity acknowledged. However, they soon rallied sufficiently to be able to pour forth with some effect a host of libels, whose tendency we may easily discover from their titles:—"Stand fast to the Church!—Where are the Bishops now?—The Religion of King George.—No Presbyterian Government.—The State Gamester; or, the Church of England's Sorrowful Lamentation.—Æsop in Mourning.—The Duke of Ormond's Vindication.—The Lord Bolingbroke's Vindication.—No Lord Protector, or the Duke of Marlborough's Design defeated!" The hawkers who cried these and other such pamphlets were sent to the house of correction by the Lord Mayor, with the approbation of Lord Townshend; and some antidotes to the poison were put forth on the other side (1).

On the day after the Coronation, Secretary Stanhope, and Sir Richard Temple, just created Lord Cobham, set out together on a secret mission to Vienna. It was of great importance to remove the jealousy and coldness with which the Emperor Charles the Sixth had seen the accession of the House of Hanover, and to allay his apprehensions as to any encroachments in Germany. Nor was it of less moment to induce the Imperial and the Dutch Governments to conclude the Barrier Treaty which was still under discussion, and presenting an obstacle to any renewed alliance or cordial co-operation between them. Lord Cobham was intended as the permanent ambassador; but the personal appearance of Stanhope, in the first instance, was considered most desirable, from his having formerly been so closely linked with the Emperor in Spain—obtained so large a share of his regard and confidence—and, since that period, continued in correspondence with his Majesty. Stanhope went first to the Hague, where he had a conference with Pensionary Slingeland, Fagel, Hop, and other leading Dutch statesmen. He found them not unreasonable as to the articles of the Barrier Treaty, nor averse to the idea of a defensive alliance with the Emperor for their mutual security, but timidly shrinking from any public declaration or immediate measures. On the whole, they seemed much more afraid of personal responsibility than of national loss; and "it is my decided opinion," adds Stanhope, "that if we do not help them to do their own business,

(1) Addison, in one short piece (Freeholder, No. 14., Works, vol. iv. p. 384. ed. 1761) very humorously exposes the inconsistencies of the High Church Jacobites, by drawing out the articles of what he calls A Tory's Creed. The three first are as follows:—

I.

- That the Church of England will be always in danger till it has a Popish King for its defender.

II.

That for the safety of the Church no subject

should be tolerated in any religion different from the Established, but that the head of our Church may be of that religion which is most repugnant to it.

III.

That the Protestant interest in this nation, and in all Europe, could not but flourish under the protection of one who thinks himself obliged, on pain of damnation, to do all that lies in his power for the extirpation of it.

“it will never be done at all. There is not one amongst them who dares to take any thing upon himself.” Proceeding to Vienna, Stanhope was most graciously received by Charles, and represented in strong terms to his Majesty, and to Prince Eugene, that a speedy conclusion of the Barrier Treaty was most necessary to arrest the further progress of French intrigues in Holland; that the public mind in that country was becoming soured; and that the possession of one town, or a few thousand florins, more or less, was not to be put in competition by the Emperor with the advantage of a sincere friendship and close alliance with the Dutch. But he met with unexpected difficulties. “I found,” he says, “Prince Eugene much irritated with the Dutch, and very indignant at their last proposals; insomuch, that he declared he should never advise the Emperor to accept the Low Countries on such terms. The Low Countries, he observed, were of little value, either to the Emperor or to the empire; they were only a burden to the former; and, if he should consent to accept them, it would be much more for the sake of his old allies than for his own.”

The English Minister remained at Vienna during several weeks, endeavouring to overcome these obstacles. In his opinion, “the Emperor is much more moderate than most of his ministers. His views on the general system of European policy seem to me as just and reasonable as could possibly be expected; but all his Government is so exasperated against the Dutch, that I really cannot tell to what extremities they may not proceed.” Stanhope succeeded in lowering their pretensions as to several articles, but could not bring them to any positive and satisfactory adjustment. Setting out from Vienna on the 22d of December, N. S., he returned to confer with the statesmen at the Hague, and was again in England early in January (1). His embassy, though it failed in several of its objects, tended to facilitate the subsequent negotiations; and the Barrier Treaty, after a long and well-matched struggle between Dutch and German obstinacy, was, at length, brought to a conclusion, and signed in November, 1715. The States were to receive 500,000 crowns yearly, and to garrison Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, and Knoque, together with Dendermond, jointly (2).

Immediately after Stanhope's arrival, the Ministers, meeting in council, determined to publish two Royal proclamations—the one dissolving the Parliament, the other calling a new one (3). The

(1) Secretary Stanhope to Lord Townshend, Nov. 6. 24. Dec. 5, etc. 1715. See Appendix.

(2) See Lamberty, vol. ix. p. 24., and Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 25.; but the former strangely omits Namur and Tournay as they stand in Dumont's collection. Coxe is also by no means accurate in this portion of his history; and his treaty of Westminster of May 8. 1715 is quite imaginary. I should conclude it to be a misprint for May 25. 1716, but that he goes on to speak of the

change of policy produced by the death of Louis XIV., Sept. 1. 1715.

(3) A striking instance of blind and unreasonable party accusations is to be found in the Memoirs of Berwick, who charges the government of George the First, amongst other faults, with having “cassé le Parlement qui venait de le reconnaître” “*al unaniment!*” Yet the statutes 7 of 8 W. III. c. 15. and 6 Ann. c. 7. made it imperative that the Parliament should be dissolved within six months

terms of the latter gave considerable, and, I think, very just offence. It severely reflected on the evil designs and miscarriages of the late Government, and advised the electors, in the choice of their representatives, to "have a particular regard to such as showed a firmness to the Protestant succession when it was in danger." Such suggestions, however cautiously worded, are clearly unconstitutional; and appear least of all becoming in the mouth of a Prince so lately called over to protect our liberties and laws. Can it be doubted, also, that the Ministers, when using the name of Majesty, should have carefully avoided all approach to party violence and rancour?

The elections, however, went precisely as the framers of the proclamation could have wished (1). How strange and sudden are the veerings of popular favour! In the House of Commons, which sat at the beginning of 1710, the Whigs had a very great majority. The elections of that autumn, and of 1713, sent up as large a majority on the side of the Tories. Now, again, in 1715, the Whigs found themselves lords of the public mind, and victorious in nearly all their contests. Some grounds have elsewhere been given that will partly account for these revulsions; but to explain them altogether on any thing like reason, or without a liberal allowance for the caprice of popular assemblies, would, I believe, be found as impracticable as to say why the wind should blow from the north to-day, and from the south to-morrow!

The Houses met on the 17th of March, when the Whigs, without opposition, raised Mr. Spencer Compton to the Speaker's chair. A few days afterwards, the King came down to open Parliament in person; but, being unable to pronounce English, gave his speech to be read by the Chancellor. Its tone was frank and affectionate. He thanked all his loving subjects for their zeal and firmness in defence of his succession. He gently lamented the unsatisfactory terms of the peace, and the incomplete fulfilment of even those; and he ended with assurances that the established Constitution in Church and State should be the rule of his government, and the happiness of the people the chief care of his life.

The addresses in answer to his Majesty's speech raised warm debates in both Houses. The Duke of Bolton having moved that of the Lords, in which there were the words "recover the reputation of this kingdom," Lord Bolingbroke, in a masterly harangue (it was his last in Parliament), vindicated the memory of the late Queen, and proposed to change the word "recover" into "maintain." The original address was, however, carried against him

from the demise of the Crown. See *Mém. de Berwick*, vol. ii. p. 135., and *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. i. p. 188. ed. 1825.

(1) There is a curious account of some slight disturbances at these elections in a contemporary pamphlet, "Account of the Riots and Tumults, etc.," printed for J. Baker, 1715. We are told that at

Cambridge the under-graduates took an active part, and that "a right trusty body of passively obedient *Johnians* were mounted on their College leads, under which the members were to pass, with good store of brick-bats to discharge on their heads!" (P. 20.)

by 66 to 33 ; and " I saw," he says, " to the shame of the Peerage, several Lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former Parliament by many particular resolutions." It is remarkable that Lord Townshend did not speak at all on this occasion, and that the Duke of Shrewsbury took part against the Court.

In the Commons, the address moved by Walpole contained even stronger expressions : — " It is with just resentment we observe that the Pretender still resides in Lorraine ; and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your Majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." This was the first authentic announcement of the intention of the Ministers to call their predecessors to account, and it was confirmed by Secretary Stanhope in the course of the debate. A report, he said, had been industriously spread about that the present Ministers never designed to bring the late to trial, but only to censure them in general terms ; but he could assure the House that, notwithstanding all the endeavours that had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagement, by conveying away several papers from the Secretaries' offices, yet the Government had sufficient evidence left to prove the former ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm ; that those matters would now be laid before the House ; and that it would appear that a certain English General had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Marshal Villars.

The Opposition made their stand upon another part of the address, which, they said, reflected upon the memory of the late Queen ; but this objection was dexterously parried by Walpole. Nothing, he declared, was further from their intentions than to asperse the late Queen : they rather designed to vindicate her memory by exposing and punishing those evil counsellors who deluded her into pernicious measures : whereas the opposite party endeavoured to screen and justify those counsellors, by throwing on that good, pious, and well-meaning Princess all the blame and odium of their evil counsels. On the division, the Government had 244 votes, and the Opposition 138.

It was evident, from the intimation of Stanhope, that if even the Duke of Ormond, the General alluded to, should be left untouched, at all events Oxford and Bolingbroke, the chiefs of the Cabinet which had framed his instructions, were to be singled out for trial and punishment. The two ministers thus threatened pursued a very different course. Oxford, still guided by his naturally slow and phlegmatic temper—which, however unfit for action, can, in

a defensive position, sometimes supply the place of wisdom, and, still more frequently, of dignity—determined calmly to await the storm (1). Bolingbroke, ever since his dismissal, had affected an unconcerned and confident demeanour; had appeared every where in public; had taken a part in debate; had, in conversation, descanted with his usual eloquence and insincerity on the pleasures of retirement. “I find by experience,” he used to say, “that I can be unfortunate without being unhappy.” The same tone was also adopted towards him by his friends, and thus, for example, by Swift: “I hope your Lordship, who was always so kind to me while you were a servant, will not forget me now in your greatness. I give you this caution, because I verily believe you will be apt to be exalted in your new station of retirement, which was the only honourable post that those who gave it you were capable of conferring (2).” But though the language of the fallen minister was that of innocence, his conduct was that of guilt. His heart began to fail him when he looked the danger more nearly in the face. He was informed—falsely, as it afterwards appeared—that Prior, who had been recalled from his post at Paris, and was just landed, had promised to disclose all he knew. He feared that his enemies would pursue him to the scaffold, he felt that he deserved it, and, in an evil hour for himself, he took the resolution of flying from England. According to his own account, moreover, so thorough was his abhorrence of Oxford, that the necessity of concerting measures with him for their common defence was a principal motive in deterring him from making any defence at all (3). To conceal and secure his flight, he appeared at Drury Lane Theatre the evening before, the 26th of March; and, at the close of the performance, bespoke (according to the custom of the time) another play for the next night. Having then disguised himself as a servant to La Vigne, a messenger of the King of France, he set off to Dover, and embarked for Calais undiscovered. From thence he proceeded to Paris; and soon afterwards, as I shall have occasion to show, accepted the seals of Secretary of State from the Pretender.

The Duke of Ormond, at first, went into the opposite extreme; and, instead of running from the storm like Bolingbroke, or awaiting it like Oxford, attempted to meet and brave it. By the magnificence of his mode of living, and the public levees which he held, he seemed arrogantly vieing with Royalty itself. He held a sort of Opposition Court at Richmond: he openly connected himself with

(1) “He (Lord Oxford) has certainly made advances of civility to the Whigs, which they have returned with the utmost contempt.” Mr. Ford to Swift, Aug. 14. 1714.

(2) Swift to Bolingbroke, Sept. 14. 1714.

(3) See his letter to Sir William Wyndham. I should observe that this letter does not seem to have been published until after Bolingbroke's

death. It was, I conceive, written about the time it purports to be (1717), privately printed, and circulated amongst a few persons. In 1744, Bolingbroke mentions his finding a copy of it while looking for other pamphlets (Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 343.), which appears to indicate that it had not been recently printed. Perhaps, however, it was circulated in MS.

the most ardent Jacobites : he showed no displeasure at finding his name coupled with " High Church " as the watchword of riots : he was known to foment those riots : he was proud to be the idol of the mob ; and he became at length, as Bolingbroke observes, the bubble of his own popularity. Had he pursued a more moderate course, there is every reason to believe that he would never have been brought to trial. He was not responsible for the restraining orders as a statesman, and, as a soldier, it was his evident duty to obey them. Even without this apology, the Ministers would have shrunk from touching a man with so many friends in the country and in the House of Commons ; and have feared that, however easily they might lop off the smaller branches, so great a bough could scarcely be hewed down (1).

On the 9th of April, Secretary Stanhope laid before the House all the instructions, memorials, and other papers relating to the late negotiation for peace and cessation of arms (2) ; and, observing that they were too many and too voluminous to be perused by the whole House, he moved that they should be referred to a select committee of twenty-one persons. No opposition was made to Stanhope's motion, and the committee was selected by secret lists, which, from the temper of the majority, of course produced the appointment of the principal Whigs. The members met the same evening ; chose Walpole for their chairman ; and, during the next two months, pursued their investigation with all the activity of party zeal and personal resentment. It being a committee of secrecy, we have no authentic record of their proceedings. Prior, however, who fell under their heavy displeasure for refusing to disclose his secrets, or criminate his employers, has given us an account of his examination, from which I shall make some extracts : — " The most confused questions were put to me upon several " heads, backward and forward, by Lechmere, and Boscawen, and " Lord Coningsby ; the two first of whom, I think, understood not " one word of what they were saying. Being asked of " whom I received money in France ? I answered, of M. Cantillon. " ' Was he not a Papist ? ' said Boscawen. ' Else, sir, ' I said, ' he " ' could not have been a banker at Paris, which he had been for " ' several years before I knew him. In one word, he was the " ' common banker to whom the English addressed themselves.' " Stanhope and Walpole I found frowning, and nodding at each " other, and extremely ashamed of this vile stuff. . . . They " proceeded in asking me to give an account of what, they said, I " must needs know—the meeting of the Lords at my house, with

(1) In Coxe's MSS. vol. xxxvi. Brit. Mus., is a letter from Mr. Cardonnel to the Duke of Marlborough, dated June 14. 1715, urging " whether some " means might not be found to bring over the " Duke of Ormond to a sense of his error, and the " owning his having been misled. . . . It is not

" improbable the ministry would choose to let " him drop rather than bring on a prosecution " against him."

(2) There were " twelve volumes bound up, and " three other small books." Comm. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 87.

“ Mesnager and Gaultier. I said, M. Mesnager had often been at
 “ my house ; that the Secretary of State had seen him there ; that
 “ I had eat and drank, and been abroad with him several times.
 “ They took great hold of this. Boscawen expressed himself with
 “ great joy, ‘ This is more than we knew before ! ’ And from
 “ thence they ran wildly back—When I knew Gaultier ? when I
 “ had been with Mesnager ? I answered to this in as general
 “ terms as I could I was interrogated without method
 “ or connection, as any member of the Committee pleased ; and,
 “ indeed, with confusion and disorder enough amongst themselves ;
 “ for they sometimes stopped each other’s questions, and proposed
 “ new ones of their own Walpole and Stanhope grew
 “ mightily perplexed ; the one in a sullen, and the other in an un-
 “ bounded, passion. Coningsby raved outright. The
 “ Chairman told me that the Committee were not at all satisfied
 “ with my behaviour, nor could give such an account of it to the
 “ House as might merit their favour in my behalf ; that, at pre-
 “ sent, they thought fit to lay me under a stricter confinement than
 “ that of my own house. Here Boscawen played the moralist,
 “ and Coningsby the Christian, but both very awkwardly.
 “ The messenger, to whose house they intended to confine me,
 “ being called, Coningsby asked him if his house was secured by
 “ bolts and bars. The messenger answering in the negative,
 “ Coningsby very angrily said, ‘ Sir, you must secure this prisoner ;
 “ if it is for the safety of the nation ; if he escapes, you shall
 “ answer for it.’ ” This picture is, no doubt, much too highly
 coloured, but as undoubtedly has many features of resemblance (1).

Before the report of the Secret Committee was prepared, there
 was scarcely a debate in the House of Commons, on whatever sub-
 ject, that did not give rise to some outbreak of party violence, as
 in an inflamed state of body every humour festers. Thus, on one
 occasion, Sir William Wyndham having inveighed against the
 King’s proclamation in January, which he said was of dangerous
 consequence to the very being of Parliaments, he was fiercely
 called upon to explain these words, and, refusing, was assailed
 with the cry “ To the Tower ! To the Tower ! ” but Walpole,
 with much dexterity, averted any such unpopular act of rigour.
 “ I am not,” he said, “ for gratifying the desire which the member
 “ who occasions this great debate shows of being sent to the Tower.
 “ It would make him too considerable ; and as he is a young man
 “ of good parts, who sets up for a warm champion of the late Mi-
 “ nistry, and one who was in all their secrets, I would have him
 “ be in the House when we come to inquire into the conduct of
 “ his friends, both that he may have an opportunity to defend

(1) See Prior’s account at length in the Parl. Hist. vol. vii. Appendix, No. 2. “ It is certain,” says Dr. Birch, “ Mr. Prior did prevaricate.” (Tin- dal’s Hist. vol. vi. p. 380.) I must observe that Prior’s examination did not take place until the 16th of June, after the report of the Committee.

“ them, and be a witness of the fairness with which we shall proceed against those gentlemen, and that it may not be said that we take any advantage against them.” In compliance with this hint, Wyndham, instead of being committed to the Tower, was only ordered to be reprimanded by the Speaker.

On another occasion, when the civil list was under discussion, Sir William Wyndham incautiously observed, that in the late Queen’s time the sum of 500,000*l.* was sufficient for the support of her family and civil list, though she reserved 50,000*l.* a year for King James’s consort. The Ministers joyfully pounced upon this unwary confession; and Stanhope rose to request the House to take notice of what that gentleman had advanced, because it would serve to confirm some matters which the Committee of Secrecy had found in the papers that were laid before them (1).

On June 1st, on a bill for regulating the forces, Mr. Shippen, a leading Jacobite, having first thrown out the common-place charge against the Administration of intending to set up a standing army, insinuated his belief that, after all the clamour that had been raised, their Secret Committee would end in smoke. This produced some most bitter invectives from the other side. Boscawen complained of “ the insolence of a certain set of men;” and declared, that so far from ending in smoke, the Secret Committee were now ready to make their report. Walpole said that he “ wanted words to express the villany of the late Frenchified Ministry!” And Stanhope added, he “ wondered that men who were guilty of such enormous crimes had still the audaciousness to appear in the public streets!” To such heights had party spirit risen!

At length, on the 9th of June, the long-expected report of the Committee, drawn up by Walpole, as the chairman, was read by him in the House of Commons. Its reading occupied five hours that day, and on the next was read a second time by the clerk at the table. It is a document of great clearness, perspicuity, and power; skilfully marshalling all the facts adverse to the late administration, and followed by an array of seventy-one extracts from their own correspondence, or other authentic documents, in confirmation of its charges. No one, I believe, could peruse it without feeling his bosom burn with indignation at the base motives and shameful conditions of the peace of Utrecht—above all, at the disgraceful line of conduct prescribed to Ormond at the suspension of arms—at the cold-blooded betrayal of the Catalans to Spain—at the wanton gift of Tournay to France—at the effrontery of Bolingbroke in attempting to pass upon the British people renunciations which the very parties who were to make them had privately owned to be

(1) Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 59. In the same debate, a member of the Opposition, whose name is not recorded, made some most malignant observations on an increase in the Judges’ salaries, which

had been made since his Majesty’s accession, and which, he said, “ was not for services done, but expected.”

invalid. Seldom has the avenging arm of offended justice laid bare a scene of such selfish disregard to public interests. In one point, however—the alleged intrigues of Bolingbroke and others of the Ministry with the Pretender—the report appears extremely weak and inconclusive. These intrigues are now, it is true, placed beyond all doubt by the subsequent avowal of some of the principal actors or the disclosure of their most secret papers. But, at that period, nothing beyond circumstantial evidence or probable conjectures could be produced in support of this accusation; nor would it, therefore, have sufficed as the foundation for a charge of treason.

The reading of the report being concluded, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That its consideration should be postponed till the 21st; but this was warmly opposed by Stanhope and Walpole, and negatived by a large majority. Walpole then rose and impeached Bolingbroke of high treason. The friends of Bolingbroke in the House were not few, but his flight prevented their defence. A long silence ensued; and at length some timid expressions of dissent from Mr. Hungerford and General Ross were all that was heard in behalf of the lately triumphant leader of the Commons! The resolution having passed without a division, Lord Coningsby next stood up, and said “The worthy Chairman of the Committee has impeached the hand, but I do impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master: I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer, of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours!”

This resolution was also carried without a division; but the impeachment of Ormond was a matter of much greater difficulty and debate. It was moved by Stanhope on the 21st, and led to a discussion of nine hours and a half. Several undoubted friends of the Protestant succession spoke in favour of the Duke; amongst others, Sir Joseph Jekyll, one of the Committee of Secrecy; and Ormond had so many partisans in the House, that the motion of Stanhope was passed by a majority of only forty-seven. Next day, Mr. Aislabie also impeached, not of high treason, but of high crimes and misdemeanours, the Earl of Strafford, as one of the two plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Utrecht (1); Mr. Hungerford sarcastically observing, that the Bishop of London, the other plenipotentiary, was, it seemed, to have the benefit of clergy!

It appears, however that the zeal displayed in defence of Ormond inclined the Ministers to drop their proceedings against him, and the Duke of Devonshire had even taken measures to obtain for him a private audience of the King, in which any expressions of loyalty and promises of good conduct would probably have been accepted. Such a course was warmly pressed upon the Duke by

(1) Coxe erroneously says that the impeachment of Strafford was moved by Stanhope. (Life of Walpole, p. 67.)

his Jacobite confederates, who wished him to maintain his footing in England, and to lull the suspicions of the Government until their plans should be matured. Another scheme had also been framed for an immediate insurrection in the West; many measures having been concertéd, and many engagements taken by Ormond himself for that object. But Ormond, who combined very honourable feelings with a feeble resolution, could neither stoop to the dissimulation of the first project, nor rise to the energy of the second. He took, of all courses, the worst for himself and his party: he secretly fled to France. It has been said that, before he went, he paid a visit to Lord Oxford in the Tower, and advised him to attempt his escape;—that, finding his arguments ineffectual, he took leave of him with the words, “Farewell, Oxford without a head!”—and that Oxford answered, “Farewell, Duke without a duchy!”

On the flight of Ormond, acts of attainder against him and Bolingbroke were passed without difficulty, and almost without opposition; but Ormond, unlike Bolingbroke, having thus taken his part, steadily adhered to it in evil fortune, and never returned to his native country. He was certainly a man of very amiable temper and no mean accomplishments, and with no blot upon his character—unless incapacity and utter want of vigour are to be looked upon as such. He died in 1745, at the age of fourscore. He is described by St. Simon, in his visit to Madrid in 1721, as short and fat in person, but yet of most graceful demeanour, and most noble aspect; remarkable for his attachment to the Church of England, and refusing large domains which were offered as the price of his conversion (1). Twenty-two years later we find the following account of him at Avignon, in the lively letters of Lady Mary Montagu:—“All the English, without distinction, see the Duke of Ormond. Lord Chesterfield, who, you know, is related to him, lay at his house during his stay at this town; and to say truth, nobody can be more insignificant. He keeps an assembly where all the best company go twice in the week; lives here in great magnificence; is quite inoffensive; and seems to have forgotten every part of his past life, and to be of no party (2).”

Thus then, of the three peers impeached of high treason, the Earl of Oxford remained alone. On the 9th of July, Lord Coningsby, followed by a great part of the House of Commons, brought up to the bar of the Lords sixteen articles of impeachment against him, to which six further ones were afterwards added. The first fifteen referred to the transactions of the Peace of Utrecht; but the sixteenth to the creation of twelve peers in December 1711, “by which the said Earl did most highly abuse the influence he then

(1) *Mém. de St. Simon*, vol. xix. p. 441., ed. 1829.

(2) To Mr. Wortley, June 1. 1743.

“ had with her Majesty, and prevailed on her to exercise, in the
 “ most unprecedented and dangerous manner that valuable and
 “ undoubted prerogative which the wisdom of the laws and con-
 “ stitution of this kingdom hath entrusted with the Crown for the
 “ rewarding signal virtue and distinguished merit; by which de-
 “ sperate advice he did not only, as far as in him lay, deprive her
 “ Majesty of the continuance of those seasonable and wholesome
 “ counsels in that critical juncture, but wickedly perverted the
 “ true and only end of that great and useful prerogative, to the dis-
 “ honour of the Crown, and irreparable mischief to the constitu-
 “ tion of Parliaments.”

The impeachment being thus before the Lords, a debate arose in that House, whether any of the articles amounted to high treason and it was proposed to consult the judges: but a motion to that effect was lost by 84 votes against 52. On the next motion, that Oxford should be committed to the Tower, the Earl rose and addressed the House in a short speech—protesting his innocence, and most artfully insinuating that in many of the acts imputed to him, he had only obeyed the positive orders of the Queen. This, in fact, seems to have been true with respect to the cessation of arms and the instructions to Ormond (1), and would have raised a question of most peculiar difficulty, at a period when the present doctrine of ministerial responsibility was still extremely loose and unsettled in the public mind. “ My Lords,” said Oxford in conclusion, “ if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands
 “ of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for
 “ their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the case of all
 “ the members of this august assembly. . . . My Lords, I am now
 “ to take my leave of your Lordships, and of this honourable
 “ House, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure
 “ in a cause favoured by my late dear Royal mistress; and, when I
 “ consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and vir-
 “ tue of my peers, I shall acquiesce and retire with great content.
 “ And, my Lords, God’s will be done!” In spite of this specious appeal, Lord Oxford, though reprieved for a few days from an indisposition, was committed to the Tower.

In considering these acts of ministerial animosity with that calmness which, at such a distance of time, it requires no great effort to preserve, they appear to me most undoubtedly intemperate and unwise. On the guilt of the former administration, in transacting the Peace of Utrecht, I have already expressed no qualified opinion. But, in the first place, did that guilt amount to high treason? Waving their intercourse with the Pretender, which there was not sufficient evidence to prove, the stress of the accusation for treason lay in their seeking to obtain Tournay for the French, which

(1) See an anecdote in Lord Hardwicke’s State Papers, vol. ii. p. 482.

was construed to be within the act of Edward the Third, an adhering to the Queen's enemies (1). Now, it must, I think, be admitted not only that this interpretation seems a straining of the Act, but that the motives of the Ministers, in the cession of Tournay, however culpable, were not precisely either treasonable or rebellious. So clear is this view of the subject, that above a year after the impeachment of Oxford, we find even the Cabinet Council—the same which had directed the impeachment—"of opinion that the charge "of high treason should be dropped, it being very certain that "there is not sufficient evidence to convict him of that crime; but "that he should be pushed with all possible vigour, upon the "point of misdemeanour (2)." But further—it was surely no very safe or constitutional course (as was forcibly urged by Sir William Wyndham); to found charges of treason on the transactions of a peace which had already been approved by two successive Parliaments. Even if I could admit the justice of such impeachments, I should still utterly deny their policy. From the violence of party feeling, the King could not, it is true, at first, call any even of the moderate Tories to his counsels; but he ought, nevertheless, to have applied himself to allay that violence, and to detach those Tories from their banner, instead of making them cling closely together by the point of honour and exasperation which always spring from persecution. Was it not his interest to invite faithful services in future by a general oblivion to the past? Was it not the duty of his Ministers to draw at least one advantage from his foreign birth, and keep his name clear from their own party rancour and resentment? That resentment might, no doubt, be justifiable: they had, when out of office, undergone much personal persecution from their triumphant rivals; they had to avenge the exile of Marlborough and the imprisonment of Walpole. But they ought to have remembered that the only mode by which such injustice could be excused in the eyes of posterity was by its retaliation; and that their headlong vengeance would incur the charge of supplying the fuel and stirring the flames of the smouldering civil war.

And all this, let us ask, for what? Was any thing gained, or could any thing be gained, by these impeachments? We may,

(1) See Blackstone's Comment., vol. iv. p. 82. ed. 1825.

(2) Despatch from Lord Townshend to Secretary Stanhope, dated Nov. 2. 1716, and printed in Coxe's second volume of the Life of Walpole. The Archdeacon, when he refers to this passage in his first volume (p. 70.), draws an entirely erroneous inference from it as to the original accusation: "It "is a justice due to Townshend and Walpole to "observe, that they strenuously insisted Oxford "should not be accused of high treason, but only "tried for high crimes and misdemeanours." He previously (p. 68.), with the same view, descends upon "the approved humanity of such men as 'Townshend, Devonshire, Stanhope, and Wal-

"pole." Now, neither in the passage he alleges from the correspondence nor in any other, is there the slightest evidence that any one of these statesmen disapproved of the original accusations for treason, although in the course of the trial they all modified their views. As to Walpole, the only testimony (that of Bolingbroke, in his letter to Wyndham) speaks of him as the one who most warmly urged the original impeachments; but this statement appears just as vague and unsupported as that of Coxe upon the other side. The real truth seems to be, that Walpole, not being then a member of the Cabinet, had not much hand in either checking or urging these most impolitic measures,

perhaps, be told of the demands of justice against the late Ministers—of the necessity of deterring future ones from similar misconduct. But surely, in this case, the failure of their misconduct, and their consequent exclusion from office, would have been sufficient as punishment for themselves, or as warning to others. Unsuccessful guilt seldom makes imitators. Or, if it be alleged that Bolingbroke or Oxford, by their popularity in the country, or the number of their friends in Parliament, might, perhaps, at some future time, overcome the Whigs and reinstate themselves in office—could there be a stronger argument to show the impolicy of assailing men so formidably backed, and of driving a large and formidable party to despair?

It is to be observed, however, that, in these impeachments, the Ministers, so far from outrunning the wishes and demands of their own party, rather fell short of them. The language of some of their adherents was much stronger than their own. Thus, for instance, Lord Stanhope of Shelford, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, making his first speech on one of these occasions, said, "he never wished to spill the blood of any of his countrymen, much less the blood of any nobleman; but he was persuaded that the safety of his country required that examples should be made of those who had betrayed it in so infamous a manner." To this speech, Lord Chesterfield, in after-life, looked back with just regret. "Had I not been a young member," he observes, "I should certainly have been, as I own I deserved, reprimanded by the House for some strong and indiscreet things that I said (1)."

Meanwhile, riots and outrages were increasing in several parts of the country. Staffordshire, above all, a county long remarkable for its Tory politics (2) was the scene of disturbance. "High Church, and Ormond for ever!" was the cry. The mob, inflamed with zeal for their ecclesiastical establishment, and persuaded that its security would be very much promoted by pulling down Dissenters' meeting-houses, assembled in great numbers for that object. Many buildings were destroyed, and many sectarians insulted. Against such proceedings it was thought requisite to point a sharper law; and recourse was had to the Riot Act—a statute passed in the reign of Mary, and limited to the Queen's life; and, in like manner, enacted by Elizabeth, but never since revived.

(1) Letter to his son, March 15. 1754. Dr. Maty says in his Life,—“As soon as he had done speaking, one of the opposite party took him aside, and having complimented him upon his *coup d'essai*, observed that he was exactly acquainted with the date of his birth, and could prove that when he was chosen a member of the House he was not come of age, and that he was not so now; at the same time he assured him that he wished to take no advantage of this, unless his own friends were pushed, in which case, if he offered to vote, he would im-

mediately acquaint the House with it. Lord Stanhope, who knew the consequences of this discovery, answered nothing; but making a low bow, quitted the House directly, and went to Paris!”

(2) Boswell observes in 1778: “I drank chocolate this morning with Mr. Eld, and, to my no small surprise, found him to be a Staffordshire Whig—a being which I did not believe had existed:” Life of Johnson, Croker's ed. vol. vi. p. 185.

It was now made perpetual, and with increased powers. It provides, that if any twelve persons are unlawfully assembled to the disturbance of the peace, and any one justice shall think proper to command them, by proclamation, to disperse; if they contemn his orders, and continue together for one hour afterwards, such contempt shall be felony without benefit of clergy. By a subsequent clause, the pulling down of chapels or houses even before the proclamation, is made subject to the same penalty (1). This act, which still continues, though bearing a harsh and arbitrary aspect, has, I believe, in practice, never given rise to any deeds of oppression, nor well grounded causes of complaint.

From the great amount of public business, the Houses sat this year till the 21st of September. Even then—the rebellion, which I shall detail in the next chapter, being on the point of rising—Parliament was not prorogued, but only adjourned at short intervals, till it met again next year; so that what is called its first session extends from March, 1715, till June, 1716.

This spring died two of the Ministers; first, the Marquis of Wharton, Privy Seal, a man of great talents but profligate character, and succeeded by a son still more able, and still more abandoned than himself; secondly, Lord Halifax. No one had basked more largely in the sunshine of the new Court: he had received from its bounty an earldom, the Garter, and the office of First Lord of the Treasury. Other men murmured at this rapid accumulation of favours. To himself, on the contrary, they all seemed inferior to his merit. He aimed at the great post of Lord Treasurer—a post never revived under the Georges; and, finding this withheld from him, did not scruple to enter into negotiations with his political opponents, and plot with them against his party and his principles. Happily for his reputation, these cabals were interrupted by his death. Halifax was justly renowned for the literary talents which he possessed himself and patronised in others; for his skill in finance; for his eloquence in debate; for his activity in business. He was, however, better fitted—in his later years, at least—to adorn than to lead a party. Marlborough, in his private letters, has with his usual admirable discrimination of characters, touched upon the weak point of this:—“I agree with you that Lord Halifax has no other principle but his ambition; so that he would put all in distraction rather than not gain his point.” And again: “If he had no other fault but his unreasonable vanity, that alone would be capable of making him guilty of any fault (2).”

On the demise of Wharton and Halifax, the Privy Seal was put into commission; and the Earl of Carlisle, a respectable nobleman, with some taste but no talent for poetry (3), was made First Lord

(1) Blackstone's Comment. vol. iv. p. 112. ed. 1828.
(2) To the Duchess, February 7. 1709, and Nov. 28. 1706.

(3) His Lordship continued rhyming till a few hours before his death, in 1738; and, “it is a pity,” says Horace Walpole, “that such whole

of the Treasury. He was soon found, however, wholly unequal to that high office; and it was, in October, 1715, transferred to Walpole as a just reward for the talents he had displayed during the last session, and especially in the impeachments.

CHAPTER V.

To those who attentively consider the state of parties at the accession of George the First, it will, I think, appear indisputable that the friends of the Pretender would, sooner or later, with more or with less resources, have attempted an insurrection in his cause. On the other hand, however, I am far from denying that this insurrection gathered strength from the vindictive measures of the Whig administration—measures which tended to exalt the hopes, and increase the numbers, of the disaffected.

To their success, however, three things seemed essential: first, that the rising in England should take place conjointly with that in Scotland; secondly, the personal presence of the Pretender whenever his standard was first raised; and, thirdly, some assistance from France. It will be my task to explain how, partly from misfortune, but more from mismanagement, not one of these objects, though reasonably expected, was attained.

Lord Bolingbroke on arriving at Paris, had by no means openly and at once attached himself to the Jacobite party. Still hoping for a favourable construction from his judges in England, he resolved not to provoke them by any fresh ground of accusation. He went to the Earl of Stair, the new British ambassador, and protested to him that he would enter into no disloyal engagements; and he wrote to Secretary Stanhope with similar assurances.

We learn, however, from the best authority, that Bolingbroke, with characteristic duplicity, at the very time that he made those professions to Lord Stair, and wrote thus to Stanhope, had a secret conference with Marshal Berwick, the Pretender's natural brother; gave a flattering report of the Jacobite interest in England; and observed, that the time was not yet come for himself to espouse it publicly (1). Having thus, as much as possible, made terms with both parties, the noble exile retired into Dauphiné, where he anxiously awaited the course of events. Here he soon received tidings of the bill of attainder passing against him, and felt, as he says, the smart of it tingling in every vein. His own inclina-

"some precepts were not couched in more harmonious numbers." Royal and Noble Authors, Works, vol. I. p. 534.

(1) Mém. de Berwick, vol. II. p. 137.

tion was seconded by letters from his friends; he saw that it was no longer necessary to keep measures with the House of Hanover, and hastening to Commercy in Lorraine, he publicly joined the exiled heir of the Stuarts (1).

"The very first conversation I had with the Chevalier," says Bolingbroke himself, "answered in no degree my expectations. "He talked to me like a man who expected every moment to set "out for England or Scotland, but did not very well know for "which (2)." He was in very active communication with both countries, as also with the Court of France. The letters from the Scotch were warm and eager; they declared themselves impatient to rise; they pressed for the Chevalier's arrival amongst them, (sometimes, according to Bolingbroke, in terms much more zealous than respectful,) and seemed to apprehend no other danger than having the honour of the Restoration taken from them, or shared with others. From England, on the contrary, the advices were as loose and undetermined as might be expected from the character of the Duke of Ormond, who had taken upon himself the whole direction of the business in that country. He had received from James a commission, with the most ample powers that could be given; and he was in close correspondence with Berwick, the intended generalissimo of the Pretender's armament. His reports on the state of public feeling were most favourable; he did not scruple to assert that, out of every ten persons, nine were against King George; he had, moreover, he said, taken care to distribute money amongst the disbanded officers, to keep alive his influence with the army, and to foment the tumults of the people (3). But when from statements the Duke came to projects, he declared that he and his friends were unable or unwilling to stir, unless assisted by France with a body of at least three or four thousand troops, a sum of money, and a supply of arms and ammunition.

In answer to this application, the ministers of Louis declared, in a frank and friendly spirit, that, for their own national interest, the maintenance of peace with England was indispensable; that, therefore, no body of troops could possibly be sent, nor any ostensible assistance afforded, but that secret supplies of money, arms, and ammunition should not be withheld. Louis even prevailed upon the Court of Madrid to promise a loan of four hundred thousand crowns to the Chevalier, who, on his personal credit, had already been able to raise one hundred thousand, besides ten thousand stand of arms. Ormond and his friends were, therefore, under no false hopes. They were told plainly, and at once, that

(1) James, on his part, received Bolingbroke with great distinction, and soon afterwards sent him an Earl's patent: "I cannot, you know," he says, "as yet give you very essential proofs "of my kindness, but the least I can do for so "good and faithful a servant is in sending you

"the enclosed warrant, which raises you a degree "higher than my sister had done before, and "which will fix your rank with me beyond dispute." July 28. 1718. Stuart Papers.

(2) Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

(3) See the *Mém. de Berwick*, vol. II. p. 135.

no foreign troops could be expected. It was for them next to consider whether or not they could act without such aid; and, on either alternative, to state their intention plainly and distinctly. But Ormond was in war like Oxford in politics. Instead of taking either part, he wavered between both. Sometimes he renewed his request for troops—sometimes he urged the Pretender to embark immediately for England. Guided by resentment rather than by reason, his course shifted from day to day; and he always felt most sure of subverting the Government, whenever he was most angry with it. Such hot and cold fits marred all attempts at regular design.

The evident policy of the Chevalier under these circumstances was to restrain the Scotch, and to quicken the English, so that both might ultimately act together, and to entangle the Court of France in hostilities against the Government of George. For all these objects, Paris appeared the best pivot for his negotiations; and Bolingbroke, having accepted the Seals as his Secretary of State, repaired thither towards the end of July. "Here," he says, "I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes; no subordination, no order, no concert. . . . The Jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present designs as infallible. . . . Care and hope sat on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to show, and those who had not yet arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry (1)." With such a multitude of counsellors, and liberality of disclosures, it was not difficult for an acute and able minister like Lord Stair to penetrate into all their "secrets"—as they were still by courtesy termed.

While Bolingbroke was striving to dispose and regulate this chaos of intrigue, he had the satisfaction to receive at length from England more distinct and positive instructions, in a memorial agreed upon between the Duke of Ormond, Lord Mar, Lord Lansdowne, and the other heads of the Jacobites. This paper again strongly urged the importance of a body of French troops, and the danger of coming without them. But, it added, if the Chevalier were determined to run that risk, he ought to set out so as not to land until the end of September, Old Style, by which time Parliament would in all probability be prorogued, and the influential Jacobite Peers and Members of the House of Commons have returned to their respective counties. In this case, it demanded that the Chevalier should bring with him 20,000 arms, a train of artillery, 500 officers, and a considerable sum of money; and when these

(1) Letter to Sir William Wyndham. His de- part of the statements in the Letter to Wyndham spatch to the Pretender, of July 23. 1715 (Appendix), are very remarkably confirmed by the correspondence in a similar strain; and, in fact, the greater dependence in the Stuart Papers.

should be in readiness, it promised to give him notice of the proper place for landing. This paper Bolingbroke immediately adopted as the compass for his course; and communicated part of it to the Ministers of Louis (1), whom he found struggling between the most friendly zeal for the Pretender and the fear of another war. To the request for troops, or for any open engagement, they were still steadily opposed; but they were willing to grant indirect supplies, and had already allowed a small armament to be fitted out at Havre, partly at their expense, and under a fictitious name. Thus they would probably have been drawn from step to step farther than they at first designed; the resentment of the Court of England and of the Whig administration would have blazed high; the Jacobites would then have secretly concurred with the Hanoverians in endeavouring to fix upon the Court of France the aid it had afforded; and, on the whole, Bolingbroke declares himself clearly of opinion, that, had Louis the Fourteenth lived six months longer, the war between France and England would have been renewed.

Thus, then, at this juncture the cause of the Stuarts seemed to bear a brighter aspect than it had assumed since the battle of the Boyne. But it was soon again overcast—first by the flight of Ormond, and, secondly, by the death of Louis. Ormond had promised, in his letters, to keep his ground to the last; to remain at Richmond, unless threatened with arrest; and in that case to hasten to the western counties, the chief seat of his influence, and there put himself at the head of his friends. With this view he had already concerted some measures for seizing the cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth; he had assigned stations to a great number of disbanded officers in his interest, and had even provided relays of horses on the road, to secure his rapid progress (2). But though personally a brave man, at the last moment his heart failed him. He slunk away and crossed over to France in a small sloop, without leaving any order whatever for those who had confided in his management, and were awaiting his directions. His arrival at Paris struck a great damp on the Jacobite cause. The French statesmen, who had heard his popularity so often and so loudly bragged of, and who had looked upon him as the main pillar of his party, now began, from the easy subversion of the first, to entertain no very favourable opinion of the latter.

The health of Louis the Fourteenth had for some time been declining. That sun, so bright in its meridian, so dim and clouded at its setting, was now soon to disappear (3). It would be a melancholy task to trace the changes in his fortunes and his character

(1) Bolingbroke to Torcy, August. 1715. Stuart Papers. See Appendix.

(2) *Mém. de Berwick*, vol. II, p. 148.

(3) Louis had taken the sun for his device in 1662. Many years afterwards, a Calvinist carica-

ture, in allusion to the power of Madame de Maintenon over him, represented him not unaptly as a sun peeping from behind a woman's hood! See the *Mémoires de Maurepas*, vol. III. p. 329. ed. 1792.

during sixty years—from his joyous and triumphant manhood to his cheerless and sullen old age. To be stripped of his hard-won conquests—to see the fabric of power, raised in fifty toilsome and victorious years, at last crumbled into dust—to hear the exulting acclamations which used to greet his presence transformed to indignant murmurs or mournful silence—to be deprived by a sudden and suspicious death of nearly all the princes of his race, and left with no other male descendant for his successor than an infant great-grandson—to be a prey to grasping bastards, and to the widow of a deformed buffoon; such was the fate reserved for the vaunted conqueror of Mons (1), for the magnificent lord of Versailles! He died at last on the 1st of September in this year (2). “He was,” says Bolingbroke, “the best friend the Chevalier had, and when I engaged in this business my principal dependence was on his personal character. . . . All I had to negotiate by myself first, and in conjunction with the Duke of Ormond afterwards, languished with the King. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired (3).”

The new ruler of France, the Regent Duke of Orleans, having attained his authority in opposition to Madame de Maintenon, to the faction of the Bastards, and to the last advisers of Louis the Fourteenth, was of course inclined to very different counsels. Both the ministers and measures of the late Sovereign were immediately changed. The Regent could not, indeed, any more than Louis, entirely forsake the cause of an unfortunate kinsman—of one sprung, like himself, from the blood of the heroic Henri Quatre. He perceived, moreover, that should the Chevalier prevail in his enterprise, the Government of France could not fail to obtain, as it would deserve, great influence and ascendancy over the restored Government of England, and he was careful to put no obstacle in the way of such advantages. But he also perceived, that should the Jacobites be crushed and overpowered, he might derive no small accession of strength from a close alliance with the Ministers of George. He had, in fact, already, during the lifetime of Louis, entered into secret negotiations with them (4); and in this course he had peculiar facilities from his personal knowledge of the new Secretary of State, with whom he had lived on familiar terms in early life, and whom, during his Spanish campaigns, he had entrusted with some most delicate and confidential overtures (5).

(1) “C'est Jupiter en personne
“Ou c'est le vainqueur de Mons!”

says Boileau in his triumphal ode on the taking of Namur.

(2) Voltaire tells us: “Le Comte de Stair parla
“selon le génie de sa nation que le Roi ne passerait pas le mois de Septembre!” *Siècle de Louis XIV.; Anecdotes.* A strange bet for an ambassador!

(3) Letter to Sir William Wyndham. The same

feeling is apparent in his letters to James in the Stuart papers.

(4) See the *Mém. de St. Simon*, vol. xlii. p. 396. ed. 1829; and *Lord Stair's Diary in the Hardwicke State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 533. and 541. It appears that the English ministers went so far as to offer the Duke of Orleans assistance in troops and money, if requisite, to secure his regency. *Mém. de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 197.

(5) I venture to refer the reader to my *War of the Succession*, pp. 261—266.

On the whole, therefore, Lord Stair's representations were far more favourably heard than during the former reign; while Bolingbroke and Ormond, though by no means altogether repulsed, were much less warmly encouraged.

Bolingbroke continued for some time, however ineffectually, to ply the new French Government with his projects and demands. Ormond, on the contrary, hoped that he had found a shorter and a surer channel to the Regent's favour in one Mrs. Olivia Trant, a lady much addicted to intrigues both of politics and love; but, unhappily, by no means so great a proficient in the first as in the latter. It was found very easy to entangle the Regent in the snares of beauty, but impossible to draw from him through those means any more effectual succour, or even any less cautious expressions (1). The Duke of Orleans, in fact, was a man who deserves at least this praise—that amidst all his manifold amours he never allowed any of his mistresses any influence in business. Once, it is related of him, being anxiously and repeatedly urged by one of these fair politicians at a private interview, he at length led her before a mirror at one end of the apartment. "Look at those lovely lips," he cried, "and own yourself that they were not made for state affairs (2)!"

It was in the midst of these useless negotiations that Admiral Sir George Byng came into the road of Havre with a squadron, and that Lord Stair positively demanded that certain ships, which he designated by name, and which he truly alleged to be equipped for the Pretender, should be given up by the French Government. Thus pressed, the Regent did not, indeed, comply with the requisition or surrender the ships, but he ordered them to be unloaded, and the arms which they conveyed to be deposited in the King's magazines (3). Such was the early blight that fell on the Pretender's only armament; and thus, too, it became apparent that little assistance from the Continent, beyond the encouragement of his personal presence, was any longer to be looked for.

Under these circumstances Bolingbroke despatched an agent to London, with a message to Lord Mar—that he understood it to be his Lordship's opinion that Scotland could do nothing effectual without England—that England would not stir without assistance from abroad—and that no assistance from abroad could be relied upon; and he requested his Lordship to draw the inference from these three propositions. But this agent, on arriving in London and communicating with Erasmus Lewis, the late secretary to Lord Oxford, and now an active member of the Jacobite conspi-

(1) Ormond afterwards gives an account of a private interview he had with the Regent, in a letter to the Pretender, Oct. 21. 1715. *Stuart Papers*. He adds, "I have only told it the Queen; Lord Bolingbroke knows nothing of this; it being desired by Mr. O'Brien (the Regent) that he should not."

(2) See Duclós, *Mémoires*, vol. 1. p. 402. ed. 1791.

(3) Bolingbroke writes, however, to the Pretender: "There are at Havre 1300 arms, 4000 weight of powder, and other stores on board another ship which is not yet discovered. I intend to send her, as I write to Lord Mar." September 21. 1715. See Appendix.

racy, learned that Mar had already gone to raise the Highlands. It is positively asserted by Berwick, that the Pretender, without any intimation either to himself or Bolingbroke, had sent orders to Mar to begin the insurrection in Scotland without further delay (1). The veracity and the means of information of Berwick are equally unquestionable; yet it seems difficult to credit such an extremity of falsehood and folly in James. There are several circumstances to disprove, there are none to confirm it; and, on the whole, I suspect that Berwick must have been misled by an excuse which Mar afterwards invented for his own rashness. James himself, writing to Bolingbroke on the 23d of September, expresses an anxious desire that his Scotch friends will at least wait for his answer, if they cannot, as he hopes, stay so long as to expect a concert with England (2). Is it not beyond belief that he should already, several weeks before, have given positive orders to the opposite effect—that he should have issued such momentous directions at a moment so unfavourable, and concealed them from his best friends and most able advisers?

The insurrection once raised, however imprudently, there was no other course for the Chevalier than to maintain it vigorously. Both he and Ormond gave abundant proof of personal courage. The latter immediately set off from Paris; and the former was as fully prepared to leave Lorraine and take ship for Great Britain, although Bolingbroke observes, that it was then no longer possible to carry over even such a handful of men as should secure the Prince from being taken by the first constable he might meet on shore (3). He had several times fixed a day for his departure from Commercy, but had as often been compelled to postpone it, in compliance with the earnest injunctions which he received from England, and which continued to prescribe delay (4). It was not till the 28th of October, that, freed from these trammels, he set out in disguise, and travelled westward to St. Malo.

Meanwhile the Duke of Ormond had sailed from the coast of Normandy to that of Devonshire (5), where, according to his last engagements with his partisans, he expected to find them in arms. But the English Government had now taken vigorous measures to nip the rebellion in its bud. Maclean, an active agent of Ormond, had betrayed him (6). The principal friends of Ormond were arrested; the others dispersed; and when the Duke came to the appointed place he found no signs of a rising—not a single man to meet him, instead of the thousands he expected; and he was compelled to steer again towards France. On landing in Brittany he

(1) Berwick, *Mém.* vol. ii. p. 158.

(2) James to Lord Bolingbroke, September 23. 1715. See Appendix.

(3) Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

(4) See Lord Mar's account from France. Tindal, vol. vi. p. 506. James's partisans circulated a shameful rumour that Lord Stair had formed a

plan for his assassination on the road. See *Mém.* de St. Simon, vol. xiii. p. 403.

(5) He took with him only about twenty officers and as many troopers from Nugent's regiment. *Mém.* de Berwick, vol. ii. p. 165.

(6) Lord Bolingbroke to the Pretender, Nov. 8. 1715. See Appendix.

found, at St. Malo, the Chevalier just arrived from Lorraine, and actively employed in shipping off supplies for Scotland. After several conferences with him, the Duke again embarked, with the daring and indeed desperate project of throwing himself upon the English coast, and taking the chance of some favourable circumstances; but a violent tempest forced him back a second time. On the other part, the Chevalier seeing the plan of the English insurrection baffled, and having completed his business at St. Malo, resolved to proceed himself to Scotland; but having been obliged to postpone his sailing for a few days, he found it at the end of that time to be no longer practicable, the harbour being closely blockaded by several English men-of-war. In this extremity the young Prince set off by land from St. Malo, where, says Bolingbroke, he had as many ministers as there were people about him. He travelled privately on horseback across the country to Dunkirk, having previously sent directions that a ship should be prepared for him in that port. There he arrived in the middle of December, when he immediately embarked on board a small vessel of eight guns, attended only by six gentlemen, who were, like himself, disguised as French naval officers; and with this scanty retinue did the last heir of the Stuarts set sail for their ancient kingdom.

We must now revert to what had been passing on the other side of the Channel, and especially to the proceedings of Lord Mar.

John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar, was made of the willow and not of the oak. He had early in the late reign entered public life as a Whig; he had afterwards turned Tory; he had again joined the Whigs in promoting the Scottish union: but in 1710, when the Tories came into power, he discovered that his principles were entirely in accordance with theirs, and readily became their Secretary of State, and manager for Scotland. His embarrassed fortune has been urged, but should scarcely be admitted, as an excuse for these changes, which had gained him no very honourable nickname in his native country (1). On the accession of George he had addressed to that monarch a letter full of loyal congratulations and warm professions of attachment (2). Finding himself, nevertheless, deprived of office, and with little hope of regaining it under that government, he plunged headlong into all the intrigues of the Jacobites, and became their chief for Scotch as Ormond for English affairs. He was a man of great activity, judgment, and address, but no knowledge of war; at home in Court cabals, but, as we shall afterwards find, unskilful and helpless in a camp. In person he was deformed, and his enemies were accustomed to say of him that his mind was as crooked as his body.

(1) He was called "Bobbing John." See Chambers's History of Dundee's and Mar's Rebellious. p. 172.—a very compendious and pleasing narrative.

(2) See this letter in Tindal's History vol. vi. p. 406.

Till the moment of his leaving London, Mar evinced no common duplicity. On the 1st of August he appeared at the levee of King George; on the 2d he set off to raise the Highlands for King James. He embarked in disguise, with Major-General Hamilton and Colonel Hay, on board a small collier; and it is even said that, the better to conceal his rank, he wrought for his passage (1). From Newcastle he proceeded northwards in another vessel; and, landing on the coast of Fife, he went from the house of one friend to another until he reached his own seat in the "braes" or hills of Aberdeenshire. During his journey he had sent letters to the principal Jacobite gentlemen, inviting them to a great hunting match on the 27th; such entertainments being in the Highlands common pretexts for political councils, and precursors of military risings.

On the 27th, accordingly, there was a large meeting at Lord Mar's, attended by the Marquesses of Huntly and Tullibardine, eldest sons of the Dukes of Gordon and Athol; by the Earl of Southesk, the chief of Glengarry, and several other noblemen and gentlemen. Lord Mar addressed the meeting in an elaborate speech, owning his error in having promoted that "accursed treaty," the Union; and declaring his resolution to retrieve his fault by attempting to restore his country to her ancient independence. The claims of their rightful sovereign—his Majesty's commands to rise—his promise to come amongst them in person—England ripe for insurrection—France teeming with supplies—were not forgotten in Mar's harangue, nor without effect upon his audience. All present took an oath to be faithful to one another, and to the Earl of Mar as the general of King James; and agreed to return each to his own estate for the purpose of raising his men, and afterwards bringing them together.

It appears, however, from the most authentic documents, that the Scotch gentlemen, though willing to obey the call of the Chevalier, were, from the first, by no means sanguine of success. They saw well what slight chances of victory were to be balanced against the imminent hazard of their lives and fortunes; and the death of Louis the Fourteenth, of which they were soon apprised,

(1) *Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair*, p. 51. MS. I am indebted for the communication of this valuable document to the kindness of my friend Mr. Lockhart. It is copied in about 1400 quarto pages, and enriched with notes by Sir Walter Scott. The Master of Sinclair was eldest son of Henry seventh Lord Sinclair, and had served under Marlborough, but was sentenced to death for having killed two brother officers in duels. He fled into the Prussian dominions with the connivance of Marlborough, and afterwards obtaining the Queen's pardon, went to reside at his paternal seat of Dysart, in Fife. He engaged in the rebellion of 1715, and was attainted; but a pardon for his life being granted him in 1726, he returned to Dysart, where he remained till his death, in 1750. "He seldom," says Sir Walter, "ventured to Edinburgh, and was then always well armed and attended, holding himself still

"in danger of the vengeance of the Schaws, or other enemies. The following memoirs," Sir Walter continues, "are written with great talent and peculiar satirical energy. They are intended as a justification of the author's own conduct, but are more successful in fixing a charge of folly and villany upon that of others than in exculpating his own. They will be a precious treat to the lovers of historical scandal, should they ever be made public. The original memoirs, written by the hand of the author, are in the library at Dysart; but there are other transcripts in private collections though some, I understand, have been destroyed, to gratify those whose ancestors fall under the lash of the Master. It is remarkable that the style, which at first is not even grammatical, becomes disengaged, correct, and spirited in the course of composition."

however it might be glossed over by Mar's creatures (1), seemed to the most discerning a fatal blow. Yet a deep and devoted, however mistaken, sense of duty overbore every other consideration in their breasts. Who that reads of the lofty forgetfulness of self, of the chivalrous attachment to the fallen, that shone forth in the three rebellions of 1689, 1715, and 1745, and that notwithstanding repeated reverses—"for all that and all that, and twice "as much as all that," in the words of their own spirit-stirring song—still stood firm and undismayed, does not feel inclined to cry shame upon the charges of mean selfishness and calculating caution, so often cast upon this brave Scotch people? Who will not own that they have generous actions to show against the empty words of their maligners? Never, in my opinion, did any nation combine in a more eminent degree the sense and shrewdness which are sometimes thus unfairly urged as their reproach with the highest courage and most unconquerable fidelity!

Lord Mar, having sent orders to his vassals to join him, raised the standard of the Chevalier on the 6th of September, at Kirk-michael, a village of Brae Mar. He was then attended by no more than sixty men (2). The standard, on its erection, was consecrated by prayers; but the Highlanders, ever watchful of omens, observed as an unfavourable sign that as the pole was planted in the ground the gilt ball fell down from its summit.

The next care of Mar was to issue several letters, declarations, addresses, and manifestoes; papers very various in title, but nearly the same in substance (3). His little force was now daily increased by fresh followers. About 500 of his own vassals joined him on foot. The gentlemen who came on horseback were formed into a body under the Earl of Linlithgow, entrusted with the guard of the standard, and dignified by the name of the "Royal Squadron." This body, which at the outset was only of twenty horse, soon grew into several hundreds (4). Meanwhile the flame was spreading in all directions. The white cockade—such was the emblem of the English as it is now of the French Pretender—was assumed by clan after clan. The first to rise was that of Mac-Intosh; they had nearly 500 in arms, and seized the important post of Inverness. James was proclaimed by the Earl of Panmure at Brechin, by the Earl Marischal at Aberdeen, by Lord Huntly at Gordon, and by Mr. Graham, brother to the celebrated Claverhouse, at Dundee. On the 14th, Colonel John Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoul, obtained possession of Perth; and the Earl

(1) "Malcolm said (on being told of Louis's death) he was very well pleased to hear it, for a young prince such as the Regent would push our affair with more vigour than the old King, who was half doated." Master of Sinclair's MS. p. 84. See also p. 105.

(2) Patten's History of the Rebellion of 1715. p. 183. ed. 1717.

(3) In his letter to his own bailiff, on the 9th, he says, "Let my own tenants in Kildrummie know that if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them!... By all that's sacred, I'll put this in execution!"

(4) Master of Sinclair's MS. p. 118.

of Rothes, who was advancing to secure that place for the Government, with some men from Fifeshire, retired without a blow. In short, nearly the whole country to the north of the Tay was in the hands of the insurgents.

Meanwhile a scheme had been formed by the Jacobites in another part of Scotland, which, if successful, would probably have put them at once in possession of the whole of that kingdom. About eighty persons at Edinburgh, chiefly Highlanders, had plotted to seize and surprise the Castle, a stronghold of infinite importance, and containing nearly all the arms, stores, and money then at the disposal of the Government. At the head of the conspirators was a Roman Catholic nobleman, Lord Drummond. By dint of some bribery, and the cheaper expedient of high promises, they gained over three soldiers in the garrison (1), and resolved to scale the Castle rock, at a place on the north side near the sallyport, where it seemed the least precipitous, and where one of their friends would be the sentinel at the time appointed—the 9th of September, at nine o'clock at night. Ladders of a peculiar construction had been prepared, which were to be drawn up by the Jacobite soldiers, and fastened to a strong stake within the wall, so as to enable the conspirators to climb. It had also been concerted, that on obtaining possession of the Castle they should fire three cannon; that when this signal should be heard by some men stationed on the opposite coast of Fife, a fire should be kindled on the heights; and that these beacons, continued northward from hill to hill, should, with the speed of a telegraph, apprise Mar of his advantage, and enable him to complete it by immediately pushing forward to Edinburgh.

But, unhappily for Mar, a very slight accident was sufficient to defeat this promising scheme. One of the Jacobites engaged in it, Mr. Arthur, had communicated the whole design to his brother, Dr. Arthur, a physician. Dr. Arthur, a timid man, and a recent convert, was much agitated at these tidings, and could not disguise from his wife his feelings of uneasiness and anxiety; nor, when pressed by her curiosity for the cause of them, had he the firmness to conceal it. Thus entrusted to a woman, the secret soon ceased to be so. The lady, without her husband's knowledge, sent an anonymous letter to the Lord Justice Clerk, informing him of the whole conspiracy. Her letter did not reach his Lordship till ten, nor his express the Castle till eleven o'clock on the evening of the 9th; so that, had the conspirators been punctual to their time, their object might have been already attained, in spite of the disclosure. But some of them carousing at a tavern, and drinking deep bumpers to the success of their enterprise, allowed the moment for its execution to slip by, and did not bring the ladders to

(1) "One sergeant, William Ainslie, and two " was afterwards hanged." Sir Walter Scott's "privates, were engaged in this scheme. Ainslie, note on Sinclair's MS. p. 97.

the foot of the Castle rock until two hours after their appointment (1). Scarcely had the three sentinels above begun to draw the ladders, when the time for the change of guard arrived, and when the officers of the garrison were roused by the news of the express. One of the Jacobite sentinels, seeing other soldiers coming round the rampart, fired his piece, and called out below that they had ruined both themselves and him. His companions, at the same time, let go the ropes. The conspirators beneath (some of them much hurt by the fall of the ladders) immediately dispersed; and, although a party of the city guard sallied out upon them from the West Port, in hopes of making prisoners, only four of them were taken. These proved to be, Ramsay and Boswell, writers to the Signet; Leslie, late page to the Duchess of Gordon; and Captain Maclean, a veteran of the field of Killiecrankie. Thus, through the combined influence of wine and women, was this daring scheme defeated.

The Cabinet of St. James's meanwhile had no easy game to play. The whole force at its disposal in Great Britain was scarcely above 8000 men (2). With these it had not only to encounter secret conspiracies, undisguised rebellions, and threatened landings in many places, but also to keep the peace in several other districts, where the mob, inflamed by malicious insinuations, and zealous in the cause of the Church, which they believed to be endangered, pulled down meeting houses of Dissenters, and committed other acts of riot and outrage. With such scanty numbers the Ministers had to support the throne of George and to brave the enmity of Louis—to confirm a new dynasty and overawe an ancient rival. The chief control and direction in this arduous duty fell upon Secretary Stanhope, on account of his military character. The Duke of Marlborough was indeed far more highly qualified for that or any other service; but, as I have already mentioned, was then an object [of aversion at Court, and deprived of all real and effective power (3). The state of Scotland had, of course, been from the first a matter of great anxiety. So early as the 24th of July, Stanhope had obtained leave to bring in a bill “for the encouragement of loyalty in Scotland (4),” by which it was hoped in some degree to bridle the disaffected clans. Yet, when at the end of August the first intelligence came that these clans were actually gathering, Stanhope and his colleagues concurred in thinking that this array was only designed as a stratagem to draw the King's forces northward, and favour the projected insurrection of Ormond

(1) “They were so far from carrying on their affairs privately, that a gentleman who was not concerned told me that he was in a house that evening, where eighteen of them were drinking, and heard the hostess say they were powdering their hair to go to the attack of the Castle! Sinclair's MS. p. 103. A strange sort of powder to provide on such an occasion!

(2) The army estimates for 1718 show us a total of more than 18,000 men at the expense of 858,000*l.*; but of these less than 9000 were at home. See the Comm. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 47.

(3) Look back to p. 75.; and see Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 81.

(4) Comm. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 237. This act received the Royal assent on the 30th of August.

in the west; and such, in fact, was the opinion held at this time by the Jacobites themselves at Bristol and other places (1). The Ministers accordingly determined to send no more troops to Scotland; on the contrary, it was to the south-western counties that they ordered the few regiments at their disposal. They directed General Whitham, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, to march with the handful of regular troops (about fifteen hundred) that could be mustered, and take post at Stirling, so as to maintain the passage of the Forth; but almost immediately afterwards they superseded him in behalf of the Duke of Argyle, whose personal knowledge of the country, and whose princely influence over it, could not fail to be most important in the coming struggle. Argyle might be considered an hereditary foe of the Stuarts, yet his attachment to the Whig party was very recent and doubtful, and no man had taken a more active part towards their expulsion from office than himself. On that occasion he seems to have been guided by a mean resentment against Marlborough, who thought but lightly of his character, and who goes so far as to say, in one of his private letters, "I cannot have a worse opinion of any man than I have of the Duke of Argyle (2)." By the new Tory administration, which he had contributed to raise, he was sent to succeed Stanhope in Spain—an appointment which, from the desperate state of affairs, added nothing to his laurels. His return to England was soon followed by his rupture with the Ministry; he was dismissed from his employments, and rejoined his former friends, who, though they could scarcely place any very unmixed confidence in his support, yet knew its value too well to receive it otherwise than warmly. This powerful chieftain was born in 1678 (3). His influence was not confined to the Highlands, nor his talent to a field of battle; he was also distinguished as a speaker in the House of Lords; and though extremely cool and collected in his conduct, his oratory was warm and impassioned (4). His manner was most dignified and graceful, his diction not deficient in elegance; but he greatly impaired its effect by too constantly directing it to panegyrics upon his own candour and disinterestedness—qualities of which I firmly believe that no man ever had less.

The Earl of Sutherland, also, a zealous friend of the Protestant succession, was directed to embark in a King's ship, the Queenborough, and sail for his domains in the extreme north of Scotland,

(1) Tindal's History, vol. vi. p. 421.

(2) To the Duchess, March 25. 1710.

(3) It is stated in Collins's Peerage (vol. vi. p. 443.) that he was twenty-three in 1705; but here he appears to be confounded with his brother, the Earl of Isla, who afterwards succeeded him in the dukedom.

(4) Thomson says of him, "From his rich tongue persuasion flows."—"I thought him," says Lord

Chesterfield, "the most affecting, persuasive, and applauded speaker I ever heard. I was captivated, like others; but when I came home and coolly considered what he had said, stripped of all those ornaments in which he had dressed it, I often found the matter flimsy and the arguments weak." Letter to his Son, December 5. 1749.

with a commission to raise his vassals, as well as any other clans on which he might prevail in favour of the established Government.

Other measures of great vigour and activity were taken by Stanhope and his colleagues. According to an article in the guarantee for the Protestant succession, the Dutch had bound themselves to furnish a body of 6000 men, in case of need; and to claim this contingent, Horace Walpole was now despatched to the Hague. At home, the Parliament was induced to vote most loyal addresses—to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act—to grant liberal supplies—to offer a reward of 100,000*l.* for seizing the Pretender alive or dead—and to empower the King to seize suspected persons. All half-pay officers were recalled to active service. Twenty-one regiments (7000 men) were ordered to be raised.

At Edinburgh the Government, availing themselves of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, arrested and imprisoned in the Castle several noted Jacobites; the Earls of Hume, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, and Messrs. Lockhart of Carnwath and Hume of Whitfield. By a clause in the new act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, which had passed on the 30th of August, the King had also been empowered to summon any suspected persons to Edinburgh, there to give security for their good behaviour; or, in case of non-appearance, to be denounced as rebels. This provision was immediately put in force by the Lord Advocate, and a great number of persons summoned; but the effect is admitted, on all hands, to have been very unfavourable to the Government. It drove to a decision those wavering politicians who would, in all probability, have remained quietly at home, without declaring for either party; and the decision thus forced upon them was almost always for their secret inclination—the Pretender. Scarcely any obeyed the requisition; and most of them gave civil excuses to the one party, but active assistance to the other. Thus, for example, the veteran Earl of Breadalbane, a man nearly fourscore years of age, sent to Edinburgh an affidavit of his ill health, which is still preserved, and which exhibits a most dreadful array of all human infirmities. Coughs, rheums, and defluxions—gravel and stitches—pains in the back and kidneys—seem the least in the catalogue; it declares him unable to move without danger to his life, and it is attested “upon soul and conscience” by a neighbouring physician, and by the minister of the parish (1). Yet, on the very day after the date of this paper, the old Earl had left home and joined the army of Mar!

That general was still in the Highlands. He had found great difficulty in raising the Athol men, from the Duke of that name making no manifestation in his favour; but it has been alleged by

(1) See the collection of Original Letters and Papers on the Rebellion of 1715, printed at Edinburgh, 1730, p. 20.

his enemies that he himself had secretly endeavoured to disgust the Duke of Athol with the enterprise, apprehending that, should this powerful nobleman join the insurgents, he and not Mar would be considered their leader (1). To obtain the Duke's men, but without the Duke, is said to have been Mar's object; and he at length succeeded in it, through the exertions of Lord Tullibardine and two of his brothers. Above 500 from that country joined their young Marquis. At length, on the 28th of September, Mar made his entry into Perth; when his forces fell but little short of 5000 men. On the same day, also, he was cheered by the arrival of Mr. James Murray, second son of Lord Stormont, with most auspicious tidings from Commercy. Twelve ships, full of arms and ammunition, were described as ready to sail, and the Chevalier as resolved to follow them without delay. One or two small ships of that kind had, in fact, already reached the Scottish coast, and safely disembarked their stores, and accident threw into Lord Mar's hands a similar supply from a different quarter. A vessel had been equipped at Leith by the Government, and freighted with 300 stand of arms for the use of the Earl of Sutherland's party in the North. Stress of weather compelled the vessel to take shelter under the Fife coast near Burntisland; and the skipper, being a native of that place, took advantage of the gale to go ashore and visit his family. On the 2d of October, intelligence of his neglect of duty was brought to Perth; it was determined to try this favourable opportunity; and at five o'clock the same evening, a party of eighty horse, under the command of the Master of Sinclair, sallied from the gates. They arrived at Burntisland about midnight, surprised the skipper in his bed, seized the arms in the ship, and returned safely the same night with their booty, though, both in going and coming, they had to pass within ten miles of Stirling. This exploit gave peculiar satisfaction to the insurgents, as tending not only to augment their own resources, but to impair those of a formidable enemy; and it also encouraged Mar to push his outposts along the coast of Fife, and to station garrisons in the castles of Burntisland and of Falkland.

Meanwhile the Duke of Argyle had arrived in Scotland about the middle of September, and hastened to the camp at Stirling. He had brought with him not a single battalion [of troops, not one piece of artillery. He had found under his command no more than 1000 foot, and a body of dragoons, partly from that excellent regiment the Scots Greys (2), but altogether of only 500 men. His own clan was kept quiet by the dread of an inroad from

(1) Sinclair's MS., p. 116. "It is certain," he adds, "the Duke was of that consequence that he'd have done more in one day in raising the Highlands than Mar in two months." See also p. 236. I have seen in the King's Library at the Brit. Mus. (Polit. Pamph. case 95.) a MS. "Mé-

moire de ce qui s'est passé dans le pays d'Athol, "et des loyales défenses que sa Grandeur le Duc a faites pour le service du gouvernement." 1715. It was no doubt drawn up in French in order to be laid before the King.

(2) "The dragoons called the Scots Greys for

General Gordon with a party of Mar's followers; on his flank and rear, Glasgow, Dumfries, and other towns, were threatened by the Jacobites; and there seemed great danger of his being completely surrounded at Stirling, and yet he could not move from before its ramparts without still more imminent peril. Under such circumstances, the course for Mar to follow was plain. He could, early in October, have mustered above 8000 men; with which, says Marshal Berwick, he ought to have immediately marched forward; and he could scarcely have failed to drive Argyll before him headlong over the Tweed, and obtain possession of the whole of Scotland (1). But it was now that Mar's want of military genius grew apparent. He had been very successful in prevailing upon the Highland chieftains and stirring up the clans, a task which required only address and management; but having thus drawn the sword, it remained a useless weapon in his inexperienced hands. He lingered at Perth for several weeks, awaiting the movements of the Jacobites in England, who, on their part, were also in a great measure at gaze, and in expectation of his movements. In civil wars, to lose an opportunity is to lose all; and the victory belongs to the swift still more than to the strong.

There were several other circumstances that should have warned Mar against such procrastination. First, the disposition of his Highlanders, who were as usual careless of stratagem, eager for battle, and likely, if withheld, to cool in spirit and to dwindle in numbers; next, the great expense, and consequent disgust, occasioned by delay to the principal gentlemen engaged, from the necessity of their maintaining many of their subordinate friends and vassals; thirdly, the host of jarring pretensions and claims to command amongst the leading men, which must always be expected in an irregular force, and which can only be prevented by frequent enterprise and active employment. The Master of Sinclair, who was present, complains bitterly of the number of gentlemen who "were not satisfied with being colonels when they were not capable of being corporals!" He tells us, also, that Mar being jealous of his authority, did not sufficiently consult nor willingly employ his ablest officers, and trusted too much to the judgment of one Major Clephane. "To make," he says, "his Lordship's sudden military genius more conceivable and natural, Clephane was cried up to the skies, and was always buzzing in his ear, like Mahomet's pigeon, and it was granted there wanted no more

"many years maintained a character greatly superior to that of an ordinary regiment. They never gave a bounty exceeding a crown, and were recruited from a class of persons greatly superior to those who usually enter the army, such as the sons of decent farmers and tradesmen, who felt a vocation for the army. No ignominious punishment was ever inflicted, and a criminal who had merited such was pro-

viously transferred to another regiment." Sir Walter Scott's note on Sinclair's MS. p. 304.

(1) Mém. de Berwick, vol. II. p. 160. The Marshal adds, "L'on peut avoir beaucoup d'esprit, beaucoup de courage personnel, être habile ministre, et toutefois n'avoir pas les talents requis pour une entreprise de cette nature. Il est certain que Mar ne les avait pas."

“ to make a consummate general than Mar’s head and Clephane’s practice.”

The movements of the English Jacobites, on which Mar so much depended, will now require some detail. Stanhope had continued to take the most vigorous measures against them. Lords Lansdown and Duplin, and the titular Duke of Powis, were committed to the Tower; a warrant was issued against the Earl of Jersey; and Lieutenant-Colonel Paul, of the Guards, being detected in enlisting men for the Pretender, was secured. On the 21st of September, the very day of the adjournment of Parliament, which did not meet again for business till next year, Stanhope brought down to the Commons a message from the King, desiring their consent for apprehending six members of their House, whom his Majesty had cause to suspect of treasonable practices. These six members were Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey, Mr. Forster, Mr. Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston; all men of violent High-church principles, and considerable local power. The consent requested was unanimously granted by the House; and Harvey and Anstis being still in town, were immediately apprehended. The former stabbed himself in two or three places of the breast, but his wounds proved to be not mortal. Sir John Packington was brought up to London from his house in Worcestershire; Sir William Wyndham was seized at his in Somersetshire, while asleep in bed: however, pretending to go into an inner room to take leave of his wife, who was with child, he made his escape through a postern. A proclamation, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for his discovery, was now issued; and Sir William finding that one of his letters had been intercepted, and that his retreat was likely to be tracked, thought it prudent to surrender himself. Accordingly, coming up to London, he put himself into the hands of Lord Hertford, his brother-in-law, who sent notice of it to Stanhope. The matter was then laid before the Privy Council, the King himself being present; and the Duke of Somerset, the father of Lady Wyndham, offered to be responsible for the conduct of his son-in-law. It was no light matter to refuse and offend the first Protestant peer of the country—a firm friend of the Hanover succession—a powerful leader of the Whig party. But Lord Townshend considered the proofs against Wyndham so strong, and the necessity for his arrest so urgent, that he resolutely made a motion for that object. A long pause ensued. During nearly ten minutes no other member ventured to support him; until at length two or three rose together to second the motion. It was carried; and as the King withdrew into his closet, he took Lord Townshend’s hand, and said, “You have done me a great service to-day (1).” Somerset, who expressed his resentment warmly

(1) Coxe’s Walpole, vol. i. p. 71.

and intemperately, was removed from his office of Master of the Horse—the first appearance of a schism in the Whig administration (1).

The arrest of Wyndham, whose influence in the western counties was predominant, and who held the threads of the whole Jacobite conspiracy, was of great avail in breaking and unravelling its texture. Troops had also been marched into that quarter; Bristol, which the Jacobites intended to surprise, was carefully guarded by the Earl of Berkeley, as Lord Lieutenant of the county; several chests of fire-arms, and about 200 horses, designed for the use of the insurgents, were there discovered and seized, and their most active agents arrested. At Plymouth, where a similar attempt had been projected by the Jacobites, similar precautions were taken against them; and Sir Richard Vyvyan, a stirring Cornish gentleman of considerable note, was sent up to London in the custody of a messenger.

The University of Oxford also felt the rod of power. That learned body had of late scarcely made a secret of their disaffection to the Government. On the flight and attainder of the Duke of Ormond, their Chancellor, they had, as a token of approbation of his principles, conferred that dignity upon the Earl of Arran, his brother; and their honorary degrees were in like manner reserved only for non-jurors, or at least High Tories. An intercepted letter from an undergraduate to his friend in London boasts that "Here we fear nothing, but drink James's health every day." Colonel Owen and several other broken officers had taken shelter at the University, and were concerting measures with the heads of houses, and projecting an insurrection, to be combined with that of Bristol; but Stanhope, having intelligence of the design, sent thither General Pepper, one of his Brihuega officers, with a squadron of dragoons. Marching all night, Pepper entered Oxford at day-break, on the 6th of October. He immediately summoned to his presence both the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor, delivered to them a letter from Stanhope, and acquainted them with his orders to seize eighteen suspected persons. The two dignitaries, scared at the unexpected sight of soldiers, readily promised him their assistance towards this object, and the soldiers began their search; Pepper, at the same time, declaring to the Vice-Chancellor that if any disturbance happened, or if any persons assembled in the streets above the number allowed by the Riot Act, he would order his men to fire. No such extremities, however, came to pass. Colonel Owen who was lodging at the Greyhound Inn, leaped over a wall in his night-gown, and escaped into Magdalen College; but of the other suspected persons ten or twelve were taken, and the soldiers left the town. Such proceedings, it must be owned, bear

(1) See Somerset's personal animosity against Townshend and Stanhope in his letter to Lord Ista of Dec. 13. 1716. Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 148.

something of a harsh and tyrannical aspect, and seem more worthy of Spain or Italy than of England. Yet, by these measures was the intended insurrection crushed in its bud, and the bloodshed which must have followed it happily averted; nor should we forget that the apparent mildness which forbears to punish faults is, in many cases, real cruelty which tempts to crimes. No rising whatever took place in the west; and when Ormond, as already mentioned, came off Plymouth, according to his appointment, he found no one ready to meet him, and was refused, says Bolingbroke, a night's lodging in a country which he had been told was in a good posture to receive the Chevalier himself. The importance of the service done to the House of Hanover in this transaction will best be estimated by the fact that the Jacobite party had always considered Ormond's design as far more hopeful and momentous than Mar's.

In the north of England, however, affairs took a less pacific turn. The shires of Lancaster and Northumberland were, more than any others in England, imbued with the lingering spirit of Catholicism; and Mr. Forster, one of the persons aimed at in the King's message of the 21st of September, was member for the latter county. A messenger had been sent down to seize him at Durham; and a writ was also entrusted to the same person against the Earl of Derwentwater, a young nobleman whose influence was considerable in the north, and whose Jacobite zeal was inflamed by his tenets as a Roman Catholic, and by his descent as sprung from an illegitimate daughter of Charles the Second. Hearing of the orders for their arrest, and being thus driven to extremity, both Forster and Derwentwater resolved, rather than surrender, to precipitate their intended insurrection. By appointment with some friends they met on the 6th of October, at a place called Greenrig, from whence they marched the same night to the small town of Rothbury. Their force was then only sixty horse; but, on proceeding to Warkworth, they were joined by Lord Widdrington (1), another Catholic Peer, with thirty more. They chose Mr. Forster for their general; not on account of his superior influence and station, still less from any supposed abilities or military knowledge, but simply because he was a Protestant, and because it was thought unwise to rouse the popular animosity by placing a Papist at their head. Forster himself, but in disguise, proclaimed the Chevalier at Warkworth with sound of trumpet, and as many other formalities as a remote village could admit. From Warkworth he marched to Alnwick, and from Alnwick to Morpeth. He had

(1) This was the fourth Lord Widdrington, great grandson of the one killed on the King's side in 1651. "He was," says Clarendon, "one of the most goodly persons of that age. . . . a gentleman of the best and most ancient extraction of the county of Northumberland, and of a very

"fair fortune." (Hist. vol. vi. p. 804. ed. 1825.) The accounts of his descendant in 1715 are much less favourable. "I could never discover any thing like boldness or bravery in him," says Mr. Robert Patten, the chaplain—no doubt an excellent judge of military prowess. (Hist. p. 61.)

many offers of assistance from the country people; but had no arms to equip them, and received no others than horsemen. Of these, however, no small number joined him from the borders; so that on entering Morpeth, he could muster as many as 300.

It seems probable that a rapid advance might have given the insurgents possession of Newcastle, where several leading gentlemen, especially Sir William Blackett, were eager to receive them; but their delay enabled the inhabitants to prepare for defence. A great majority there, as almost every where in England, was warmly in favour of the Protestant succession: 700 men came forward to enlist as volunteers, the walls were hastily repaired, the gateways closed up with stones, and this important post secured. Thus disappointed, the insurgents withdrew towards Hexham, where they hoped to communicate with their friends in Lancashire; and they had already sent an express to Lord Mar, to explain their want of foot soldiers, and entreat his assistance in that respect.

Meanwhile another insurrection was breaking forth in the south-west of Scotland. Lord Kenmure proclaimed the Chevalier at Moffat on the 12th of October, and next day attempted to surprise Dumfries; but the Marquis of Annandale, with some attendants, having thrown himself into that town, it was secured for the King. Within a few days, Lord Kenmure was joined by the Earls of Nithsdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, and other persons of note, but the chief command still remained with himself (1). He determined to unite his forces—they were about 200 horsemen—with those of Mr. Forster, and for that object proceeded through Hawick and Jedburgh, over the border to Rothbury, where, on the 19th, he was joined by “the handful of Northumberland fox-hunters,” as Sir Walter Scott contemptuously calls them (2). From thence the combined body, being apprised of Lord Mar’s having sent Brigadier MacIntosh and a reinforcement to their aid, and of his appointing Kelso as the place of junction, directed their march to that town.

The expedition of Brigadier MacIntosh had been planned even before Mar received intelligence of the Northumbrian insurrection. I have already had occasion to notice his ruinous procrastination in lingering at Perth, and not attacking, as he might, and defeating, as he must, the scanty numbers of Argyle. Instead of such judicious boldness, he began to weave a complicated web of stratagems, and designed, in his own phrase, to enclose the Duke “in a hose-net” at Stirling. For this purpose he had already despatched to his right a body under General Gordon to seize Inverary, keep the Campbells from rising, and then descend upon the English army from the west. On his left he wished to effect a similar

(1) “He was of a singular good temper, and too calm and mild to be qualified for such a post, being plain both in his dress and in his address.” (Patten’s Hist. p. 52.) This is the first time, I be-

lieve, that fine clothes have been reckoned amongst the requisites for a good general.

(2) Note to Sinclair’s MS. ad fin.

diversion, by sending another detachment across the Frith of Forth, and threatening Argyle from the rear. The soldiers selected by Mar for this latter service were picked men, chiefly from the clan MacIntosh, and the regiments of Lords Nairn, Strathmore, and Charles Murray : they amounted to nearly 2000, and their command was intrusted to Brigadier MacIntosh of Borlum (1), a veteran of very great experience, zeal, and intrepidity. It was no easy matter to cross the Frith in safety, there being then three English men of war at hand, to guard against any such attempt. But in hopes of mis-directing their attention, another detachment of 500 men was marched to Burntisland, and made apparent preparations for effecting a passage at that place. The consequence was, that the men of war immediately sailed to that point to intercept them, if they attempted to come over. No sooner was the enemy thus engaged, than MacIntosh, having obtained some open boats at Crail, Pittenweem, and Elie (small ports twenty miles to the eastward), embarked his men secretly at night, and put to sea. Next morning, the first object descried by the English seamen was the fleet of boats already half way over the channel. They attempted to give chase; but wind and tide being, as MacIntosh had calculated, both against them, they could only send their boats in pursuit, and only capture one of the enemy's. Forty insurgents were thus taken prisoners and conveyed to Leith, where they were secured in the gaol; of the others, two or three hundred, with the Earl of Strathmore, were stranded on the islet of May; but the remainder, to the number of 1600, safely reached the main land at the ports of Aberlady and North Berwick.

The local authorities at Edinburgh stood aghast at an enterprise so dexterous and so daring. Their city was by no means prepared against an attack; but they had in their Provost, Sir George Warrender, an active and undaunted chief. An express was immediately sent to Argyle, entreating his assistance; and measures were taken to barricade the gates, to provide arms, and to enlist volunteers. Brigadier MacIntosh had previously formed no design against Edinburgh, nor was any such authorised by his instructions; but, hearing of the public consternation and the defenceless state of the city, and believing this great prize to be within his grasp, he determined to push forward and seize it. Accordingly, having stopped at Haddington one night to refresh his men, he, on the 14th of October, advanced against the capital; and in the evening he reached a place called Jock's Lodge, within a mile of Edinburgh. Here he learnt that the Duke of Argyle was every moment expected, and that a considerable number of the citizens had taken arms. He therefore thought it expedient to pause in his progress, and turned aside towards Leith, where he

(1) Borlum was the name of the Brigadier's estate (Chambers' Rebell. p. 217.); and Mr. Hogg is mistaken in calling it Borland, after a small place in Perthshire. (Jacobite Relics, p. 181. ed. 1819.)

threw open the gaol, and released the forty prisoners captured in their passage. From thence late the same night, he crossed to North Leith, and took up his quarters in the citadel.

The citadel of Leith was a square fort with four demi-bastions and a dry ditch around it, built in the time of Cromwell, but since in a great measure dismantled. It afforded, however, to MacIntosh no contemptible position for defence; and during the night, he obtained from the government stores at the Custom-house a large quantity of meal, brandy, and other articles of provision; he took eight pieces of cannon from the vessels in the harbour to mount upon his ramparts, and he supplied the place of gates by hasty barricades of wood; so that the next morning found him ready, if required, to stand a siege.

On the other side, the Duke of Argyle had answered the call of the Provost with remarkable promptitude and judgment. He took with him two or three hundred dragoons, and about as many foot, whom he mounted on country horses, and, by dint of great expedition, he came in sight of Edinburgh a few hours after MacIntosh, and entered the city at 10 o'clock that night. Being joined next morning by the horse militia of the neighbouring district, and also by the city guard and volunteers, he found himself at the head of about 1200 men; with which force he marched to North Leith; and coming before the citadel, sent forward a messenger with a summons to surrender, and a threat, that, if compelled to use force, he would give no quarter.

A Highland gentleman, the Laird of Kinnachin, appeared upon the ramparts to answer this summons. "Surrender," he said, "was a word they did not understand, and he hoped never would. "Quarter they were determined neither to take nor to give. As "for an assault, if his Grace were prepared to give, they were no "less prepared to receive it."

Argyle was, in fact, by no means able to execute his threat. He dismounted, and deliberately walked round the citadel, surveying it both on the land and sea side; but finding no vulnerable point, he determined to postpone the attack till next morning, when he expected the aid of some artillery, and for that day accordingly he marched back with his force to Edinburgh. But it was now apparent to MacIntosh that the arrival of this force from Stirling had blighted his hopes of reducing the city. On the contrary, it was far more probable that he himself would be taken, so soon as artillery was brought against him. Moreover, he felt that acting as he did against his instructions he was liable to a heavy responsibility, and could only escape the most severe censure by the most splendid success. On these grounds he determined to resume his original plan, to steal forth from the citadel of Leith that night, and direct his march to the south of Scotland.

Having thus resolved, MacIntosh sent a boat over the Frith, to

inform Mar of his designs; and, as the vessel left the shore, he directed a shot to be fired after it; by which stratagem, he deceived the crews of the English men-of-war, who supposed the boat to belong to one of their friends, and made no attempt to intercept it. When night had completely set in, MacIntosh silently marched from the citadel, proceeding along the beach, and across the head of the pier, where his men were knee-deep in water. He entered Musselburgh before midnight, and early on Sunday, the 16th, he arrived at Seton Palace, the seat of their partisan, the Earl of Wintoun, about seven miles from Edinburgh (1), where he availed himself of a very strong garden wall as an intrenchment, and prepared for a vigorous defence in case of pursuit from Argyle.

Meanwhile, Lord Mar had been rejoined by Lord Strathmore and the troops stranded in the Isle of May, who, unable to fulfil their original destination, had found an opportunity of sailing back to Fife. The insurgent general had also received early tidings of the deviation of MacIntosh from his instructions, and of the departure of Argyle from Stirling. He perceived that the only diversion which he could make in behalf of his lieutenant was by marching forwards with his army towards Stirling, since thus he might probably draw the Duke from Edinburgh, and rescue MacIntosh from danger. If, on the other hand, Argyle should remain absent, it might then be easy for Mar to disperse the remaining English troops, and effect the passage of the Forth. With these views he immediately put his army in motion. Startled at his approach, General Whitham, who was second in command at Stirling, immediately despatched a pressing letter to Argyle, entreating him to return as soon as possible with his detachment.

This express reached the Duke on the night of Sunday, the 16th. He had already been apprised of the new position of the insurgents at Seton House, and had determined to assail them the next day. But the danger of Stirling, and of his whole army, overbore every other consideration, and he hastily quitted Edinburgh on Monday morning, with nearly all the forces he had brought, and thus, by a singular combination of events, whilst MacIntosh seemed to run from Argyle, Argyle, on his part, seemed to run from MacIntosh. The activity and judgment of the Duke deserve, however, the highest praise on this occasion; and by his timely retreat he saved Stirling, as by his timely coming he had saved Edinburgh. At four o'clock that afternoon Mar had already reached Dumblane, six miles from the English camp, with 4000 men, and an equal

(1) Seton House had some time before been forcibly entered and rifled by the Lothian militia. Lord Wintoun, in his answer to the articles of impeachment against him (Jan. 23. 1716), ascribes their conduct entirely to "private pique and revenge. The most sacred places," he adds, "did not escape their fury and resentment: they broke into his (Roman Catholic) chapel, defaced the monuments of his ancestors, took up the

stones of their sepulchres, thrust irons through their bodies, and treated them in a most barbarous, inhuman, and unchristian-like manner!" (Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 280.) I wish that I were able to contradict this disgraceful charge. Lord Wintoun had not at that time taken arms against the government: he was living peaceably in his own house; so that there was no pretext, but his religion, for such outrages.

number following at a short distance in the rear; and nothing could have prevented his onset but Argyle's arrival—nor ought that. The insurgent general should undoubtedly have given battle at a time when his enemy's force was so much less than he could hope again to find it; yet he preferred the timid resolution of turning round and marching back to Perth without striking a blow, alleging as excuses that the country about Dumblane was too exhausted to supply him with provisions; that he could not leave the north exposed to the incursions of Lord Sutherland; that he had not yet received all the reinforcements he was promised. The truth is, as William the Third observes in one of his letters, that "whenever there is an unwillingness to do any thing, reasons against it are easily found to prove that impossible which is not so (1)."

MacIntosh, meanwhile, remained two days at Seton House, expecting an attack from Argyle. Had he known of that General's departure, he might, perhaps, have resumed his designs against Edinburgh, although the number of volunteers and militia now assembled could scarcely have admitted of his success. A party of these, which had sallied forth under Lords Rothes and Torphichen, deprived him, however, of all intelligence as to the state of the city; and on the 19th he began his march, struck across the wilds of Lammermoor, and on the 22d joined the southern insurgents at Kelso. The combined force was then about 2000 men, namely, 1400 foot under MacIntosh, and 600 Northumbrian and Dumfriesshire horsemen under Lord Kenmure and Mr. Forster.

Two plans were now open for the adoption of this army. First, to march southwards and engage General Carpenter, an officer of great merit, second in command at the battles of Almenara and Zaragoza, and at the defence of Brihuega, and high in Stanhope's confidence, who had now been sent as the military chief to Newcastle, and who was advancing at the head of about 900 cavalry. As these were newly levied, and very raw soldiers, there appeared a reasonable prospect of defeating them with more than twice the number of irregular troops, and such a victory would have cast no small lustre on the rebel arms. The second plan was to march northwards, to take Argyle in the rear, so as to co-operate with an attack of Lord Mar in front. Either of these plans, if decidedly pursued, seemed to promise great advantages; but the difference of opinions as to their comparative merit precluded both. The Scotch officers refused to enter England, the English were determined to advance no further in Scotland. Under these circumstances, they agreed upon a miserable compromise. They determined to march neither against Carpenter nor against Argyle, but to proceed along the range of the Cheviots, and to keep at nearly

(1) Letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, dated August 30. 1694, and printed in the Shrewsbury Correspondence.

the same distance from the Border—a senseless half-measure, which failed as much as half-measures commonly do. The leading officers, on this occasion, instead of forming a rational and deliberative body, seemed rather to resemble an inanimate mass, which, when drawn by equal forces in different directions, naturally takes an intermediate course.

One of the first results of their folly was, that Carpenter and his dragoons falling into their track, and following in their rear, gave to their march the appearance of a flight. The disputes amongst themselves were also kept alive by the want of a final decision, and daily grew louder. On one occasion the English even threatened to surround the Highlanders, and compel them to march, but the mountaineers merely cocked their pistols, and calmly observed, that if they were to be made a sacrifice, they were determined at least that it should be in their own country. It was with great difficulty that this quarrel was hushed. At length, having reached Langholm, at no great distance from the Irish Channel, and being deterred from a project they had formed of investing Dumfries, it became necessary for them to determine their further movements; and after a long altercation they finally resolved upon an invasion of Lancashire, where they had good grounds to expect the rising and junction of the Roman Catholic gentry. MacIntosh entered heartily into the scheme, but was unable to prevail upon all his followers; and a detachment of 500, disregarding his orders, marched away to the northward by themselves.

The remaining body of the insurgents entered England on the 1st of November, and took up their quarters for that night at Brampton, a small town in Cumberland, where Mr. Forster opened a commission which he had received during the march from Lord Mar, authorising him to act as their General in England. Next day they proceeded to Penrith. The Posse Comitatus had been called out to oppose them: it was headed by the Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Lonsdale (1), and amounted to above 10,000; but these ignorant men, having formed to themselves a dreadful idea of the insurgents, were seized with a panic terror at their approach, and dispersed in all directions. A great number of horses and of prisoners were taken; but the latter being of far less value to the insurgents than the former, were immediately released. From Penrith they pursued their march through Appleby and Kendal to Kirby Lonsdale, every where proclaiming the Pretender, and levying the public money. They received no assistance from the leading Catholics in Cumberland and Westmoreland; most of them, such as Mr. Howard of Corby, and Mr. Curwen of Workington,

(1) This bishop was Dr. William Nicholson. Lord Lonsdale was the third and last Viscount of the first creation. He died unmarried in 1780. He is

said, in Collins's Peerage, to have been "a great patriot, and a Lord of the bedchamber,"—a happy combination!

having been previously secured by the government in Carlisle Castle. At Kirby, however, Mr. Forster was joined by some of the Roman Catholic gentlemen of Lancashire; and they now entered that county, directing their march upon the town of the same name. Lancaster was then occupied by the notorious Colonel Chartres, who wished to defend the place by blowing up the bridge over the Loyne, and preventing the enemy's passage; but this being opposed by the inhabitants, he retired, and the rebels entered without hindrance. They had here the satisfaction to release several of their friends imprisoned in the county gaol, especially one Thomas Syddal, who had headed a mob at Manchester in pulling down a meeting house. On the 9th they pushed forward to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and one of militia, withdrew on their approach. The insurgents received at this place a very large accession of force, being joined by nearly all the Roman Catholic gentry of the district, with their servants and tenantry, to the number of about 1200 (1). Most of these, however, were very imperfectly armed; some had swords and no muskets, others had muskets and no swords; many had no other weapons than pitch-forks, and none had any notion of discipline, so that this rabble might be considered an incumbrance rather than a succour; and thus Preston, instead of affording new energy to the English rebels, became, as we shall presently find, the term of their inglorious career.

General Carpenter, on learning that the rebels were in full march into England, had also crossed the border, and hastened by forced marches to Newcastle and Durham, from whence he combined his movements with General Wills, an officer who had served with distinction in the Spanish campaigns, and who had now been sent by the Government to command in the north-west. The Jacobites had certainly cause to lament that their friends should, during the last year, have raised so many riots in Lancashire, more troops having accordingly been sent to that quarter than would otherwise have been the case. Wills had at his disposal Wynne's, Pitt's, Stanhope's, Honeywood's, Munden's, and Dormer's regiments of cavalry; consisting, for the most part, of newly levied men, but comprising good and experienced officers. These forces were assembled by Wills first at Manchester, and more completely at Wigan, to which Stanhope's regiment had retired from Preston, and to which Wills marched on the 11th. Having there received intelligence that Carpenter was advancing from the opposite quarter, and would be ready to take the rebels in flank, he determined to set his own troops in movement the next morning. It was on

(1) Lancashire was very strongly Jacobite. Lord Sunderland, in 1719, speaks of one Mr. Crisp, a gentleman of estate there, who had acted with so much zeal for the Government during the Rebel-

lion, that (what does the reader suppose?) "he has never been able to live in the country since!" See Appendix.

the evening of the 11th that Forster first became aware of Wills's approach. Disheartened and confounded, that incapable chief, instead of giving his orders or summoning a council, only retired to bed; and it was not till roused by Lord Kenmure and other officers from his unseasonable slumbers that he directed any measures for defence.

Preston was a place whose natural advantages might have seemed to insure an obstinate resistance, did not resistance, as all history shows, depend infinitely more on the spirit of the defenders than on the strength of the ground. Even an open town like Zaragoza becomes a citadel when garrisoned by Aragonese; even the triple ramparts of Gaeta are of no avail with Neapolitans upon them! In front of Preston was a bridge over the Ribble, where a handful of resolute men might have stood their ground against an army. From this bridge to the town (a distance of about half a mile) the road ran through a hollow between two steep banks. This was the place where, in 1648, Oliver Cromwell had encountered such stout resistance from the Royalists, who are said to have rolled down large stones from the heights upon him and his men; one of these stones coming so near him, that he could only escape by making his horse leap into a quicksand (1). But Forster took no advantage of this pass. He confined his measures to Preston itself, stationed his men in the centre of the town, and drew barricades along the principal streets.

So evident to a military eye was the importance of the bridge over the Ribble, that when Wills, on the 12th, reached that point, and found it undefended, he came to the conclusion that the rebels must have retired from Preston, and were returning to Scotland. As he approached the town, however, and found the enemy ready to maintain it, he prepared for an immediate onset. Under his direction two of the barricades were gallantly charged by separate divisions, but their intrepid attack was met with equal courage. A destructive fire was poured upon them, not only from the barricades, but from the neighbouring houses, and they had few opportunities to retaliate upon their invisible assailants. When the night came on they withdrew, having suffered considerable loss, and made little impression. Early next morning General Carpenter arrived with some of his cavalry; but even after this junction the King's troops, according to Marshal Berwick's statement, did not exceed 1000 men (2). But whether or not able to overpower Mr. Forster, they were enough to terrify him. Quite disheartened, he, without consulting several of his principal officers, sent Colonel Oxburgh to propose a capitulation. Oxburgh found Wills

(1) Patten's History, p. 99. I must observe, however, that no mention of this mode of resistance is made by Clarendon (Hist. vol. vi. p. 75. ed. Oxf. 1826), nor by Cromwell himself in his official despatch. (Rushworth's Coll. vol. vii. p. 1237.)

(2) Mém. de Berwick, vol. II. p. 162. His short sketch of this rebellion, and his account of numbers on other occasions, are remarkably accurate. He had, of course, the best sources of information.

by no means inclined to treat ; the General saying that he would not enter into terms with rebels ; that they had already killed many of his Majesty's subjects, and must expect to undergo a similar fate. After many entreaties he at last relented, so far as to say, " that if the rebels would lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion, he would protect them from being cut to pieces by the soldiers until further orders from the Government (1). "

The news of this proposal filled many of the insurgents with the highest indignation. " Had Mr. Forster, " says an eye-witness, " appeared in the streets, he would have been slain, though he had had a hundred lives. " The Highlanders, especially, almost rose in mutiny ; wishing to rush upon the King's troops sword in hand, and cut their way through them to their native country ; but the chiefs, divided amongst themselves, perceived that it was too late for an enterprise which could only have been accomplished by a hearty and combined determination. They resolved to yield to their fate, gave up Lord Derwentwater and Colonel MacIntosh (2) as hostages, and induced their followers to lay down their arms. Amongst the captives were Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, Kenmure, Nairn, and Charles Murray ; and members of the ancient northern families of Ord, Beaumont, Thornton, Clavering, Patten, Gascoigne, Standish, Swinburne, and Shafto. The total number taken was only 1400 ; a number so unequal to the previous computation as to show that many—above all, no doubt, the Lancashire peasants—had either escaped from the town, or disguised their persons in it. Seventeen of their men had been killed in the defence ; of the King's troops seventy, and as many wounded. Thus ingloriously ended the English insurrection ! Thus helpless are even the bravest men when without an able one !

Another illustration of this truth was given in Scotland on the very day of the surrender of Preston. Mar had continued to linger at Perth even beyond the commencement of November, whereas a true general might have been master of Scotland six weeks before. It is well observed by Sir Walter Scott, that, " with a far less force than Mar had at his disposal, Montrose gained eight victories and overran Scotland ; with fewer numbers of Highlanders, Dundee gained the battle of Killiecrankie ; and with about half the troops assembled at Perth, Charles Edward, in 1745, marched as far as Derby, and gained two victories over regular troops. But in 1715, by one of those misfortunes which dogged the House of Stuart since the days of Robert the Second, they wanted a man of military talent just at the time when they possessed an unusual quantity of military

(1) See Wills's evidence at Lord Wintoun's trial. (Hist. p. 281.) with the Brigadier. See the evidence at Lord Wintoun's trial.

(2) This person is confounded by Mr. Chambers

“ means (1).” During this senseless delay, the force of Argyle at Stirling had been more than doubled by reinforcements from Ireland; for one amongst the many errors of the Jacobites, both in 1715 and 1745, appears to have been their neglect of the sister island; probably because they considered it too remote to bear very powerfully on a conflict for the Crown of England; but their inactivity in a country where they had so many partisans enabled its government to dispose of the troops which must otherwise have been left for its defence. Several regiments landing from Ireland hastened to the standards of Argyle, and raised his army to 3300 men, of whom 1200 were cavalry, so that it seemed probable this occasion would again confirm the old proverb—“Forth bridles the wild Highlandman.”

On the 10th of November, Mar, at length starting from his lethargy, marched from Perth with all his baggage, and provisions for twelve days. Next morning he was joined at Auchterarder by General Gordon and some of the western clans (2), and the combined body amounted to upwards of 10,000 men, but presented a very motley appearance;—gentlemen and their servants on good horses, equipped with swords and pistols; volunteers from the towns on foot; Lowland peasants with arms slung over their plain grey clothes; Highland chiefs and *DUNNIE WASSAILS* in their own romantic garb; and a train of half-naked mountaineers; “and upon the whole,” says Sinclair, “though we had more men, the Duke’s army had more fire-arms in a condition to fire (3).” On the 12th, the troops came to Ardoch, within eleven miles of Stirling; and Argyle, learning their approach, did not hesitate to give them battle, but marched forward and occupied the town of Dumblane.

Early next morning, Sunday the 13th, both armies advanced against each other. The ground which now lay between them had been the former place of meeting for the militia of the sheriffdom of Menteith, and thence called the Sheriffmuir; it was swelling and uneven, but well suited to evolutions of cavalry. Even before quitting Stirling, Argyle, anxious to avail himself of his superiority in horse, had resolved to meet the enemy, if possible, at that very spot. He now ranged his troops in battle-order, taking to himself the command of the right, giving the left to General Whitham, and the centre to General Wightman. On the other side, the insurgents displayed equal alacrity; and the brave spirit of the Highlanders, so long curbed by the timid counsels of Mar, now burst forth free and unrestrained, like a mountain eagle from its cage. When the Earl summoned his principal officers around him, and proposed to them the alternative of a battle or a retreat,

(1) Note to Sinclair’s MS. ad fin.

(2) Gordon had not been very successful in his expedition to Argyleshire. Lord Isla, brother to the Duke, had thrown himself into Inverary, and

held out the place with great bravery. Sir W. Scott’s note to Sinclair, p. 699.

(3) Memoirs, p. 795.

his voice was drowned by impatient cries of Fight! Fight! "and "we were no sooner got to our posts," says one of them, "than "a huzza began, with tossing up of hats and bonnets, and ran "through our whole army on the hearing we had resolved to fight. "No man who had a drop of Scots' blood in him, but must have "been elevated to see the cheerfulness of his countrymen on that "occasion" (1)."

Mar himself took post at the head of the clans opposite the left wing of the Royal troops, and endeavoured to outflank them by his superiority of numbers. It was, however, on the other wing that the battle began. The insurgents in that quarter opened against Argyle a fire so simultaneous and so well sustained as to extort the praises of even their practised opponents; it was such a few regular forces could have surpassed, and still fewer have stood. But the Duke was not inactive. His experienced eye turned to a morass on his right: it was usually impassable; but he calculated the effects of the last night's frost, and commanded Major Cathcart to lead a squadron over the hardened level, and strike upon the enemy in flank. Meanwhile he put himself at the head of his remaining horse, and, watching the favourable moment, charged the rebels at once both in front and side. Discipline carried the day; the rebels were beaten back at the point of the sword. They made, however, a most resolute resistance, and, in their retreat upon the river Allan, less than three miles distant, they made above ten attempts to stop and rally. Argyle, on his part, behaved with no less humanity than courage: he offered quarter to all those he recognised; and, on one occasion, was seen to parry three strokes which one of his dragoons had aimed at a wounded gentleman. At length, after an obstinate fight of two or three hours the Duke succeeded in forcing the enemy over the Allan, a great number being drowned in the stream; but meanwhile he had altogether lost sight of the rest of his army, where affairs had assumed a very different appearance. The clans commanded by Lord Mar had opened their fire upon the Royalists' left wing. The first fire of the English in return mortally wounded the Chief of Clanranald, a gallant veteran who had served abroad under Marshal Berwick, and who is remembered in the Highlands to this day for his feudal state and splendour. For a moment the fall of this revered leader damped the courage of the clans. But Glengarry (2), starting from the ranks, and throwing his bonnet into the air, "Revenge! Revenge!" he cried in Gaelic; "to-day for "revenge, and to-morrow for mourning!" Fired at these

(1) Sinclair's MS. p. 805. General Wightman says in his official despatch, "I must do the enemy the justice to say, I never saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable."

(2) This was the same chief who had carried the Royal standard at the battle of Killiecrankie. He died in 1725. Scott's note to Sinclair, p. 292.

quickenings words, the Highlanders rushed forward; in another moment they were upon—amongst the enemy, thrusting aside the bayonets with their targets, and by their broadswords spreading destruction and—what with Englishmen is still more difficult—terror through the hostile ranks. In a few minutes the whole of Argyle's left wing was completely routed. General Whitham fled headlong from the field, and never stopped till he found himself in the streets of Stirling. Nor do terrified generals ever want followers. A part of the Royal centre gave way with their left wing, and, had these been vigorously charged, the whole might have been scattered; but this opportunity being neglected, chiefly from the obstinacy and waywardness of the Master of Sinclair, General Wightman drew off three regiments of foot to the right, and then marched forward to rejoin Argyle.

The two armies were now in a very strange situation, each having defeated the left wing of the other. Argyle had had no communication with the main body of his forces; an aide-de-camp whom he sent for that purpose having fallen as he passed along the lines; and it was afterwards ironically said of the Duke by his enemies, that he had strictly fulfilled the Christian precept of not letting his left hand know what his right was doing. On being joined, however, by the three regiments of foot, and learning the disaster of the rest, he with an undaunted spirit (1), immediately drew together his weary soldiers, and led them back to the field of battle. Lord Mar, on his part, had driven the fugitives before him as far as Corntown, a village near Stirling, when he heard of the Duke's success on the other wing. At this intelligence he stopped short, ranged his men in some order, and marched back to the Sheriffmuir, where, fearful of ambushade or surprise, he took up his position on some rising ground. From thence he soon beheld the harassed forces of Argyle on their return, slowly toiling along the road at the bottom of the hill. So scanty was their number, and so exhausted their strength, that a single charge down-hill must have, in all probability, destroyed them. Argyle himself fully expecting an attack, ranged his men behind some enclosures and mud walls, placed two cannon in his front, and steadily awaited the danger. In this position both armies remained for some time, gazing at each other; but the energy of Mar utterly failed him at this decisive crisis. Instead of crying Forwards! he gave orders for a retreat in the opposite direction; and the Duke, hearing the sound of the receding bagpipes, quietly pursued his march to Dumblane, where he fixed his quarters for the night. It was on this occasion that Gordon of Glenbucket, one of the in-

(1) One of his officers observing to him that he much feared his Grace had not won a complete victory, Argyle answered in two lines of an old Scotch song:—

"If it was na weel bobbit, weel bobbit, weel bobbit,
"If it was na weel bobbit, we'll bobbit it again!"

surgent Highlanders, his heart swelling at the torpor of his general, made the celebrated exclamation, "Oh, for an hour of "Dundee (1)!"

Thus ended the desultory and half-fought battle of Sheriffmuir. Both parties eagerly claimed the honour of a victory in their despatches, thanksgivings, and sermons (2); but the Duke showed the better right to it, by re-appearing on the field of battle the next morning with his guard, while Mar never came again within several miles of it. Argyle might also boast of the usual trophies of success—having captured four pieces of cannon, thirteen stand of colours, and three standards, including the Royal one, called "the Restoration (3)." The loss of men sustained by the two armies bore a more equal proportion. The insurgents are supposed to have had 700 killed, including the young Earl of Strathmore (4), and other persons of note; nearly 200, amongst them Lord Strathallan, were sent prisoners to Stirling; and many more had been taken, but were rescued in the course of the engagement; as was the case, for instance, with the Earl of Panmure, and Mr. Robertson of Strowan. The Duke's army had nearly 200 killed, as many wounded, and scarcely fewer taken; the most eminent among the last being the Earl of Forfar and Colonel Lawrence.

It must also be observed, that several of the chiefs and soldiers in Mar's army were, at best, but lukewarm in the cause, and inefficient in the conflict. According to the Master of Sinclair's own avowal, it appears that he, Lord Huntly, and several others, were desirous, even before the battle, of treating with Argyle and laying down their arms (5). From such men, even though personally brave, no great exertions could be expected. Sinclair, as I have already mentioned, refused to charge. The Marquis of Huntly made what historians, when speaking of great men, usually call "a prudent retreat." Of Lord Seaforth's common Highlanders, we are told, without circumlocution, that they "ran off." Robert MacGregor, afterwards so well known under his nickname of Rob Roy, showed hardly more spirit: when he received orders to advance, he merely said to the messenger, "If they cannot do "it without me, they shall not do it with me." The Stuarts of

(1) Scott's note to Sinclair's MS. p. 843. "If they had but thrown down stones," says Sir Walter, "they might have disordered Argyle's "troops." General Wightman himself owns in his official despatch (Nov. 14. 1715), "If they had "had either courage or conduct, they might have "entirely destroyed my body of foot; but it "pleased God to the contrary."

(2) It may be observed that a controversial war of sermons was waged at this period between both camps. The party of the established Government were particularly pleased with a text which they thought happily reflected on the titles of James the Seventh, and of the Pretender as James the

Eighth, of Scotland:—"And the beast that was and "is not, even he is the Eighth, and is of the "Severn, and goeth into perdition." Rev. xvii. 11.

(3) Woodrow Letters, MS., as quoted in Chambers's History.

(4) "He was taken and murdered by a dragoon; "and it may be said of his fate, that a mill-stone "crushed a brilliant." Sinclair's MS. p. 839.

(5) Sinclair's MS. p. 790. Soon afterwards Sinclair and Lord Rollo secretly offered to go over with the whole Fife squadron!—a fact which Sinclair takes care to suppress in his Memoirs, but which appears from Lord Townshend's despatch of Jan. 10. 1716. See Appendix.

Appin and the Camerons of Lochiel, two of the bravest clans of the Highlands, retired without striking a blow. The latter were commanded by the son (1) of Sir Evan Dhu, the renowned chieftain who had fought against Cromwell, and who was still alive in 1715, but incapable, from his great age, of taking the field; and it is said that, on returning home, the clan contrived to keep the event of the battle a secret from their aged chieftain—ashamed to make him feel that the Camerons had declined from the spirit of their fathers.

CHAPTER VI.

After the battle of Sheriffmuir, the Duke of Argyle returned to his former camp at Stirling, satisfied at having arrested the progress of the insurgents, and maintained the passage of the Forth. It was still in the power of Lord Mar to have renewed the conflict, and such was the wish of many of his officers. "If we have not yet gained a victory," said General Hamilton, "we ought to fight Argyle once a week till we make it one." But more timid counsels prevailed, and Mar, leading back his troops to Perth, relapsed into his former inactivity.

The time when he might have acted with effect was, indeed, already flown. It was observed at the time, by even the detractors of Argyle's military reputation, that whether or not Sheriffmuir were a victory for the Duke, it was at least a victory for the King. The clans speedily began to forsake the standards of Mar, and to go home; some in order to secure their plunder, others from shame at their late misconduct; some from having quarrelled with their Lowland allies, others because disheartened at the General's temporising policy. News also reached head-quarters that Lord Sutherland was advancing at the head of the Monroes, the Mackays, and other Whig clans; and that Inverness had been retaken from the insurgent garrison by Forbes of Culloden and Simon Fraser of Lovat (2). This intelligence afforded to Lords Huntly and Seaforth a plausible pretext, which they had for some time desired, of withdrawing from the enterprise. "It was their duty," they said,

(1) This son, John Cameron, was father of Donald, of whom Sir Walter Scott says that "he united all the accomplishments of a gentleman and scholar with the courage and high spirit of a Highland chief." Notes to Sinclair, p. 292. Donald was the hero of Mr. Campbell's poem, "Lochiel;" and will be frequently mentioned in my narrative of "the 45."

(2) This was the famous—may we not say the infamous?—Lord Lovat, executed in 1745. His deceit and treachery are still proverbial in the Highlands. He had originally joined the insurgents of 1715, but now turned against them with the view of establishing his pretensions as head of the family against the claims of a Jacobite heiress. Chambers' History, p. 283.

“to cover their own country;” and they marched with all their retainers from the camp; not, however, without many promises of a speedy return.

Through these and similar causes, Lord Mar’s army dwindled to half its original numbers : nor was the remnant firm and compact. There were not a few, who, hopeless of success—apprised of the surrender at Preston—having no tidings whatever of the Chevalier—and believing him, therefore, to be a prisoner in England—were inclined to lay down their arms if they could obtain honourable terms. Mar endeavoured, on the contrary, to persuade them to sign a declaration, which should engage them to stand by the cause and by each other. At length, however, to prevent private and separate treaties, he was compelled to promise that he would ascertain how far Argyle might be inclined to treat, or what terms he might be prepared to offer. For this overture Mar employed two channels of communication : first, the Countess of Murray, the Duke’s aunt ; and secondly, Colonel Lawrence, one of the prisoners at Sheriffmuir, who was now released on parole (1). The Duke sent a very courteous answer, declaring that his instructions only enabled him to treat with individuals, and not with the whole body, but that he would immediately apply for more extended powers. According to this promise, he sent his commission to London for enlargement. The ministers, however, were by no means inclined to come into his views. They had averted Ormond’s insurrection ; they had crushed Forster’s ; they had, therefore, the best part of their troops at their disposal, and were determined not to treat on a footing of equality with the rebels who still remained in arms, wishing not merely to lop the growth, but to pluck out the roots, of the rebellion. Some reports had already reached them as to Argyle’s doubtful and temporising views ; and so far from enlarging his commission, they would not even return his old one. Moreover, the 6000 Dutch troops for whom they had applied had landed about the middle of November, and were already in full march to Scotland.

On the arrival of these powerful reinforcements, Argyle’s army was increased in a still greater proportion than Mar’s had fallen off, and he might now consider the rebels as completely in his grasp. A great fall of snow at this season, and a long continued frost, alone, he said, prevented him from marching against them. Mar remained at Perth only as it were by sufferance, and had se-

(1) I have compared Sinclair’s Memoirs, p. 1086., with Lord Mar’s Journal from France ; but neither of these is much to be trusted on this point—the former being a philippic against Mar, and the latter his apology. In the collection of original papers (p. 114.) is given a most minute report to Lord Mar from a trumpet, John Maclean, sent to Stirling on a previous message. He especially dwells on the good cheer he received, which he

him was probably not the least interesting part of the business :—“ A sentry brought me my dinner, viz. pies, roast beef, and hens, and a bottle of wine ; and in the afternoon another bottle of wine, and at night a third. . . . Mr. Kincaid showed me his embroidered vest, and asked me “ M I saw any gentlemen at Perth with a vest such as he wore? I said a thousand,” &c.

cretly determined, whenever Argyle should advance, to yield the town without a blow (1).

It was at the time that the affairs of the Chevalier bore this lowering and gloomy aspect, that he himself arrived in Scotland. I have elsewhere explained the reasons of his long delay, and shown that it was in no degree attributable to any want of zeal or spirit on his part. He landed at Peterhead on the 22d of December, attended by only six persons, one of whom was the Marquis of Tynemouth, son of the Duke of Berwick; and the vessel that brought him was immediately sent back to France with the news of his safe arrival. He passed through Aberdeen without disclosing the secret of his rank, and proceeded to Fetteresso, the principal seat of his young partisan the Earl Marischal, where he was detained for several days by his doubts as to the movements of Argyle (2). Meanwhile, Lord Mar, at Perth, had no sooner been apprised of his arrival, than he took horse with the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton, and about thirty other gentlemen, and hastened forward to meet their long expected Prince. Fully convinced as I am of the justice and wisdom of the Hanover succession, and of the national miseries that must have resulted from its overthrow, I yet cannot divest myself of a feeling of reverence—almost of partiality—when I behold the unhappy grandson of Charles the First striving for the throne of his fathers, and trace his footsteps on the soil of his ancient dominion.

The reception of Mar at Fetteresso was, as might be expected, highly cordial; the Chevalier warmly acknowledged his past services, and created him a Duke. On the 30th, James set off from Fetteresso, and on the 4th of January he slept at Glamis Castle, the residence of the Earls of Strathmore, which he declared to be the finest gentleman's seat that he had ever seen in any country. Two days afterwards he made his public entry into Dundee on horseback; the Earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the Earl Marischal on his left, while nearly 300 gentlemen brought up the rear. He was hailed with loud and general acclamations, and, at the request of his friends, remained for an hour at the market-place to gratify the eager affection of the people, who thronged to kiss his hands. Continuing his progress, he, on the 8th, arrived within two miles of the army, at the Royal palace of Scone, where he established his residence, named a regular council, and performed several other acts of state. He issued six proclamations for a general thanksgiving, in gratitude of the special and "miraculous providence" shown in his safe arrival (3); for prayers in churches; for the currency of all foreign coins; for the meeting of the Convention of Estates; for ordering all fencible men, from

(1) Lord Mar's account from France; Tindal's Hist. vol. vi. p. 492.

(2) The Pretender to Lord Bolingbroke, Jan. 2.

1716. Stuart Papers. See Appendix. The cause publicly assigned was an ague.

(3) Collection of Original Papers, p. 160.

sixteen to sixty, to repair to his standard; and for his coronation on the 23d of January.

“At the first news of his landing,” says one of the insurgent gentlemen at Perth, “it is impossible to express the joy and vigour of our men. Now we hoped the day was come, when we should live more like soldiers, and should be led on to face our enemies, and not be mouldering away into nothing, attending the idle determination of a disconcerted council (1).” His appearance amongst his troops was, however, attended with mutual disappointment. He had been promised by Lord Mar a large and victorious army. They had been told that he would bring with him a numerous body of officers, and, perhaps, of men, and a large supply of money, arms, and ammunition. He now came almost alone in the midst of a dwindled and discordant multitude. On making his entry into Perth, the day after he reached Scone Palace, he expressed his wish to see “those little Kings with their armies,” as he called the chiefs and the clans; and one of the most martial tribes of Highlanders was accordingly marshalled before him. He was much pleased at the appearance and the arms of the mountaineers; but, on inquiring how many such were in arms for him, and learning their scanty numbers, he could not conceal his feelings of concern and surprise (2); and in fact, so much reduced was the insurgent army, that they could not venture to disclose their weakness by the customary pageant of a general review.

Nor was there any reasonable hope of speedy reinforcements. Huntly and Seaforth, to whom James had immediately applied, were privately treating with the government for a submission; and the unusual depth of the snow was a reason with some, and a pretext with many others, for remaining at home. Meanwhile, Argyle still continued in front, at the head of an army; now immensely superior both in numbers and in discipline, and he had already pushed his outposts along the coast of Fife, dislodged the insurgent garrisons, and cut off the supply of coal from the camp at Perth.

Difficulties such as these might have baffled even the military skill of Marlborough, or the heroic spirit of Montrose. Still less could they be overcome by a young and inexperienced Prince. Had James been bred a Protestant, had he come to the throne by undisputed succession, and had he ruled in tranquil times, he would certainly have been a popular monarch, from his graceful manners, his mild temper, and his constant application to business. The letters of his which I have read in the Stuart and other Col-

(1) True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, by a Rebel. London, 1716, p. 15., a curious and authentic narrative. Mr. Chambers, who quotes this work, is mistaken (note, p. 332) in ascribing it to the Master of Sinclair. If he had had an opportunity of reading Sinclair's MS. Memoirs he would have found that Sinclair had already gone

northwards to Lord Huntly's; that he was not at Perth during any part of these later transactions, and never saw the Chevalier in Scotland.

(2) Mar in his previous letters had swelled his army to 16,000 men! *Mém. de Berwick*, vol. II p. 170.

lections, appear to me written with remarkable ability and power of language. But he had neither that daring energy, nor that sound judgment, which might fit him for the part of leader in trying emergencies. It was once observed by Stanhope to Dubois, that if ever France should fit out an expedition against England, he only hoped, to insure its failure, that the Pretender might be placed at its head (1). Nature had made this Prince a quiet unenterprising man, education a bigoted Catholic, and, like most of the Princes of his race, he combined an obstinate and unreasonable pertinacity in what he had once determined, with a blind submission to favourites, sometimes unwisely chosen and always too readily obeyed (2). Even at this period, the crisis of his own fate, he was so little warned by his father's as to refuse, or rather evade, giving the same promise of security to the Church of Ireland as to the Church of England, and stubbornly to withstand all the representations of Bolingbroke upon that subject (3)!

The appearance and demeanour of the Chevalier, when in Scotland, seem to be truly described by one of the gentlemen who had taken up arms for his cause:—"His person]was tall and thin, seem-
 "ing to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years.
 "His countenance was pale, yet he seems to be sanguine in his
 "constitution, and has something of a vivacity in his eye that
 "perhaps would have been more visible, if he had not been under
 "dejected circumstances and surrounded with discouragements,
 "which, it must be acknowledged, were sufficient to alter the
 "complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech
 "was grave, and not very clearly expressing his thoughts, nor
 "overmuch to the purpose, but his words were few, and his be-
 "haviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was
 "in his diversions we knew not; here was no room for such things.
 "It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him
 "smile. . . . I must not conceal, that when we saw the man
 "whom they called our King, we found ourselves not at all ani-
 "mated by his presence, and if he was disappointed in us, we
 "were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that
 "looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and
 "vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some
 "asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely
 "heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to
 "see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the cir-
 "cumstances he found us in dejected him; I am sure the figure
 "he made dejected us; and, had he sent us but 5000 men of good

(1) Sevillages, Mémoires Secrets, vol. i. p. 201.

(2) Bolingbroke to James, Nov. 2. 1715. Appen-

dix. See also his remarks in the letter to Wyndham.
 (3) See the deliberate and reluctant opinion of one of his warmest partisans, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, writing in the year 1728; Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 406.

“troops, and never himself come amongst us, we had done other things than we have now done. (1).”

The same writer adds, however, “I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety, grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin.” His speech to his council, also, which was printed and circulated at the time, is marked by sense and spirit. “Whatsoever shall ensue,” he said in conclusion, “I shall leave my faithful subjects no room for complaint that I have not done the utmost they could expect from me. Let those who forget their duty, and are negligent of their own good, be answerable for the worst that may happen. For me it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has shown a constant series of misfortunes, and I am prepared (if so it please God) to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours.”

The council held on this occasion, the 16th of January, determined upon several important measures. First, to fortify Perth, a labour which might have been and should have been completed long before; secondly, to impede the advance of the Duke of Argyle by burning Auchterarder, and all the other villages on the road to Stirling. It was with the utmost difficulty that the Chevalier could be brought to consent to this harsh and invidious project; a reluctant permission was, however, at length wrung from him, and the measure accomplished. Steps were also taken to summon the absent clans, and to obtain supplies of arms and money; for it was one of the many misfortunes of the Jacobites at this juncture, that a vessel which was bringing them some gold from France in ingots had been stranded, and the treasure lost (2).

Meanwhile the government, dissatisfied at Argyle's procrastination, sent down General Cadogan, one of Marlborough's best officers, to quicken and decide his movements. Cadogan, on coming to Stirling, found the Duke, as he says, anxious to invent excuses for inaction, and labouring to discourage the troops by exaggerating the numbers of the enemy and the dangers of the service (3). One of his pleas for remaining quiet was founded on the want of artillery; but Cadogan, proceeding in person to Berwick, hastened the arrival of the expected train. Another of the Duke's objections was the extreme rigour of the season; another the burning of the villages (for excuses are never wanting where inclination is); but the urgency of Cadogan over-ruled all his difficulties, real or pretended, and obliged him, on the 25th of

(1) True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, by money was part of the loan from Spain. *Mém. de Berwick*, vol. II. p. 169.

(2) Lord Mar's Account from France. This (3) Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, vol. vi. p. 324.

January, to begin employing the country people in clearing away the snow, preparatory to the march of the army.

The news of this intention rapidly flew to Perth, causing great perplexity amongst the chiefs, and great rejoicings amongst the men. The latter were loud and clamorous for battle; the former sat in deliberation the whole night of the 28th, but could come to no decided resolution. "Why, what would you have us do?" said an officer next day to one of the tumultuous parties gathered in the streets. "Do!" cried a Highlander, "what did you call us to arms for? Was it to run away? What did the King come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike one stroke for their lives? Let us die like men, and not like dogs!" A gentleman from Aberdeenshire added his opinion, that they ought to take the person of their monarch out of the hands of his present timid counsellors, and then, if he were willing to die like a Prince, he should find there were ten thousand gentlemen in Scotland who were not afraid to die with him (1). These sentiments were no doubt very becoming in brave subalterns; but as certainly it behoved the generals to bear in mind the enormous disproportion of numbers and of discipline—the incomplete defences of Perth and the difficulty of standing a siege—the actual want of fuel and the future want of provisions—the danger of a second Preston—and the possibility that some of the insurgents might be base enough to make terms with the government by giving up the Chevalier. A retreat to the northward, on the contrary, would afford further time for the chance of foreign succours, would secure the person of the Pretender, might entangle Argyle's army in the intricacies of the Highland hills, expose him to a battle on more equal terms, and deprive him of all service from his cavalry. On these grounds, we can scarcely join the Highland soldiers in condemning as pusillanimous the resolution which was finally taken of withdrawing from Perth, although I admit, there seems reason to believe, that many of the chiefs had already for some time determined to abandon the whole enterprise, to induce the Pretender to re-embark at Montrose, and the army to disperse in the Highlands.

The resolution to retreat, finally formed at a council on the night of the 29th of January, was promulgated to the army on the 30th, a day whose evil augury for the House of Stuart was observed and lamented by all present. With sullen silence, or indignant outcries, did the Highlanders prepare for their departure; and mournful was the farewell of their friends at Perth, now about to be exposed to the vengeance of the insulted government. Early next morning the troops began to defile over the Tay, which, usually a deep and rapid river, was now a sheet of solid ice, and

(1) True Account of Proceedings at Perth, p. 28.

bore both horse and foot of the retreating army. Their march was directed along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee.

On the other hand, the English and Dutch troops did not quit Stirling till the 29th. They advanced that day to Auchterarder, one of the villages burnt by the insurgents, where they encamped all night upon the snow, a few only being partially sheltered by the blackened and roofless walls that still remained. Argyle, leading the vanguard, entered Perth about twelve hours after the last of the insurgents had left it, and, first allowing a day of rest, proceeded with a select body in their pursuit. Cadogan writes to Marlborough at this juncture : "The Duke of Argyle grows so intolerably uneasy that it is almost impossible to live with him any longer; he is enraged at the success of this expedition, though he and his creatures attribute to themselves the honour of it. When I brought him the news of the rebels being run from Perth, he seemed thunderstruck, and was so visibly concerned at it, that even the foreign officers that were in the room took notice of it..... Since the rebels quitting Perth, he has sent for 500 or 600 of his Argyleshire men, who go before the army a day's march to take possession of the towns the enemy have abandoned, and to plunder and destroy the country, which enrages our soldiers, who are forbid, under pain of death, to take the value of a farthing, though out of the rebels' houses. Not one of these Argyle men appeared whilst the rebels were in Perth, and when they might have been of some use (1)."

The real motives for Argyle's backwardness are not perhaps very apparent. He may have wished to spare many of the insurgents from private friendship and connection; he may have been afraid lest the forfeiture of their estates should involve the loss of his own seigniorial rights over some of them. It seems to me, however, still more probable, that, considering the chance of invasions from France, or insurrections in England, he was unwilling to act too vigorously against the Chevalier, and to cut off all hopes of future power if that party should prevail. Certain it is, at least, that such was the opinion entertained of his motives by the government at London; insomuch, that, in a very short time, he was deprived of his command, and recalled to England. It is certain, also, that there was a period in Queen Anne's reign when he was thought by no means disinclined to espouse the pretender's interests, and that in 1717 and 1718 there was on foot another project for gaining him over to that cause—a project which, according to the judgment of the leading Jacobites, failed chiefly on account of Lord Mar's jealousy and James's consequent refusal to give the

(1) Letter from General Cadogan to the Duke of Marlborough, dated Feb. 4. 1716, and printed in Coxe's Memoirs, Coxe is mistaken as to the march of the troops from Stirling; they reached Tallibardine not on the fourth day, but on the second.

positive assurances required (1). With all his valour, skill, and eloquence, there was never, I believe, a more fickle and selfish politician than Argyle.

The insurgent army from Dundee continued its march to Montrose, where the Chevalier was pressed by his secret advisers to re-embark. For some time he turned a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and earnestly pleaded to share the fate of his friends. Every hardship, he said, every danger he was ready to endure with the men who had sacrificed their all for his service; and it appears that the only argument to which he finally yielded was, that it would be much more easy for these unfortunate men to obtain terms from the government in his absence than whilst he remained with them. His departure, however, was carried into effect in a manner that gave it every appearance of desertion and deceit. All reports of any such intention were utterly denied; his guards were ordered to parade as usual before his lodgings, and his baggage was sent forward with the main body of the army, as a pledge of his intention to follow. Having thus lulled the vigilance of his partisans, James, on the evening of the 4th of February, slipped out of a back-door, and proceeded on foot to Lord Mar's quarters, and from thence to the water-side, attended by that nobleman and by several others. They pushed from shore in a private boat, and embarked in a small French vessel, which was waiting for them in the roads, and which immediately stood out to sea. Such is the fate of those whose characters are less daring than their enterprises!

The Chevalier left behind him a commission appointing General Gordon commander-in-chief, and giving him full powers to treat with the enemy; and he also left a letter to the Duke of Argyle, with a sum of money, the remnant of his slender resources, desiring that it might be applied for the relief of the poor people whose villages he had given orders to burn; "so that," he adds, "I may at least have the satisfaction of having been the destruction of none, at a time I came to free all (2)."

It is needless to dwell upon the grief and disappointment of the insurgent army after the loss of their leader. They marched towards Aberdeen, hourly growing fewer and fewer, as individuals escaped or concealed themselves in different directions; and from Aberdeen they retired up Strathspey to the wilds of Badenoch and Lochaber. Very few fell into the hands of the enemy, partly from the remissness of Argyle's pursuit to Aberdeen, and partly from the difficulty of sending regular troops into the rugged and desolate tracts beyond it. On the latter point Sinclair has recorded

(1) See the details of this transaction in the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 18.

(2) The original letter is printed in Mr. Chambers' History, p. 312. Its existence was for some

time denied by the Whig writers, who assailed the Pretender's personal character with very unjust though perhaps natural severity.

a very remarkable opinion: "I remember that I once heard his Grace of Marlborough say in Flanders, that if ever he commanded against the Highlanders, he would never be at the trouble of following them into their hills, to run the risk of ruining an army by fatigue, and giving them any occasion of advantages, when he could post himself so as to starve them if they pretended to keep together, or till, by their natural inconstancy, they separated; after which every one would do his best to get terms (1)." In the Highlands the insurgent body finally dispersed: the common men, safe in their obscurity, retiring to their private homes, whilst the gentlemen for the most part took boats in Caithness, escaped to the Orkneys, and afterwards made their way to the Continent.

James himself, after a voyage of seven days arrived safely at Gravelines, and proceeded from thence to St. Germain. On the morning after his arrival he was visited by Lord Bolingbroke, whom he received with much show of kindness. It was strongly urged upon him by that able minister, that he should hasten to Bar, and take possession of his former quarters before the Duke of Lorraine had time to desire him to look out for a residence elsewhere. He might otherwise be reduced, from the want of any other asylum, to take shelter in the Papal state of Avignon, which would not only remove him to a greater distance from England, but produce a most unfavourable effect on the Protestants of that country. James, after some days' delay, and several attempts to obtain an interview with the Regent, seemed to acquiesce in his advice; promised Bolingbroke to set out at five the next morning; asked him to follow as soon as possible, and pressed him in his arms at parting with every appearance of confidence and cordiality. Yet at that very moment he had already decided on the dismissal of the Minister whom he so tenderly embraced. Whether it be that he gave ear to the charge of treachery which others hurled against Bolingbroke to cover their own incapacity and want of conduct—or whether he had been moved by some disrespectful expressions which Bolingbroke had uttered in a drunken sally (2)—he took a resolution which, beyond all others, perhaps, set the seal to the ruin of his cause. Instead of posting to Lorraine, he went to a little house in the Bois de Boulogne, the residence of several intriguing female politicians, and there he had private interviews with the Spanish and Swedish Ministers, pleasing himself with an air of mystery and business (one of the surest symptoms of a little mind), and neglecting the only real business which he should have had at that time. Three days afterwards, Boling-

(1) Sinclair's Memoirs, MS. p. 343.

(2) For the charge of treachery by Mr. James Murray, and the answers by Lord Bolingbroke and his secretary Brinston, see Tindal's Hist. vol. vi. p. 516.) The story of Bolingbroke's

drunken expressions does not, I think, rest on very certain authority; it is related more at length in Coxe's Walpole (vol. i. p. 200. See also vol. ii. p. 307.). The charge of treachery is most certainly false.

broke unexpectedly received a visit from the Duke of Ormond, who put into his hands two orders in a very laconic style, written by the Chevalier—the one dismissing him from his post as Secretary of State, and the other requiring him to deliver to the Duke the papers in his office—"all which," adds Bolingbroke, "might have been contained in a letter-case of a moderate size. I gave the Duke the seals, and some papers I could readily come at. Some others, and, indeed, all such as I had not destroyed, I sent afterwards to the Chevalier, and I took care to convey to him by a safe hand several of his letters, which it would have been very improper the Duke should have seen. I am surprised that he did not reflect on the consequence of my obeying his order literally. It depended on me to have shown his general what an opinion the Chevalier had of his capacity (1). I scorned the trick, and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry."

Yet, however any feeling of anger might be disavowed, the reader may easily guess that the fiery spirit of St. John glowed with the strongest resentment. He immediately renounced all connection with the Jacobite party; he even made overtures to Lord Stair for his own pardon in England; and to the Queen Mother, who sent to assure him that his dismissal had taken place without her knowledge, and that she hoped to adjust matters, he indignantly replied that he was now a free man, and that he wished his arm might rot off if he ever again drew his sword or his pen for her son's cause! It is scarcely possible to condemn too much the absurd infatuation which urged the Pretender thus wantonly to cast away the ablest, perhaps the only able man in his service. On this transaction we may suspect the remarks of Bolingbroke. But we should trust the testimony of Marshal Berwick, a man of accurate information and scrupulous veracity, whose attachment to his brother was not in this case warped by any peculiar friendship for the fallen minister. "One must have lost one's reason," he observes, "if one did not see the enormous blunder made by King James in dismissing the only Englishman he had able to manage his affairs; for, whatever may be said by some persons of more passion than judgment, it is admitted by all England, that there have been few greater ministers than Bolingbroke. He was born with splendid talents, which had raised him at a very early age to the highest employments; he exerted great influence over the Tory party, and was in fact its soul. Could there then be a more lamentable weakness than to rid one's self of such a man at the very time when he was most wanted, and when it was most desirable to make no new enemies? If even he had been to blame, it would

(1) This assertion is confirmed by the letters "persuade him." The orders conveyed by Ormond themselves, now preserved in the Stuart Papers. Thus, on Nov. 15. 1718, James writes, "Our good Papers, and are exactly as the latter describes hearty Duke (Ormond) wants a good head with them. him. I would have sent Booth, but I could not

“ have been prudent to have effected his exclusion by some milder means, and these would not have been hard to find; it need only have been insinuated to him that the coldness which prevailed between him and Ormond would not admit of their acting any longer together. But to cast a public stigma upon him, and seek to blacken his character with the world, is an inconceivable proceeding, and it has lost King James many more friends than people think. I was in part a witness how Bolingbroke acted for King James whilst he managed his affairs, and I owe him the justice to say, that he left nothing undone of what he could do; he moved heaven and earth to obtain supplies, but was always put off by the Court of France; and though he saw through their pretexs and complained of them, yet there was no other power to which he could apply.”

The last and most painful, but unavoidable result, of this rebellion still remains to tell—the conviction and punishment of its leaders. In Scotland few or none of note had been taken, while the surrender of Preston, on the contrary, had given into the hands of Government a great number of considerable persons, both Scotch and English. Of these, some half-pay officers, being treated as deserters, underwent a summary trial before a court-martial, and were forthwith shot, according to its sentence. About five hundred of the inferior prisoners were sent to Chester Castle, and many others to Liverpool; but those of gentle birth were escorted to London, where they arrived on the 9th of December. From Highgate each of them had his arms tied with a cord across his back (Mr. Forster, though a member of Parliament, not excepted), their horses being led by foot-soldiers, and the drums of their escort beating a triumphal march; an insult to prisoners before their trial, which the notoriety of their guilt may explain rather than excuse. Having thus made a public entry (for so their enemies termed it in derision), they were divided amongst the four principal prisons, the noblemen being secured in the Tower.

The trial of these last before the House of Lords was the first object of Parliament, when it reassembled on the 9th of January. On that very day Mr. Lechmere, in a long speech, which is still preserved (1), descanted upon the guilt of the rebels, and the “many miraculous providences” which had baffled their designs; and ended by impeaching James, Earl of Derwentwater, of high treason. Other members followed, and impeached Lord Widdrington, the Earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairn. No opposition was offered, and the impeachments were carried up to the Lords on the same day. The accused noblemen were brought before the House on the 19th, and

(1) See *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii. pp. 227—238. Lechmere had been made Solicitor-General in October, 1714, but (I know not for what offence either given or received) had ceased to be so in December, 1715. *Boatman's Political Index*.

knelt at the bar until the Lord Chancellor desired them to rise, when they pleaded guilty, acknowledging their crime, and throwing themselves upon the King's mercy—all except Lord Wintoun. Sentence of death was accordingly pronounced upon the former, and preparation made for the trial of the latter.

Of the six peers thus condemned, one, Lord Nairn, is said to have been saved solely by the interposition of Stanhope. They had been at Eton together, and, though they had scarcely met since that time, yet the minister still retained so much friendship for his former school-fellow, as earnestly to plead for his life, and finding his request refused by the other members of the Cabinet, he made his own resignation the alternative, and thus prevailed (1). Great interest was also made in behalf of the rest. The Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and other ladies of the first rank, accompanied the young Countess of Derwentwater to an audience of the King, and joined her in imploring his Majesty's clemency. On another occasion Ladies Nithsdale and Nairn (this was before Stanhope's interposition had succeeded), concealing themselves behind a window-curtain in an anteroom, and waiting till the King passed through, suddenly rushed forth, and threw themselves at his feet. Attempts were also made elsewhere upon feelings more ignoble than those of compassion; and the first Lord of the Treasury declared in the House of Commons, that 60,000*l.* had been offered to him if he would obtain the pardon of only one, Lord Derwentwater. Several of the staunchest Whigs in the House of Commons—amongst others Sir Richard Steele, with his characteristic good nature—were inclined to mercy. But Walpole took the lead in urging measures of severity, and declared that he was “moved with indignation to see that there should be such unworthy members of this great body, who can, without blushing, open their mouths in favour of rebels and parricides.” When we consider how very greatly and undoubtedly Walpole was distinguished by personal lenity and forbearance, during his long administration, his vehemence on this occasion may surely be alleged as no small proof of the real necessity for making some rigorous examples. He moved the adjournment of the House till the 1st of March, it being understood that the condemned peers would be executed in the interval; but he prevailed only by a majority of seven, the numbers being 162 and 155.

In the House of Lords the friends of the unfortunate noblemen made a still more effectual stand. A debate having arisen on the presentation of their petition, one member of the Cabinet, the Earl of Nottingham, mindful of his former Tory principles and friendships, suddenly declared in their favour. His unexpected defection threw confusion and discord into the ministerial ranks, the resis-

(1) See some remarks on this occurrence in *must observe, however, that it rests chiefly on the Seward's Anecdotes, vol. II. p. 252. ed. 1804. I evidence of tradition.*

tance of the Government was over-ruled, and an address to the King for a reprieve to such of the condemned Lords as should deserve his mercy, was carried by a majority of five (1).

Astonished and alarmed at this result, the Ministers met in council the same evening. They drew up the King's answer to the address, merely stating, "that on this and all other occasions he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his Crown and the safety of his people." They determined, however, to comply with the declared wish of one branch of the legislature, so far as to respite, besides Lord Nairn, the Earl of Carnwath and Lord Widdrington; but, at the same time, to forestall any further pleas or intrigues in favour of the three remaining peers, they despatched an order for their execution the next morning. A resolution was also taken to dismiss from office Lord Nottingham, his son Lord Finch, and his brother Lord Aylesford, as a mark of the Royal displeasure at the course which the former had so unexpectedly taken in debate. On this Walpole writes as follows to his brother:—"You will be surprised at the dismissal of the family of the DISMALs; but all the trouble we have had in favour of the condemned Lords arose from that corner; and they had taken their PLEA to have no more to do with us; and so the shortest end was thought the best. These are storms in the air, but I doubt not they will all be blown over (2)."

In the night that intervened, one of the condemned peers, Lord Nithsdale, had the good fortune to make his escape from the Tower in disguise. His wife, with an heroic courage inspired by tender affection, saved his life at the hazard of her own, sending him forth in her own dress, and remaining a sacrifice, if required, in his place (3). Thus the number of noble victims was finally reduced to two; and early next morning, the 24th of February, Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were brought to the scaffold, which had been erected on Tower Hill, and which was all covered with black. Derwentwater suffered first: he was observed to turn very pale as he ascended the fatal steps; but his voice was firm, and his demeanour steady and composed. He passed some time in prayer; and then, by leave of the Sheriff, read a paper, drawn up in his own hand, declaring that he died a Roman Catholic—that he deeply repented his plea of Guilty and expressions of contrition at his trial—and that he acknowledged no one but King James the Third for his rightful sovereign. He added: "I intended to wrong nobody, but to serve my King and country, and that without self-interest, hoping, by the example I gave,

(1) See some remarks on this address in Mr. Hallam's account of Lord Danby's impeachment in 1679. Const. Hist. Baudry's edit., vol. II. p. 307.

(2) Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 81.

(3) Lady Nithsdale's own affecting narrative

will be found in the Appendix of my second volume. Her Lord's escape is overlooked by Coxe where he speaks of three peers being actually beheaded. Memoirs of Walpole, vol. I. p. 78.

“ to have induced others to their duty ; and God, who sees the secrets of my heart, knows I speak truth. I am in perfect charity with all the worlds—I thank God for it—even with those of the present Government who are the most instrumental in my death.” He then turned to the block, and viewed it closely, and finding in it a rough place, that might hurt his neck, he bid the executioner chip it off. This being done, he prepared himself for the blow by taking off his coat and waistcoat, and laying down his head ; and he told the executioner that the sign he should give him to do his office would be repeating for the third time, “ Lord Jesus, receive my soul ! ” At these words, accordingly, the executioner raised his axe, and severed the Earl’s head at one blow. Thus died James Radcliffe, third and last Earl of Derwentwater, a gallant and unfortunate, however misguided and erring, young man, greatly beloved for his amiable qualities in private life, his frankness, his hospitality, his honour. His descendants are now extinct ; but his brother, having married a Scottish peeress, was the ancestor of the late Earl of Newburgh. His princely domains in Northumberland and Cumberland are amongst the very few forfeitures of the Jacobites which have never been restored by the clemency of the House of Hanover (1) : they are settled upon Greenwich Hospital ; but in 1832, a part of them was alienated to Mr. Marshall of Leeds.

The execution of Lord Kenmure, which immediately followed, did not much differ in its painful details. He was attended by his son, by some friends, and by two clergymen of the Church of England. Like Lord Derwentwater, he showed great courage and firmness ; like him, he repented having pleaded guilty at his trial, and offered up a prayer for the Pretender. He then knelt down at the block, and his head was struck off at two blows.

With respect to Lord Wintoun, his trial did not begin till the 15th of March. He was a man supposed to be in some degree of unsound mind, although, like most persons in that unhappy situation, he showed abundance of cunning and dissimulation. His only object seemed to be delay, having retarded his trial by petitions for time, and other such devices ; and when, at length, it came to be proved, on unquestionable evidence, that he had freely joined and acted with the rebels, he had little else to urge than that his most material witnesses had not yet arrived, and that the season was very bad for travelling ! The High Steward, Lord Cowper, having over-ruled his objections with some harshness, “ I hope,” said Lord Wintoun, “ you will do me justice, and not make use of Cowper-law, as we used to say in our country ; hang a man first, and then judge him (1) ! ” He entreated to be heard by

(1) A clear rent-charge of 200*l.* per ann. out of these estates was, however, granted to the Newburgh family in 1788. See the Annual Register for that year, p. 139.

(2) *Bowell's State Trials*, vol. xv. p. 347.

counsel, which was refused. "Since your Lordships will not allow my counsel, I don't know nothing (1)!" He was found guilty, and sent back to the Tower, from whence he afterwards found means of making his escape.

The trials of inferior offenders came on before the ordinary tribunals. A great number were found guilty. Many were pardoned; several, amongst others Forster and Brigadier MacIntosh, broke from prison; and, on the whole, from the great number of convicts, only twenty-two were hanged in Lancashire, and four in London. Bills of attainder were passed without opposition against Lords Mar, Tullibardine, and many others, in their absence.

It may be doubted whether in these proceedings a tone of calmness and forbearance was in all cases sufficiently preserved by the judges. Chief Baron Montagu rebuked a jury for acquitting some persons indicted of treason; and Lord Townshend's secretary, writing to Stanhope, complains of "the listlessness which reigns in all the courts of justice, except two or three, where men of spirit preside (2)." Lord Chancellor Cowper, in passing sentence on the condemned Catholic peers, could not refrain from inveighing against their religion, and advising them to chose other spiritual guides in their dying moments. Yet no one has ever ventured to assert that any of the condemnations were legally unjust, nor any of the victims innocent. The Tory writers, indeed, raised a loud cry of violence and excessive rigour in the Ministers: "they have dyed the Royal ermines with blood!" says Bolingbroke. But was not some expiation due to other blood—to the blood of those loyal and gallant soldiers who had fallen in conflict with the rebels—to the blood still reeking from the field of Sheriffmuir and the streets of Preston? Was it not necessary to crush the growing spirit of Jacobitism by some few severe examples? Would it have been wise to tempt another rebellion, by leaving the last unpunished? Let us not be misled by that shallow humanity which can only reckon the number of punishments inflicted, and quite overlooks the number of crimes thus prevented—which forgets that rigour to a few may sometimes be mercy to the many.

It has indeed been argued, and still more frequently assumed, that the rebellion of 1715, being founded on a conscientious opinion of hereditary right, and on a loyal attachment to the heir of the ancient Kings, was more excusable than ordinary treason. So far as regards the moral guilt of the insurgents, or their estimation with posterity, this argument I admit to be perfectly well founded. But surely no government, providing for its own safety, could possibly admit such a principle for a single moment. On the contrary, the more specious were the pretexts of insurrection, the more

(1) Howell's State Trials, vol. xv. p. 892. (2) To Secretary Stanhope, Sept. 6. 1716. Coxe's Walpole.

were measures of repression called for on the part of the reigning dynasty; and, in the words of Gibbon, "the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited his life (1)." On the whole, therefore, the execution of the rebels, taken with arms in their hands, seems to me to stand on entirely different ground from the vindictive proceedings against Bolingbroke and Oxford; and while condemning the latter, I cannot but think that the first did not exceed the measure of justice and necessity.

Punishment was not, however, the only object of the Ministers; they thought also of prevention. On the 1st of March, Lechmere moved for leave to bring in "a Bill to strengthen the Protestant Interest in Great Britain by enforcing the Laws now in being against Papists"—such, in those times, being the panacea for all evils! Lechmere was seconded by Lord Coningsby, and no member venturing to oppose his motion, the bill was passed on the 17th of April; and we find that one of its clauses provided for the "effectual and exemplary punishment of such as being Papists shall enlist themselves in his Majesty's service (2)."

But by far the most important and most celebrated measure of the Government was their change in the duration of Parliament. Under the act passed in 1694 its period had been fixed at three years. The cause of that narrow limitation may probably be found in the enormous period of seventeen years, to which Charles the Second had prolonged his second Parliament, and which, by a natural revulsion, drove the minds of men into the opposite extreme (3). The triennial system had now been tried for upwards of twenty years, and found productive of much inconvenience without any real benefit. There is no evidence whatever to show that the House of Commons had even in the smallest degree shown itself more watchful or public-spirited during that epoch than either before or since; nay, on the contrary, it may be asserted that the grossest and most glaring cases of corruption that could be gleaned out of our whole parliamentary annals belong to those twenty years. The Speaker (Sir John Trevor), on one occasion, accepted a bribe of 1000 guineas from the city of London, and, on its detection, was himself obliged to put to the vote that he had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour (4). The Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Guy), on another occasion, was sent to the Tower for a similar offence (5). A shameful system of false endorsement of Exchequer bills on the part of several members was detected in 1698 (6); and even Burnet, the apologist of those times, is reduced to admit the existence, and deplore the extent, of the corruption (7).

It is not to be supposed, however, that this was the cause which

(1) *Decline and Fall*, vol. xii. p. 242. ed. 1820.

(2) *Comm. Journ.* vol. xviii. p. 423.

(3) See Hallam's *Const. Hist.* Baudry's ed. iii. p. 109.

(4) *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 906.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 896.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 1179.

(7) *History of his own Times*, vol. ii. p. 42. fol.

principally, if at all, influenced the Ministers in proposing the restoration of septennial parliaments. Theirs was a case of pressing and immediate danger. A rebellion scarcely quelled—an invasion still threatened—parties in the highest degree exasperated—a government becoming unpopular even from its unavoidable measures of defence: such were the circumstances under which, according to the act of 1694, the Parliament would have been dissolved at the risk of tumults and bloodshed—a most formidable opposition—and, perhaps, a Jacobite majority. What friend of the Protestant succession could have wished to incur this terrible responsibility (1)? Even those who may approve of triennial parliaments in general, would hardly, I think, defend them at such a juncture. According to this view of the subject, there was at first some idea of providing only for the especial emergency; but it was judged more safe and constitutional to propose an uniform and permanent recurrence to the former system. It was, therefore, on permanent grounds that the question was argued in 1716; and I need scarcely add, that it is on such only that it should be considered now.

In considering, therefore, the general question, we may, in the first place, cast aside the foolish idea, that the Parliament overstepped its legitimate authority in prolonging its existence; an idea which was indeed urged by party-spirit at the time, and which may still sometimes pass current in harangues to heated multitudes, but which has been treated with utter contempt by the best constitutional writers (2). If we look to the practical effects of the change, the most obvious and most important is the increased power of the popular branch of the legislature. Speaker Onslow, a very high authority on this subject, was frequently heard to say that the Septennial Bill formed the era of the emancipation of the British House of Commons from its former dependence on the Crown and the House of Lords (3). As a confirmation of this statement, I consider it very remarkable, that, referring to the period immediately preceding, or immediately subsequent, before the Septennial Bill could have time to work this gradual change, no government of those days appears to have felt the necessity of retaining in the House of Commons some of their principal statesmen as its leaders. On the contrary, we find the most active and able party chiefs, such as Harley and St. John on one

ed. The Bishop adds, "I took the liberty once to complain to the King of this method of buying votes: he said he hated it as much as any man could do; but he saw it was not possible, considering the corruption of the age, to avoid it, unless he would endanger the whole."

(1) "It must be owned," says Mr. Hoyle, in a letter at that time to Horace Walpole, "the Whigs, when the Septennial Bill was first proposed, did not relish it at all, but these arguments and the necessity of the times converted them." Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 66.

(2) Mr. Hallam observes: "Nothing can be more extravagant than what is sometimes coarsely pretended by the ignorant, that the legislature exceeded its rights by this enactment, or, if that cannot legally be advanced, that it at least violated the trust of the people and broke in upon the ancient constitution." (Constitut. Hist. Baudry's edition, vol. iii. p. 171.)

(3) Communicated by Sir George Colebrooke. See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 75.

side, or Montagu and Stanhope on the other, promoted to the peerage whenever their services were thought to deserve that distinction, without any reference to the gap which their absence would leave in St. Stephen's Chapel, and apparently without any public inconvenience. Walpole is probably the first since the Revolution, who, on system, confined himself to the House of Commons, as his proper or as the principal sphere. In fact, a House of Commons elected for three years could not have that degree of stability or combination, which would enable it to enter into any successful competition either with the peers or with the King. Bound fast by the fears of their approaching elections, they could seldom either exert the power or obtain the reputation which belong to independence. We may also observe, that the same short tenure, which, in one state of public feeling, renders the House of Commons too weak as towards the King and the peers, would, in another state of public feeling, make it too weak as towards the violent democracy. Combined with a system of pledges, and with the choice of needy adventurers, we may conceive how triennial elections might utterly degrade the dignity of a representative, and turn him into a mere tool and puppet of popular caprice; nor is it a little amusing to see how some of the loudest bawlers for freedom would willingly bow beneath the yoke, and stoop to a degree of personal bondage, far more galling and shameful than any that ever aroused their sympathy for others.

The Ministers determined that their proposed Bill should originate in the House of Lords. It was there that they felt least sure of a majority; and they wished, that, in case of failure, their friends in the Commons should not at least incur needless unpopularity, nor lose ground at the ensuing elections. Accordingly, on the 10th of April, a Bill for the repeal of the Triennial Act was brought in by the Duke of Devonshire (1). It was of course keenly opposed by the whole weight of the Opposition, yet their numbers were less formidable than had been apprehended; and their chief division on the Bill going into committee, gave them only 61 votes against 96 (2). Some remarks of the Earl of Isla in supporting the Bill, though certainly exaggerated, might perhaps have deserved some attention in the remodelling of our representative system, as showing the dangers of a mere pecuniary qualification, and its fluctuation according to the changes in the precious metals. "For," said he, forty shillings a year in freehold, "which qualifies a man to vote in elections, was formerly as good "as forty pounds is at present, so that formerly the electors were "either gentlemen or men of substance, whereas now the majority

(1) This was William, the second Duke, at that time Lord Steward of the Household; he succeeded in 1707, and died in 1729. (Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 355.) His father had been one of the principal promoters of the Triennial Bill.

(2) See Parliamentary History, vol. vii. p. How could Coxe assert that there were only 86 votes against it in the House of Lords? (Memoirs of Walpole, vol. i. p. 75.)

“of them are of the dregs of the people, and therefore more subject to corruption.” He was answered by Lord Peterborough, whose speech, however, as far as we have any record of it, consisted chiefly of a dull and elaborate sneer against the doctrine of the Trinity. The Duke of Buckingham, who spoke on the same side as Peterborough, made a far better and less excursive use of his wit. “The Triennial Act,” he owned, “is subject to some inconveniences; the best things are not exempt from them; but should we on that account repeal a good law and alter the constitution? Pray, my Lords, consider what you are doing! Why, to prevent robbing on the highway, you forbid travelling!”

Thirty Peers, members of the minority, signed a protest against this bill; and it may be observed, that amongst the chief opponents of the Ministry were their former staunch supporters, the Dukes of Somerset and Shrewsbury. The estrangement of the former has already been explained; for that of the latter it might be difficult to account on any other ground than his usual versatility. He had, about a year before, resigned in disgust his office of Lord Chamberlain, alleging ill health, his favourite pretext, which was not yet worn out by the constant use of twenty years. But the truth is, as we find from the Stuart Papers, that at this time, or soon afterwards, he had embarked in the Jacobite intrigues (1).

The Septennial Bill having passed the Lords, was sent down to the Commons, and read a second time on the 24th of April. Walpole being then severely indisposed (2), was unable to take any part in support of the measure; but it had his full concurrence, and it was defended on the part of the Government by Secretary Stanhope, Craggs, Aislacie, Lord Coningsby, and several others. “Ever since the Triennial Bill has been enacted,” said Sir Richard Steele, “the nation has been in a series of contentions; the first year of a Triennial Parliament has been spent in vindictive decisions and animosities about the late elections; the second session has entered into business; but rather with a spirit of contradiction to what the prevailing set of men in former Parliaments had brought to pass, than of a disinterested zeal for the common good; the third session has languished in the pursuit of what little was intended to be done in the second; and the approach of an ensuing election has terrified the members into a servile management, according as their respective principals were disposed towards the question before them in the House. Thus the state of England has been like that of a vessel in distress at sea; the pilot and mariners have been wholly

(1) “The Duke of Shrewsbury is frankly engaged, and was the last time I heard of him very sanguine.” Bolingbroke to the Pretender. August 20, 1715. Appendix.

(2) “My brother Walpole,” says Lord Townshend. “lay so ill that his life was despaired of.” To Stanhope, Oct. 16, 1716. Coxe’s Walpole.

“employed in keeping the ship from sinking; the art of navigation was useless, and they never pretended to make sail.”

On the other hand, the cause of Triennial Parliaments did not want many able advocates, especially Sir Robert Raymond, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Bromley, the late Secretary of State, and Mr. Shippen, the rising leader of the Tories. “Long Parliaments,” said the latter, “will naturally grow either formidable or contemptible. . . . There was a famous simile applied by Julian Johnson to the long Parliament of King Charles the Second—that a standing Parliament will always stagnate, and be like a country pond which is overgrown with duck’s meat. I make no application; this present Parliament is so far from being a stagnating pool, that it might rather be compared to a rapid stream, or irresistible torrent.” It is plain that Shippen here alludes to the violent proceedings against Oxford and Ormond.

The Ministers, on this occasion, were, moreover, opposed by their late Solicitor-General, Lechmere, who, as one of their friends testily observed at the time, “always damns every thing that does not originally come from himself (1).” On a division, the bill was committed by 284 votes against 162; and it should be noted, that meanwhile the people at large showed no disapprobation of the intended change. On referring to the Journals of the House of Commons (2), I find that the only petitions presented against it were from Marlborough, Midhurst, Hastings, the corporation of Cambridge, Abingdon, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Horsham, Westbury, Cardiff, and Petersfield; none of them places of much importance, and one half of them either mutilated or extinguished under the Reform Bill of 1832.

In committee on the bill Lechmere proposed a clause to disable such persons from becoming members of either House of Parliament as have pensions during pleasure. But Stanhope urged that such a clause would only clog the bill and endanger its miscarriage, a part of it being an infringement on the privileges of the Peers; and he announced his intention of himself bringing in a separate bill with reference to pensioners in the House of Commons. Accordingly, he over-ruled Lechmere’s proposition (probably intended as a stratagem for defeating the Septennial Bill altogether); and the same evening he moved for leave to bring in a bill to disable any person from being chosen a member of, or sitting or voting in, the House of Commons, who has any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years from the Crown. This bill was accordingly prepared, and ordered to be brought in by Stanhope, Craggs, and Boscawen, and it passed on the 8th of June (3). As for the Septennial Bill, it was read a third time on the 26th of April, the minority mustering no more than 121.

(1) Mr. Moyle to Horace Walpole. Cox’s Memoirs, vol. II. p. 62.

(2) Journals, vol. xviii. p. 439, etc.

(3) Comm. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 460.

We are told, apparently on very good authority, that, during the progress of the Septennial Bill, the great Lord Somers rallied for a few hours from his paralytic complaint; and that his brilliant intellect so long overcast by sickness, shone forth from amidst the clouds. Lord Townshend being apprised of the change, immediately waited upon the venerable statesman, who, as soon as he saw him enter the room, embraced him, and said, "I have just heard of the work in which you are engaged, and congratulate you upon it. I never approved of the Triennial Bill, and always considered it in effect the reverse of what it was intended. You have my hearty approbation in this business; and I think it will be the greatest support possible to the liberty of the country (1)." This judgment, however, will probably weigh only with such as were already of the same opinion; others will find it easy to reconcile a love of Triennial Parliaments with a veneration for Lord Somers, by doubting, not unfairly, whether his short intervals from sickness did really restore the full use of his faculties. These, however, are the last public sentiments recorded of that illustrious man. He expired on the 26th of April, leaving behind him a name ever to be held in reverence, so long as an enlightened love of liberty or a profound knowledge of law, the most statesmanlike wisdom or the most inflexible integrity, are understood and upheld amongst mankind. He was born in 1650, at Worcester, his father being an attorney in that city (2). In his childhood he is said to have displayed all the application and seriousness of a man (3). In his manhood he certainly showed all the gentleness of a child (4). Yet his passions were naturally angry and impetuous, as is gladly alleged by his enemies, who do not perceive that this fact, which they intend as blame, in reality, conveys the highest panegyric on his temper and self-command (5). Being bred to the bar, he soon became eminent in his profession, but did not confine himself to it; and in some political writings forcibly and fearlessly inveighed against the arbitrary measures of the Court. In the memorable trial of the Seven Bishops, he acted as their counsel: in the Convention Parliament he was chosen a representative of his native city; and both in his place in the Commons, and as one of the managers of the conferences with the Lords, actively promoted the great work of the Revolution. He was soon after made Solicitor-

(1) This anecdote was communicated by the first Lord Sydney and Mr. Charles Townshend, who had it from their father. (Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 76.) A nearly similar story is recorded of Lord Somers in the preceding year, when he lamented the impeachment of Queen Anne's ministers, and compared it to the proscriptions of Marius, and Sylla.

(2) Shrewsbury Correspondence, p. 389. This Mr. Somers was agent to the Talbot property. Swift calls him "a noted rogue" (vol. x. p. 308.).

(3) See a character by Dr. Birch, in Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 249. ed. 1804.

(4) "He was," says Burnet, "fair and gentle perhaps to a fault, considering his post" vol. ii. p. 107, ed. folio. This is admitted even by Swift: "I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a Prince; never offending in word or gesture; in the highest degree courteous and complaisant." Four Last Years (Works, vol. v. p. 171.).

(5) See Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 308. The Dean adds, "I allow him to have possessed all excellent qualifications except virtue." In Swift's vocabulary "virtue" means faction.

General—became, in 1692, Attorney-General; and in 1693 Lord Keeper. In 1697 he was still further promoted to a peerage and the office of Lord Chancellor—honours which, so far from soliciting, he was with great difficulty persuaded to accept when proffered. In all these employments he maintained the same serene and lofty character—neither arrogant to his inferiors nor servile to the King. But all his merit could not shield him from the usual vicissitudes of popularity; and he found, as Shrewsbury afterwards observed in a letter to himself, that “ours is a country that will not be served; satisfied neither with those in affairs, nor with those who decline them (1).” In 1701 he was assailed by a parliamentary impeachment, chiefly for his share in the Treaty of Partition; and so formidable was the outcry against him, that King William, well as he knew his innocence, and highly as he prized his services, had, even before his trial, found it necessary to deprive him of the seals. His personal mortifications, however, never drove him into political rancour. He remained for several years in dignified exclusion from office, observing rather than opposing the Government, and dividing his time between the duties of a peerage and the pursuits of science. In the former he was considered a leader of his party; in the latter he was chosen President of the Royal Society. He is one of those to whose exertions the union with Scotland is principally due. In 1708 he became President of the Council to the great Whig Administration. In 1710 he resigned with the rest of his colleagues, and was again conspicuous in the ranks of opposition. But age and infirmities were now creeping upon him, and he suffered from paralytic attacks, which have been ascribed to perhaps the only blemish in his private life—an excessive passion for women (2). His great faculties gradually sunk from their former energy into torpor, and from torpor into imbecility; and at his death he had for some time survived the powers of his mind. In the whole range of our history, I know not where to find a more upright and unsullied public character than that of Somers. He had contracted nothing of the baseness and venality of his age. He had touched pitch, and was not defiled. In the words of Horace Walpole, he was one of those divine men, who, like a chapel in a palace, remain unprofaned, while all the rest is tyranny, corruption, and folly. He had all the knowledge, but none of the pedantry, of his profession. He loved the law of England, not as too many seem to love it, merely for the sake of the dross that defiles it—for the gibberish which still clings to its language—for the mummeries into which some of its forms have grown. He loved the law of England as the ar-

(1) Letter from Rome, July 5, 1704.

(2) On this point we should utterly disregard such libels as those of Mrs. Mauley. (New Atlantis, vol. iv. p. 56, etc.) But it seems to me that an impartial writer is compelled, however reluctantly, to admit the testimony of Lord Somers's own kinsman and admiral, Mr. Cooksey. (Observations, etc. p. 28.)

moury from which, when threatened either by democracy or by despotism, we may draw our readiest weapons, and which may prevent recourse to any others. In foreign affairs he was no less deeply skilled, having most attentively studied the balance of power, and the political interests of Europe. As a speaker, his reasoning was close and powerful, his diction flowing and manly. The natural warmth of his temper, which he so successfully mastered in politics, glowed unrestrained in his attachment to his friends; and as no man was ever more deserving of the veneration of posterity, so no one was ever more beloved in private life.

During the time that the Ministers were carrying the Septennial Act and their other measures through Parliament, they had another struggle, almost as important and far more difficult to maintain, at Court. The King's impatience to revisit his German dominions could no longer be stemmed. It was in vain that his confidential advisers pointed out to him the unpopularity that must attend, and the dangers that might follow, his departure at such a crisis; their resistance only chafed instead of curbing his Majesty, and at length the Ministers let go the reins. Two great obstacles, however, still remained to delay his journey—first, the restraining clause in the Act of Settlement; and, secondly, his jealousy of the Prince of Wales, whom, in his absence, it would be indispensable to invest with some share at least of power and sovereign authority.

As to the first of these difficulties, it might have been met in two modes; by proposing to Parliament either an occasional exception, or a total repeal of the restraining clause. The former would certainly have been the more safe and constitutional course, but the latter was thought the most respectful, and accordingly preferred. Accustomed as George was to foreign habits, and attached to his Hanoverian subjects, his ardent desire to visit them should be considered a misfortune indeed to our country, yet by no means a blemish in his character. But it certainly behoved the legislature to hold fast the invaluable safeguard which they already possessed against his foreign partialities. It might, therefore, be supposed by a superficial observer, that the repeal of the restraining clause, when proposed by Sir John Cope in the House of Commons, would have been encountered with a strenuous opposition. On the contrary, it passed without a single dissentient voice; the Whigs and the friends of Government supporting the wishes of the King, and the Tories delighted at the prospect that his Majesty's departure would expose his person to unpopularity and his affairs to confusion.

The jealousy which George the First entertained of his son was no new feeling. It had existed even at Hanover, and been since inflamed by an insidious motion of the Tories in the House of Commons, that, out of the Civil List, 100,000*l.* should be allotted as a separate revenue for the Prince of Wales. The motion was over-

ruled by the Ministerial party, and its rejection offended the Prince as much as its proposal had the King. In fact, it is remarkable as a peculiarity either of representative government or of the House of Hanover, that, since the power of the House of Commons has been thoroughly established, and since that family has reigned, the heirs apparent have always been on ill terms with the sovereign. There have been four Princes of Wales since the death of Anne, and all the four have gone into bitter Opposition. "That family," said Lord Carteret, one day in full council, "always has quarrelled, and always will quarrel from generation to generation."

Such being his Majesty's feelings, he was unwilling to intrust the Prince with the government in his absence, unless by joining other persons in the commission, and limiting his power by the most rigorous restrictions. Through the channel of Bernsdorf, his principal favourite, he communicated his idea to the members of the Cabinet, and desired them to deliberate upon it. The answer of Lord Townshend to Bernsdorf is still preserved (1). He first eagerly seized the opportunity of recapitulating in the strongest manner the objections to the King's departure, and then proceeded to say, that the Ministers having carefully perused the precedents, found no instance of persons being joined in commission with the Prince of Wales, and few, if any, of restrictions upon such commissions; and that they were of opinion, "that the constant tenour of ancient practice could not conveniently be receded from." Under such circumstances, the King found it impossible to persevere in his design. Instead, however, of giving the Prince the title of Regent, he named him Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant—an office unknown in England since the days of the Black Prince (2). He also insisted that the Duke of Argyle, whom he suspected of abetting and exciting his son in ambitious views, and who, as Groom of the Stole to the Prince, had constant and easy access to his person, should be dismissed from that and all his other employments. Having thus settled, or rather unsettled, matters, George began his journey on the 9th of July, and was attended by Stanhope; the other Secretary, Lord Townshend, being detained by the pregnancy of his wife in England.

It cannot be denied that at this period the popularity of George the First was by no means such as might have been expected from his judicious choice of ministers, or from his personal justice and benevolence of disposition. These qualities, indeed, were not denied by the multitude, but they justly complained of the extreme rapacity and venality of his foreign attendants. Coming from a poor electorate, a flight of hungry Hanoverians, like so many famished vultures, fell with keen eyes and bended talons on the

(1) It is dated May 19., and printed in Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 51.

(2) There were, moreover, several restrictions

imposed upon the authority of the Prince of Wales. They are dated July 5. 1716, and may be seen in Coxe's MSS. vol. lvi. Brit. Mus.

fruitful soil of England. Bothmar and Bernsdorf, looking to the example of King William's foreign favourites, expected peerages and grants of land, and were deeply offended at the limitations of the Act of Settlement. Robethon, the King's private secretary, whilst equally fond of money, was still more mischievous and meddling; he was of French extraction, and of broken fortunes: a prying, impertinent, venomous creature, for ever crawling in some slimy intrigue. All these, and many others, even down to Mahomet and Mustapha, two Turks in his Majesty's service, were more than suspected of taking money for recommendations to the King, and making a shameful traffic of his favour.

But by far the greatest share of the public odium fell upon the King's foreign mistresses. The chief of these, Herrengard Mellesina Von Schulenburg, was created by his Majesty Duchess of Munster in the Irish peerage, and afterwards Duchess of Kendal in the English. She had no great share of beauty; but with George the First a bulky figure was sufficient attraction. To intellect she could make still less pretension. Lord Chesterfield, who had married her niece, tells us that she was little better than an idiot; and this testimony is confirmed by the curious fact, that one morning, after the death of her Royal lover, she fancied that he flew into her window in the form of a raven, and accordingly gave the bird a most respectful reception. She affected great devotion, and sometimes attended several Lutheran chapels in the course of the same day; perhaps with the view of countenancing a report which prevailed, though I believe without foundation, that the King had married her with the left hand, according to the German custom. Her rapacity was very great and very successful. After the resignation of the Duke of Somerset, no Master of the Horse was appointed for several years, the profits of the place being paid to the Duchess; and there is no doubt that her secret emoluments for patronage and recommendations far surpassed any outward account of her receipts. Sir Robert Walpole more than once declared of her (but this was after the death of George the First), that she would have sold the King's honour for a shilling advance to the best bidder.

The second mistress; Sophia Baroness Kilmanseck, created Countess of Darlington, was younger and more handsome than her rival; but, like her, unwieldy in person, and rapacious in character. She had no degree either of talent or information, it being apparently the aim of George, in all his amours, to shun with the greatest care the overpowering dissertations of a learned lady (1).

(1) This sort of feeling is well expressed in the pretended memoirs of Madame du Barry: "J'ai-
 mais à les voir," she says of two blockheads; "leur entretien me reposoit l'imagination." (Vol. I. p. 147.)

CHAPTER VII.

The journey of the King from England was marked by important negotiations in foreign affairs, and by a violent schism in the domestic administration. Both of these, as involving in no ordinary degree the safety of the country and the character of its principal statesmen, require from the historian a particular detail.

It has already been noticed, that at the accession of George the First, he had not a single secure ally but the States-General, and his son-in-law, the King of Prussia. Even the latter was frequently estranged from him, and every other power in Europe seemed either indifferent or hostile. The Pretender, backed by a large party at home, stationed in Lorraine, as on a neighbouring watch-tower, ready to descend at every favourable opportunity, and secretly assisted with gold from Spain and arms from France, had, since that time, shaken the state to its foundations in a most dangerous rebellion. Nor had the suppression of that rebellion by any means quelled the spirit or blasted the hopes of his party. It was every where raising its head, and preparing for a fresh attempt; whilst, on the other hand, the people at large were murmuring at the oppressive and unwonted burden of a standing army, which, therefore, it seemed equally dangerous to disband or to maintain. On the whole, it plainly appeared that it was hopeless to expect any restoration of quiet and security, unless France, our nearest and most formidable neighbour, and the power that could afford by far the greatest aid to the Pretender, should be effectually detached from his cause.

Now, to effect this necessary object, either of two plans might be pursued. The first and most obvious was to follow up the principles of the Grand Alliance, and form a close connection with the States-General and the Emperor, so as to compel France to dismiss the Pretender, and his principal partisans, Mar and Ormond, from all her dominions or dependencies. But to this course there were strong, and indeed invincible, objections. The protracted struggle of the Cabinets of Vienna and the Hague, with respect to the Barrier Treaty, and the bitter animosity which had thereby arisen on both sides, prevented any close and cordial union between them. Nor was the Emperor friendly to King George, as Elector of Hanover; he viewed with peculiar jealousy the claims upon Bremen and Verden, which will presently be noticed; and without relinquishing these, it would have been impossible at that juncture to enter into a thorough concert of measures with the

Cabinet of Vienna. The States-General, it is true, had no such jealousy; but their administration, once so active and able, was daily lapsing more and more into weakness and imbecility: "it is now," says Horace Walpole, the British Minister at the Hague, (1), "a many-headed, headless Government, containing as many masters as minds." Their torpid obstinacy, which had so often defied even the master-mind of Marlborough, was far beyond the control of any other English minister. Besides, what sufficient inducements could be held out to them or the Emperor for incurring the hazard of another war? Would the Catholics of Vienna be so very zealous for the service of the Protestant succession? Would the Austrian politicians—at all times eminently selfish—consider the banishment of the Pretender from France as more than a merely English object? Would they risk every thing to promote it? Why, even when their own dearest interests were at issue—when the monarchy of Spain was the stake—they had shown a remarkable slackness and indifference. "We look upon the House of Austria," said Lord Bolingbroke, in 1711, "as a party who sues for a great estate IN FORMA PAUPERIS (2)." And he adds elsewhere: "I never think of the conduct of that family without recollecting the image of a man braiding a rope of hay, whilst his ass bites it off at the other end (3)." On the whole, therefore, it appeared in 1716, that the utmost to which the States-General and the Emperor could be brought, was a defensive alliance with England, in case of aggression from France or other powers; and such alliances were accordingly concluded with Holland on the 6th of February, and with the Emperor on the 25th of May, with a mutual guarantee of territory (4); but these still left the desired removal of the Pretender and his adherents unaccomplished.

It became necessary, therefore, to consider the second plan for attaining this great object; namely, by treaty and friendly union with France herself. Nor were there wanting, since the death of Louis the Fourteenth, many circumstances highly favourable to such views. The Regent Duke of Orleans had, in nearly all respects, adopted a different political course. So long, indeed, as the Jacobites were in arms in Scotland, he clung to the hope of the restoration of the Stuarts; or, in other words, the establishment in England of an entirely French policy. But the suppression of the rebellion and the return of the Pretender having dissipated, or at least delayed, all such hopes, and the Regent considering the new Government of England as more firmly established, seriously turned his mind to the advantage which might arise to him from a friendly union with

(1) See his *Life* by Coxe, p. 12.

(2) To Mr. Drummond, August 7. 1711.

(3) To Mr. Drummond, January 5. 1711. Marlborough himself was sometimes provoked into similar expressions:—"The emperor is in the

"wrong in almost every thing he does." To Lord Sunderland, June 27. 1707.

(4) See Lamberty, *Mem.* vol. ix. p. 395. and p. 471.

it. Besides the public interests of France, he had also personal objects at stake; and he looked to the chance of his own succession to the throne. Not that he had even for a single moment, or in the slightest degree, formed any design against the rights of Louis the Fifteenth; with all his failings (and he had very many) in private life, he was certainly a man of honour in public, and nothing could be more pure and above reproach than his care of his infant sovereign. But he might fairly and justly contemplate the possibility that the life of a sickly boy might prematurely end; on which event the Regent would have become the legitimate heir, since the birthright of Philip the Fifth of Spain had been solemnly renounced. It was, however, generally understood, that in such a case Philip was not disposed to be bound by his renunciation; and, in fact, in his position, he might disclaim it with some show of plausibility, since his own rights upon the Spanish Crown were only founded upon the invalidity of a renunciation precisely similar. His grandmother, the Infanta Maria Theresa, on her marriage with the King of France, had in the most solemn manner, for herself and her descendants, renounced all claim to the Crown of Spain. Yet her grandson was now reigning at Madrid. How could, then, that grandson be expected cordially to concur in the principle that renunciations are sacred and inviolable, and cheerfully forego the sceptre of France if once placed within his grasp?

Foreseeing this opposition, and not without apprehensions that the King of Spain might, meanwhile, attempt to wrest the Regency from his hands, the Duke of Orleans was anxious to provide himself with foreign support, and knew that none could be stronger than a guarantee from England of the succession to the House of Orleans. For this object he was willing, on the part of France, to make corresponding concessions. Such a guarantee would also, not merely thus indirectly, but in itself, be highly advantageous to England, as tending to prevent that great subject of apprehension, the union of the French and Spanish Crowns upon the same head. Thus, then, the Cabinet of St. James and the Palais-Royal had, at this period, each a strong interest to enter into friendly and confidential relations with each other. This was first perceived and acted upon by the Regent. Townshend (1) and Stanhope were for some time reluctant to enter into a close alliance with their ancient enemies; but gradually saw its expe-

(1) Cœxe tells us in his *Memoirs of Walpole*, that "Townshend was the original adviser and promoter of the French treaty, and had gradually surmounted the indifference of the King, the opposition of Sunderland, and the disapprobation of Stanhope." But this statement in his first volume (p. 38.) is disproved by the documents which he himself has published in the second. On Aug. 17. 1716, O. S., Mr. Poyntz writes to Stanhope, "His majesty knows that Lord Townshend has long been of opinion that

"any further engagements with the Regent, particularly with respect to the succession, would only serve to strengthen the Regent, and to put it in his power to do the King greater mischief." And Lord Townshend himself, in his letter to the King, of November 11. 1716, O. S., expressly limits the period when he began to approve and forward this French treaty to the time when the Abbé Dubois was first sent by the Regent to the Hague.

diency, and without much difficulty prevailed upon the King, who very soon, as we shall find in the sequel, became still more anxious for it than themselves.

Another matter of negotiation between France and England, which had commenced even under the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, was the question of Mardyke. By the Treaty of Utrecht Louis had bound himself to demolish the port at Dunkirk. This he had accordingly performed; but, at the same time, he had begun a new canal at Mardyke, upon the same coast, which works produced a great ferment in England, and became the immediate subject of remonstrance with the Court of Versailles(1). On the one hand, it was urged that such a construction was an evident breach of the spirit, if not the letter, of the treaty; and that the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, when they stipulated the demolition of Dunkirk, never could have intended that another and a better harbour should be opened in its neighbourhood. On the other side, it was answered that Mardyke was not Dunkirk; that the King of France had faithfully performed his agreement; and that, having done so, there was nothing in the Treaty of Utrecht to deprive him of the natural right of a sovereign to construct any works he pleased within his own dominions. Beyond such counter-statements very little progress was made in the negotiation; and it seemed probable that the French might be enabled to profit of the gross negligence of the British plenipotentiaries in not expressly guarding against such a contingency in a separate article. But when the Regent became anxious for the friendship of England, he saw the necessity of yielding much, if not all, of his pretensions at Mardyke. He withdrew the negotiation from the reluctant and unfriendly management of Mr. de Chateaufeuf, the French resident at the Hague, and he determined to intrust it to his own most confidential adviser, the Abbé(2) Dubois.

The Abbé Dubois, afterwards Cardinal and Prime Minister, was at this time sixty years of age. His father was a poor apothecary, near Limoges. Young Dubois came to Paris in hopes of a bursarship at a college; but failing in this object, he combined an opportunity for learning with the means of livelihood by acting as servant to the Principal. He afterwards became tutor in the family of a tradesman named Maroy; and it is a curious fact, that young Maroy, who in the days of his poverty had been his pupil, in the days of his greatness became one of his postilions. A more fa-

(1) See Lord Stair's Journal at Paris, in the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. II. p. 528.

(2) I use the word Abbé as most consistent with the present custom, although I believe that in sterling English writing the word Abbot should be employed to denote not only the real superior of a monastery, but also the titular distinction common amongst the French clergy. I find it used in the latter sense by the best writers of the best times of our literature, in the lively letters

of Lady M. W. Montagu (vol. I. p. 97, etc. ed. 1830), the grave despatches of Bolingbroke (to Lord Strafford, March 7. 1712), and the masterly memoirs of Clarendon (Life, vol. III. p. 358, etc. Oxf. ed.). I take the liberty of mentioning these authorities, having formerly been termed "a bigoted purist" for my use of the word Abbot in the War of the Succession (Edin. Review, No. 541, p. 499).

vourable turn of fortune afterwards assigned to Dubois a subaltern post in the education of the Duke of Chartres, and the prince and the preceptor soon became inseparable friends. A ready wit, undaunted assurance, and sagacious counsels, recommended Dubois, who, moreover, did not scruple to augment his favour by the most shameful services. His agency triumphed over the virtue of rustic beauties, and introduced them by stealth into the apartments of the young Duke, at the Palais-Royal; and, unlike some other teachers, Dubois always followed in his own conduct the same maxims which he prescribed or permitted to his pupil. On completing this excellent education, the venerable ecclesiastic was for some time attached to the embassy of Marshal Tallard in England, but he always continued his connection with the Palais-Royal, and was looked upon by the Duke of Chartres, then of Orleans, as one of his surest and most steady counsellors. He adhered to that prince through good report and ill report; and, on returning, directed the political course of his Royal Highness with the highest degree of foresight and sagacity. His profligate character was, however, so notorious, that when Philip became Regent, it was not without much opposition and clamour that he could appoint him a counsellor of state. The Regent's own words on that occasion show his true opinion of his favourite: "Let me beg of you, my dear Abbé, to be a little honest (1)!"

The gross vices of Dubois, and his shamelessness in the high ecclesiastical dignities which he afterwards attained, have justly made his name infamous with later times. But they have also, less justly perhaps, dimmed his great reputation for talents. Where any one quality stands forth very prominently from a character either for good or evil, posterity in general confine their attention to that alone, and merge every other in it. We remember that Dubois was most unprincipled—we forget that he was most able. It would be difficult to name another French statesman of the last century who more thoroughly understood at once the foreign relations and the domestic administration of his country, or who brought more skill, resolution, and activity to promote them, whenever they were combined with his own aggrandisement. We cannot but admire the vigour of an intellect which was never unnerved either by poverty in youth or by pleasure in old age; which triumphed over all his rivals for power; and raised him at length, a priest without religion and a politician without honour, to the highest pinnacles of the Church and of the State!

In explanation of this remarkable phenomenon, we may also observe, that even in the smallest trifles, this accomplished knave had trained every faculty to the purpose of penetrating the thoughts

(1) "L'Abbé, un peu de droiture, je t'en prie." I have found it particularly useful for the negotiations at Hanover and the Hague. It should be compared with the English documents printed in 2 vols. Paris, 1814.) This is a very valuable work, compiled from the MS. correspondence of Dubois, Coxe's Walpole.

of others, and concealing his own. Thus, for example, he had accustomed himself to a slight stammer in conversation, with the view of never being discomposed by any sudden question, and of gaining a few moments for reflection without appearing to pause (1). Let us observe, likewise, that, notwithstanding his brilliant success, Dubois was any thing but happy. "Would to Heaven," said he to Fontenelle, when in the fulness of his power, "that I were now living in a garret, with a single servant, and fifteen hundred francs a year!"

It was Dubois whom the Regent selected for the negotiation with England, not only on account of his superior dexterity, but also because, during his former residence in that country, he had had the advantage of forming a personal acquaintance, and even friendship, with Secretary Stanhope. He was therefore instructed to proceed to the Hague, at the time of King George's passage, under the pretence of buying books and pictures, and to endeavour, without any ostensible character, to see Stanhope, and to sound the intentions of the English Cabinet. Dubois fulfilled this mission with his usual address: he had several interesting conferences with Stanhope (2), and convinced himself that, though there were still many difficulties and prejudices in the way of a treaty, yet that they should not be considered as insuperable.

On hearing this opinion, and reading the minutes of what took place at the Hague, the Regent determined to employ Dubois in prosecuting what he had ably begun, and to send him on a second and more decisive mission. The Abbé accordingly set off for Hanover, which he reached on the 19th of August. He was still without any public character, concealed his name, and lodged at Stanhope's house (3). In his first interviews with that minister, he endeavoured, by every artifice, to entrap his adversary, and obtain some advantage in the negotiation. Thus, at the outset, he offered none but very insufficient expedients with respect to Maryland, proposing little more than to alter the sluices, whilst the same depth of water was still to be preserved; and attempting to perplex the whole matter by a great bundle of draughts and other papers, which he had brought with him. Stanhope, in answer, expressed himself determined not to recede in any respect from his original demand. "As to the succession to the throne of France," says Stanhope, "I offered to draw up an article with him, expressing his Majesty's guarantee of the same to the Duke of Orleans in as

(1) *Mém. de St. Simon*, vol. xii. p. 190. ed. 1829.

(2) July, 1716. See the *Mémoires secrets de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 189—208., for an ample detail of these conferences, taken from the minutes of Dubois.

(3) Hanover was at that period not a little overflowing with strangers. Lady M. W. Montagu describes the scene in her usual lively style: "The vast number of English crowds the town

"so much, it is very good luck to get one sorry room in a miserable tavern. I dined to-day with the Portuguese ambassador, who thinks himself very happy to have two wretched parlours in an inn.... The King's company of French comedians play here every night: they are well dressed, and some of them not bad actors. His Majesty dines and sups constantly in public." To the Countess of Bristol, Nov. 25. 1716.

“ strong terms as he could suggest ; but when we came close to the point, I found that, notwithstanding the guarantee of this succession be the only true and real motive which induces the Regent to seek his Majesty’s friendship, yet the Abbé was instructed rather to have it brought in as an accessory to the treaty, than to have an article so framed as to make it evident that was his only drift and intent. He insisted, therefore, very strongly for three days, that his Majesty should in this treaty guarantee the Treaty of Utrecht, the 6th article of which treaty contains every thing which relates to the succession of the Crown of France (1).” It might easily be shown how much embarrassment and danger would have resulted to the new Government of England, had they been unwarily drawn in to accept this insidious proposal, and to guarantee the whole treaty so shamefully concluded by their predecessors. Stanhope accordingly met this request with a positive refusal. “ The Abbé, finding me thus peremptory, talked of going away immediately, which threat I bore very patiently ; but, thinking better of it, he brought himself to be satisfied, if an article should be inserted to guarantee the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the Treaty of Utrecht between France and England, and the 31st between France and Holland, the two former of which relate only to the succession of England, and the two latter contain every thing which concerns that of France, and the renunciations upon which it is founded.” This scheme not being liable to the same objections as the former, Stanhope drew up an article accordingly, and laid it before the King, who approved of it, and desired him to endeavour to bring Dubois to consent to it, “ which, however,” adds Stanhope, “ it has cost me three days’ wrangling to do.”

As to the Jacobite cause, the Abbé made no difficulties, but offered three expedients, by which the Pretender would be sent beyond the Alps, either before or immediately after the ratification of the treaty. Reserving the option of one of these, and leaving the article of Mardyke to be determined in England, the preliminaries were conditionally signed by Stanhope and Dubois, and immediately forwarded both to London and to the Hague, it having been intended from the first that the treaty should, if possible, be a triple one, so as to include the Dutch ; and they, on their part, eagerly entering into these views, and seeing the wisdom of closely adhering to the policy of England (2).

On receiving the preliminaries, Lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen, who acted as Secretary of State during Stanhope’s absence,

(1) Despatch from Secretary Stanhope to Lord Townshend, dated Aug. 24. 1716, and printed in *Coxe’s Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 68—72. It contains a full account of the whole negotiation at Hanover. See also the *Mémoires de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 213—221.

(2) Lord Townshend even complained of their being too anxious to treat—“ that forward disposition which appears in too many there for “ negotiating with France.” Mr. Poyntz to Secretary Stanhope, Sept. 8. 1716, *O. S. Coxe’s Walpole*.

expressed entire satisfaction, and only doubted whether the Regent would ever consent to demolish Mardyke in the manner required (1). Their first interview with M. Iberville, who was sent over from France to conclude that article with them, confirmed their apprehensions; "it being very plain," writes Mr. Poyntz, "by the course of the negotiation with him, that though the draining of the waters is made the pretence yet the maintaining a depth sufficient to admit men-of-war and privateers is the real aim of the French (2)." But three days more entirely changed the scene. "My Lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen make no doubt but you will be very much surprised to hear so soon, after what I had the honour to write to you in my last, that M. Iberville has given in a paper, by which he consents to ruin the FASCINAGES, and to reduce the sluice to the breadth of sixteen feet, which, in the opinion of the most skilful of our sea officers, as well as engineers, will more effectually exclude ships of war and privateers than what was first proposed in the paper annexed to his Majesty's project. They impute this alteration in the conduct of the Regent partly to the perplexed state of his own affairs, and partly to his having a better opinion of his Majesty's than heretofore. . . . But, be the cause what it will, they think they have the justest cause to felicitate his Majesty on the conclusion of a treaty with France, as an event not more glorious in itself than advantageous in its consequences (3)." Thus, then, every obstacle to the French alliance seemed to be most happily removed, and nothing wanting to the treaty but its final ratification.

Meanwhile the state of the King's relations with the northern powers was growing very critical. On coming to the Crown of England, his Majesty had by no means enlarged his views from the narrow bounds of the Electorate. His pride in his new dominions never at all diverted his thoughts, or slackened his zeal for merely Hanoverian objects. Amongst the foremost of these had always been the acquisition of the former bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, rich districts, which, at the peace of Westphalia, had been secularised and ceded to Sweden, and ever since possessed by that power. But the daring and chivalrous spirit of Charles the Twelfth, now King of Sweden, as at first it had led him forward to victory, so at last drew upon him the depredations of all his neighbours. Danes, Norwegians, Saxons, Prussians, Muscovites—all gathered round to attack and despoil the fallen lion. Frederick the Fourth of Denmark especially had, in 1712, conquered Sleswick, Holstein, Bremen, and Verden; during which time Charles, having fled into

(1) Mr. Poyntz's despatch to Secretary Stanhope, Aug. 21. 1716, O. S., printed in Coxe's Walpole. (2) Despatch to Secretary Stanhope, Sept. 8. 1716, O. S., printed in Coxe's Walpole. (3) Mr. Poyntz to Secretary Stanhope, Sept. 23. 1716, O. S. Coxe's Walpole.

Turkey after his defeat at Pultawa, remained obstinately fixed at Bender, and showed a romantic pride in withstanding both the orders of the Sultan and the dictates of common sense. At length, however, starting from his lethargy to the defence of his dominions, he set off, travelled incognito through Germany, and suddenly arrived at his town of Stralsund, in November, 1714, before it was known there that he had even quitted Bender. His return made the enemies of Sweden tremble for their prey; and Frederick of Denmark, hopeless of retaining all the conquests he had made, determined to sacrifice a share, in order to secure the rest. With this view, he, in July, 1715, ratified a treaty with George as Elector of Hanover, by which he agreed to put Bremen and Verden in possession of his Electoral Highness, on condition that George should pay 150,000*l.*, and join the coalition against Sweden. Accordingly, in the autumn of that year, a British squadron, under Sir John Norris, had been sent into the Baltic, ostensibly to protect our trade from Swedish depredations, but with the real purpose of compelling Sweden to cede the provinces of the Weser, and accept a sum of money in compensation for them. Charles, however, was not dismayed—only the more exasperated by these proceedings; and far from yielding to George, entered eagerly, as we shall afterwards find, into the Jacobite cabals against him.

It is to be observed that Townshend, Walpole, Stanhope, and, in fact, all the ministers of George the First, entirely approved of his treaty with Denmark. Even after Townshend had left office in disgust, we find him, in a letter to Pensionary Slingeland, strongly urging his opinion that without any reference to the wishes of the King, and for the sake of England only, it was most desirable that Bremen and Verden should be wrested from Sweden and annexed to the Electorate (1). He might plausibly show the ill use which Sweden had often made of these territories—her usual connection with France—the consequent influence of both these States on the politics of the Empire—and the importance of the Elbe and Weser being open to British commerce. On these grounds it is certain that England had an interest in the cession. But it is no less certain that this interest was small, contingent, and remote; and that if any other Prince than the Elector of Hanover had been King of England, the latter power would never have concluded such treaties, nor run such hazards for the aggrandisement of the former, with so slight a prospect of advantage to itself.

But the territories of Bremen and Verden were not the only points at issue: another storm seemed to be gathering in the North. The genius of Peter the Great had already begun to make his people, so lately unknown or despised, an object of jealousy to other European powers; and one of his chief and most dangerous

(1) See Coxe's *Walpole*, vol. i. p. 87.

designs was to obtain a footing in the Empire. For this purpose he was disposed to avail himself of his alliance with the Duke of Mecklenburg to whom he had given his niece in marriage, and of some differences which had sprung up in that country between the Duke and his subjects (1). He unexpectedly poured a large body of troops into the Duchy, and, on some remonstrances from Denmark, publicly threatened that he would quarter a part of them in the Danish territories. Such daring schemes of aggrandisement could not fail to be warmly resented both by the Emperor and by the smaller German Sovereigns; and George the First, being then at Hanover, was not among those least offended or alarmed. There was, moreover, great personal animosity between him and the Czar, though with scarcely any ground for it (2); but differences which have once arisen from trifling causes are generally found to be the stronger in proportion to the slightness of their origin. George sent his favourite counsellor, Bernsdorf, to Stanhope with a project "to crush the Czar immediately; to secure his ships, and even to seize his person, to be kept till his troops shall have evacuated Denmark and Germany." Stanhope went directly to the King, whom he found very anxious that such orders should be sent to Sir John Norris. But Stanhope would consent to no further instructions than that Sir John should join his remonstrances with those of the King of Denmark, thus very properly avoiding any decisive steps until the matter could be referred to the other Ministers in England. To Lord Townshend he himself wrote thus:—"I shall check my own nature, which was ever inclined to bold strokes, till I can hear from you. But you will easily imagine how I shall daily be pressed to send orders to Sir John Norris. The truth is, I see no daylight through these affairs. We may easily master the Czar if we go briskly to work, and that this be thought a right measure. But how far Sweden may be thereby enabled to disturb us in Britain, you must judge. If the Czar be let alone, he will not only be master of Denmark, but, with the body of troops which he has still behind on the frontiers of Poland, may take quarters where he pleases in Germany. How far the King of Prussia is concerned with him we do not know, nor will that Prince explain himself. The King now wishes, and so does your humble servant, very heartily, that we had secured France. The Abbé (Dubois) talks to me as one would wish, and showed me part of a despatch from Marshal d'Huxelles this morning, whereby they promise that the minute our treaty is signed they will frankly tell us every thing they

(1) I glide lightly over the obscure domestic affairs of Mecklenburg. Those who wish for further details may consult Lamberty, vol. v. p. 47; and, for the subsequent negotiations, vol. x. p. 107, etc., and the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 558.

(2) See St. Simon, vol. xv. p. 75. ed. 1829.

"Cette haine," he adds, "a duré toute leur vie et dans la plus vive aigreur."—"The Czar hates King George mortally," writes Mr. G. Gyllenborg to Count Gyllenborg, Nov. 1716. (Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 402.)

“ know touching the Jacobite projects from the beginning. I was, you know, very averse at first to this treaty; but I think truly, as matters now stand, we ought not to lose a minute in finishing it (1).”

The contents of this letter gave no small uneasiness to the cabinet in England. Lord Townshend, in an “ absolutely secret ” answer to Stanhope, expresses his fear that the prosecution of the northern war would be their ruin, and his opinion that peace ought immediately, even at some sacrifice, to be made with Sweden. In his public despatch, and speaking in the name not only of the other Ministers, but of the Prince of Wales, he represents the ill effects of a rupture with the Czar, more especially the seizing of the British merchants and ships in Russia, and the prohibiting the supply of naval stores from thence to England. That Norris’s squadron should winter in the Baltic is also strongly objected to, above all, at a time when England was threatened with an invasion from Sweden and a rising from the Jacobites. “ How- ever,” Townshend proceeds, “ his Royal Highness, on the other hand, is no less deeply affected with a just sense of the imminent danger which these kingdoms, as well as the Empire, are exposed to from the behaviour of the Czar, who, it is plain, intends to make himself master of the whole coast of the Baltic..... On the whole, his Royal Highness is of opinion that his Majesty, if he thinks the King of Denmark able to go through with the project in question, may insinuate privately, and under the greatest secrecy, that he will not only acquiesce in his Danish Majesty’s making this attempt, but that he will also support and assist him in the sequel of this affair when once this blow is given.”

This modified proposal was by no means satisfactory to the King. He was chiefly intent on the continuance of his squadron in the Baltic; and Lord Townshend, knowing this to be his Majesty’s wish, should at least have taken care to speak of it with temper. Yet, the following are the words of Poyntz, his private secretary, to Stanhope :—“ My Lord perceives, by a letter from M. Robe- thou, that the King is likely to insist on Sir John Norris’s squadron being left to winter in the Baltic; and he commands me to acquaint you, that it makes him lose all patience to see what ridiculous expedients they propose to his Majesty for extricating themselves out of their present difficulties, as if the leaving you eight men of war to be frozen up for six months would signify five grains towards giving a new turn to the affairs of the North (2).”

(1) Letter to Lord Townshend, dated September 25. 1716, N. S., and printed in Coxe’s Walpole.

(2) Despatch, dated Sept. 25. 1716, O. S. This despatch is not marked private, and was there-

fore (see Coxe’s Walpole, vol. II. p. 56.) to be laid before the King. No wonder he complained of Lord Townshend’s disrespectful tone.

Meanwhile, at Hanover the designs of Russia continued to be watched with great anxiety. "There is reason to believe," writes Stanhope to Townshend, on the 16th of October, "that the Duke of Mecklenburg has signed a treaty with the Czar to give up his country to him in exchange for Livonia, and other tracts of country that way. Wismar, which is the strongest town and best fortified in Germany, is at present garrisoned by six battalions; two of the King's, two Danes, and two Prussians. It is probable the Czar will immediately invest that place, and God knows how far we may depend upon either of the auxiliary presidaries, such is the stupidity and knavery of both those Courts. . . . I believe it may not be impossible to put this northern business in such a light as may induce the Parliament not to look on it with indifference. If I mistake not, Cromwell, who understood very well the interest of England with respect to foreign powers, fitted out more than one fleet to the Baltic, with no other view than to secure that, in the treaties of peace to be made betwixt those northern potentates, a freedom of trade to the Baltic should be preserved to all nations. He frequently offered considerable sums of money to the King of Sweden for Bremen. . . . It is certain, that if the Czar be let alone three years, he will be absolute master in those seas."

But to what result this alarming question might have tended can still only be matter of conjecture, for, happily, the apprehended crisis never came. The remonstrances which Sir John Norris had been instructed to make, combined with those of the Danish Court, and probably also of the Austrian agents, proved sufficient to deter the Czar from his projects against Mecklenburg, and induce him to re-embark the greater part of his troops; and thus was quietly averted an enterprise which it seemed almost equally dangerous for England to suffer or repel.

Whilst, however, the Russian expedition seemed to be impending, the King justly considered it of the utmost importance to lose no time in concluding his treaty with France. "Such was the impatience of some people," says Stanhope to Townshend, "that I assure you I have had much ado for this fortnight last past to withstand the importunity of M. Bernsdorf (1) and others, who pressed me to frame an article here with the Abbé (Dubois), touching Mardyke, and to send him with it to the Hague, with orders to Mr. Walpole to sign it; so apprehensive were they of your delays in England. I did resolutely withstand this." But when, on the 6th of October, N. S., the article, as settled by Lord Townshend himself in England, reached Hanover, Stanhope,

(1) Bernsdorf had a strong personal interest in the Mecklenburg affair; his chief estate (three villages) being in that duchy. These three villages are described some years afterwards as still the

mainspring of his political views. Lord Stanhope to Secretary Craggs, July 10, 1719. Appendix.

seeing no further objection, and impressed with the necessity of speedily closing with France, cheerfully complied with the King's repeated injunctions, and signed the preliminary agreement with Dubois. It was at the same time agreed that the Abbé should immediately proceed to the Hague, and there sign the treaty in form with the English plenipotentiaries—General, lately created Lord, Cadogan, and Horace Walpole. To the latter Stanhope wrote as follows:—"I must recommend to you, by the best means you are able, to dispose of the Pensionary and our other friends in Holland to give the greatest despatch to our business, that they also may be ready to sign without loss of time. But if you find that the forms of proceeding in Holland will occasion a necessary delay, I desire you will send me your opinion whether it will not then be the properest course for you to acquaint the Pensionary with the reasons his Majesty has to get the French tied down immediately by something under their hand, and for that purpose that you and the Abbé should sign the treaty; but with this express agreement on both sides, that the States are to be admitted into it as parties as soon as the necessary forms of their proceeding will allow them to come in (1)." In a despatch to Secretary Methuen, Stanhope adds, that, in the King's opinion, the Dutch cannot possibly take it amiss, since the clause for their accession would fully secure their interests; that the full powers lodged at the Hague, and intended for the three powers' signing jointly, may possibly not be sufficient to authorise a separate signature; but that, in such a case, it was his Majesty's pleasure that proper powers should be forthwith sent from England.

It is to be observed, that during the whole progress of this negotiation, the British plenipotentiaries at the Hague had made frequent and positive assurances to the States that the treaty should not be finally concluded without including them. On the part of the States there was still no objection raised to the treaty itself, but it was found that the slowness of Dutch forms would prevent their signature for some time longer. Under these circumstances, it was the opinion of Stanhope that the urgency of northern affairs rendered it impossible to admit of such delay, and that the spirit of the engagement to the States would be fully and honourably performed by the clause which stipulated that they should, as soon afterwards as they pleased, be admitted as parties to the treaty. Such was also the view of the subject taken by Cadogan. But the second plenipotentiary, Horace Walpole, espoused the opposite sentiment with

(1) Despatch, Oct. 6. 1716, N. S. Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 96. The reader will find in another part of Coxe's Walpole (vol. ii. p. 310.) a letter from Townshend to Stanhope, dated Sept. 15. 1716, and enclosing another from Lord Bollingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, according to which there

seemed every reason to expect immediately a fresh attempt from the Jacobites. It seemed therefore of the utmost importance that the Pretender should be forced to cross the Alps as soon as possible, and this still further explains the haste for the French treaty.

the utmost vehemence. "I cannot, for my life, see why the whole system of affairs in Europe should be entirely subverted on account of Mecklenburg. . . . I had rather starve, nay, die, than do a thing that gives such a terrible wound to my honour and conscience. . . . I should look upon it as no better than declaring myself a villain under my own hand. . . . I will lay my patent of reversion in the West Indies, nay, even my life, at his Majesty's feet, sooner than be guilty of such an action;"—these are amongst the expressions of his letters. He ended by an earnest request both to Stanhope and Townshend, that he might be permitted to return home, and leave the signing of the treaty to his colleague alone.

Whether the scruples of Horace Walpole in this instance be thought well or ill founded, they at all events deserve that respect and esteem due even to the excess of honourable and punctilious feelings. It may, however, be questioned whether he is still entitled to the same praise when we find him, to relieve himself from his perplexing situation, secretly suggesting to his brother-in-law, Lord Townshend, the idea of raising up fictitious obstacles in the way of the King's orders for the utmost despatch. "Is it impossible," he asks, "that the unanswerable arguments of our friends in Holland, the contrary winds, the usual delays in passing powers under the Great Seal, or some other excuses that may be proper to be made to the Abbé, should prevent our signing with him before the States are ready (1)?"

Lord Townshend, a man of the highest honour and probity, was utterly incapable of any such official treachery as pretending to obey whilst in reality opposing the injunctions of his sovereign. In his answer to Horace Walpole, through his secretary Poyntz, it is plainly declared, that though "his Lordship is entirely of your opinion as to the inconveniences that are to be apprehended from signing this treaty separately, yet he thinks you cannot well decline the King's positive commands; at least no relief is to be obtained against them from hence." Lord Townshend himself, in a subsequent letter of explanation to M. de Slingeland, condemns the idea of eluding the King's intentions as "a pitiful artifice and evasion (2)." By some singular accidents, however, his conduct bore a very great appearance of what he so strongly and so sincerely condemned. On the 28th of September he had written to Hanover, dissuading a separate signature; but admitting that, if it should be resolved upon, the powers already sent to the plenipotentiaries at the Hague would be quite sufficient for that purpose. Only four days afterwards he wrote again, saying that the powers were in-

(1) Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 108.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 159.

sufficient, and that new ones would be necessary, without, at the same time, giving his reasons for the change in his judgment. This omission, which proceeded only from haste or spleen, was not unnaturally imputed by the King and by Stanhope to his concurrence in the views of Horace Walpole, and his determination to find pretexts for delay. Another incident now arose to strengthen and confirm these suspicions. The new full powers forwarded by Townshend were found to be drawn up in the most general and guarded terms, not making the slightest mention of the treaty with France, and seeming, therefore, as if they were purposely intended to avoid any thing like an approval or recognition of it from the British Cabinet. Abbé Dubois considered these powers much too loose and vague to be secure; he refused to sign the treaty upon them (1), and it became necessary again to send to England for fresh powers. Lord Townshend afterwards satisfactorily accounted for these suspicious circumstances in his conduct. "The full power," he says, "was conceived in general terms, including all particulars, and therefore, as was thought here, the better fitted to suit all unforeseen circumstances that might arise.... Mr. Methuen himself concluded the treaty of Portugal in virtue of such a full power; and several others have done the like, without any one's making the objection now started by Abbé Dubois (2)." Subsequently, in a private letter, Lord Townshend adds, "Indeed, the true reason of my choosing to have them drawn in general terms was, that if the King should think it necessary to have his ministers sign separately before those of the States, that separate instrument might, according to his Majesty's intentions, be afterwards perfectly sunk upon our signing all together, and no footsteps of any such order appear in the full powers whenever they should come to be made public together with the treaty (3)." These explanations fully acquit Lord Townshend of any treacherous design. But when the news of Dubois' objection, and of the consequent difficulties and delays, reached Hanover, without any explanation at all from Lord Townshend, who, on the contrary, in his later despatches, studiously and pointedly abstained from noticing in any manner the signature of the preliminary agreement with Dubois, and who had

(1) "L'Abbé Dubois manda aussitôt au Duc d'Orléans qu'il étoit impossible de ne pas voir dans cet incident l'effet d'une intrigue ministérielle, dont le but étoit de prolonger la négociation jusqu'à l'ouverture du Parlement où l'on comptoit bien la faire entièrement avorter." (Mém. de Sevelinges, vol. i. p. 229.) In a previous letter Dubois observed, "Que Lord Stanhope lui avoit avoué que si la conclusion de l'alliance se remettait jusqu'à l'ouverture du Parlement d'Angleterre, l'autorité qu'il pouvoit avoir dans la Chambre Basse et le crédit de Robert Walpole ne seroient pas suffisants pour empêcher l'opposition d'attaquer et même de faire rompre l'alliance." (Ibid. p. 223.)

(2) Letter to the King, Nov. 11. O. S. 1716. Coxe's Walpole. On the other hand, Stanhope, in his letter to Townshend of Nov. 11. N. S., complains, "que l'on s'est écarté de la route commune et des formes constamment usitées;" and this appears to be greatly confirmed by what passed at the Hague: "L'Abbé Dubois avoit ce pendant offert de se contenter de ce plein pouvoir, pourvu que Lord Cadogan l'assurât par écrit qu'il étoit dans une forme usitée en Angleterre. Mais ce ministre s'étoit refusé à donner cette assurance." Mém. secrets de Sevelinges, vol. i. p. 230.

(3) To M. Slingeland, Jan. 1. 1717, O. S. Coxe's Walpole.

even dropped a hint of his own resignation (1), it is no wonder that both the King and Stanhope should have believed Lord Townshend to have completely espoused the views of Horace Walpole, and participated in the violent language of the latter. "All this together," writes Stanhope, "makes me think that what I have done here is so highly disapproved of, that special care is taken not to make a single step in acknowledgment of it, and that it will be for me alone to answer for what I did in pursuance of the King's repeated orders, on reasons which I consider most justly founded, and which I shall be ready to maintain against all those who may think proper to assail them (2)." On the whole, whilst fully admitting that Townshend's conduct was free from blame, I cannot but think the appearances against him so strong, as no less fully to justify the suspicion and resentment of Stanhope.

We are now come to the celebrated schism in the great Whig administration of George the First. Stanhope, under the influence of the feelings I have just mentioned, immediately went to the King (they were then at the hunting seat of Gohre), and tendered his resignation. The King, however, would by no means accept it, being scarcely less offended than himself at Lord Townshend's supposed behaviour, and having at the same time against that minister and Robert Walpole other motives of displeasure, to which I have not yet alluded. With all his great merits (and I believe that there never lived a more upright and well-meaning man), it could scarcely be denied, even by Townshend's warmest partisans, that he was sometimes careless in his business, violent and overbearing in his manner. George the First, who seldom either neglected his affairs, or forgot his dignity, had early perceived these occasional deficiencies in his minister, and, during his absence from England, they were frequently repeated and exaggerated to him by his German favourites.

With Walpole also the King was, at this time, seriously at variance as to some money for the Munster and Saxe-Gotha troops. These had, under the authority of Parliament, been taken into the British service, at the time of the Pretender's landing in Scotland. On the suppression of the rebellion there was no further occasion for these auxiliaries; still, however, the agreement having been already signed, it became necessary to make some payment in dismissing them. This the King had advanced from his own resources, but now declared that Walpole had promised him to make good the sum from the British treasury; whilst Walpole, on the other hand, was no less positive in "protesting before God that I cannot recollect that ever the King mentioned one syllable of this to me or I to him, but my memory must fail me when his

(1) Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 126. and 127.

(2) Letter to Lord Townshend, Nov. 11. 1716. N. S. Coxe's Walpole.

“ Majesty says the contrary (1).”—There seems no need to impeach the recollection or the veracity of either the Monarch or the Minister. George the First could speak no English; Walpole could speak no French nor German: the only channel of communication between them was bad Latin, and nothing could be more probable than that they should misunderstand each other.

All these and several other grounds of dissatisfaction with the brother ministers were improved to the best advantage by Baron Bothmar in England, and by the Duchess of Kendal at Hanover. The former, as Townshend vehemently declared, “ has every day “ some infamous project or other on foot to get money (2); ” in which he was most properly, but sometimes perhaps a little roughly and unguardedly, checked by that Minister. At this time especially, he appears to have had hopes of a considerable sum from the French lands in the island of St. Christopher, which had been ceded to England at the Peace of Utrecht (3); and there is no doubt that his private correspondence with the King afforded him a full opportunity of retaliating upon those who caused his disappointment. The Duchess of Kendal, on her part, had undertaken, for what contemporaries term a “ consideration,” but posterity a “ bribe,” to obtain a peerage for Sir Richard Child, a Tory member of the House of Commons; and she was not a little displeased with Townshend for counteracting, or at least delaying, that measure, and representing to the King how greatly the interests of his administration would suffer from the promotion of a decided political opponent.

Another no less formidable antagonist of the Prime Minister remains to be mentioned in one of his own colleagues, Charles Earl of Sunderland, at this time Lord Privy Seal. It is remarkable how frequently that family has held a leading position in the councils of the empire. To say nothing of the honours of Marlborough by female descent, we find Robert, the father of this Lord Sunderland, Prime Minister under James the Second; we find his great grandson First Lord of the Admiralty under George the Third; and his next descendant leader of the House of Commons under William the Fourth. The character of Earl Robert—false to his religion, to his friends, and to his country—is undefended, and I think inde-

(1) Walpole to Stanhope, Nov. 11. 1716, O. S. Coxe's Walpole. See the treaties for the Munster and Saxe-Gotha troops in the Commons' Journals, March 28. 1717.

(2) Lord Townshend to Stanhope, Oct. 16. 1716, O. S. Coxe's Walpole. At a later period I find the following character of Bothmar in a letter from Craggs:—“ C'est bien le plus faible raisonneur sur les affaires que j'aie à mon avis connu de ma vie. Quand les petits génies veulent faire les habiles gens ils ne manquent jamais de tomber dans la mauvaise fol, comme les femmes qui veulent malgré nature être spirituelles, se jettent à corps perdu dans la méditation.”

To Mr. Schaub, July 21. 1719. Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxvii.

(3) Walpole says upon this, in a letter to Stanhope of Sept. 28. 1716, O. S. :—“ I understand by Bothmar that the King is pretty much determined to have the whole produce at his own will and private direction; and what is suggested to bring this matter immediately into a transaction is the danger there may be that the Parliament may by some act or vote lay their hands upon it and prevent the King's intentions.”—I find from the Commons' Journals that full returns on the value of these lands were moved for and ordered. April 12. 1717.

fensible. But the character of Earl Charles has, in my opinion, been unjustly depreciated; he has been confounded with his predecessor, and the perfidy of the parent has cast its blighting shade over the fame of the son (1). The father was a subtle, pliant, and unscrupulous candidate for Royal favour. The son carried his love of popular rights to the very verge of republican doctrines. If he be sometimes open to charges of secret cabals, we find him much more frequently accused of imprudent vehemence and bluntness. According to Lord Dartmouth, "Queen Anne said Lord Sunderland always treated her with great rudeness and neglect, and chose to reflect in a very injurious manner upon all Princes before her, as a proper entertainment for her (2)." Even his own father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough, thinking him too hasty and incautious, had, in 1706, dissuaded his appointment as Secretary of State, and only yielded at length to the entreaties of his friends, and to the positive commands of the Duchess (3). The post of Secretary of State was filled by him till June, 1710, with much talent and success; and on being dismissed from office, he refused the Queen's proposal of a pension of 3000*l.* a year for life, declaring that if he could not have the honour of serving his country he would not plunder it—a degree of generosity which, in those times, was very far from being common or expected. He was undoubtedly a man of great quickness, discernment, and skill; of a persevering ambition, of a ready eloquence. Under the snow of a cold and reserved exterior there glowed the volcano of an ardent and fiery spirit, a warm attachment to his friends, and an unsparing rancour against his opponents. His learning is not denied even by the enmity of Swift (4), and his activity in business seems to be equally unquestionable. In private life he might be accused of extravagance and love of play (5), and his conduct in more than one public transaction appears to me either equivocal or blamable: but I may observe that several points for which he was condemned by his contemporaries, would, on the contrary, deserve the approbation of more enlightened times. Thus, for example, I find in a letter from the Duke of Grafton when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland:—"Lord Sunderland carried the compliment to this country too far, by choosing out of the natives all the chief and most of the other Judges, and the Bishops too, which has been attended with very mischievous consequences to the English interest (6)."

At the accession of George the First, Sunderland, conscious of

(1) "Lord Sunderland is said to have too much resembled, as a politician, the Earl his father." (Lord Orford's Works, vol. iv. p. 287.) This vague imputation is followed by a strange story about his consulting his rival Sir Robert Walpole, as to the restoration of the Stuarts; a story which I concur with Mr. Hallam (Const. Hist. Baudry's edit, vol. iii. p. 183) in rejecting as utterly incredible.

(2) Note on Burnet's History, vol. vi. p. 9.

(3) See Coxe's Life, vol. iii. p. 88, etc. Marlborough at length said to his wife, "I have writ as my friends would have me, for I had much rather be governed than govern." August 2, 1708.

(4) See Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 304.

(5) Coxe's Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 242.

(6) This letter is dated [Dec. 29. 1723, and is printed in Coxe's Walpole.

his talents and his services, proud of the high places he had already filled, and relying on the eminent claims of his father-in-law, had expected to be the head of the new administration. It even appears that he intimated to Baron Bothmar his wish of being appointed Secretary of State, and that Bothmar, at one moment, was inclined to recommend him for that office (1). It was with bitter disappointment that he found his name, and that of Marlborough, omitted in the list of the Lords Justices during the King's absence. It was with still more chagrin that he afterwards saw himself placed beneath Lord Townshend, who had hitherto, in all public transactions, been subordinate to him. The Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, which was bestowed upon him, by no means satisfied his craving for power; he accepted it with sullenness; he never went over for the discharge of its duties; and, on the death of the Marquis of Wharton, was permitted to exchange it for the post of Privy Seal and a seat in the Cabinet. Still, however, excluded from real authority, and still, therefore, discontented and restless, he, in a great measure, seceded from his colleagues, and took no part for their defence or assistance in the house of Lords. During the two first years of George's reign, his name scarcely ever occurs in the proceedings of that assembly. Meanwhile he attached to himself several of the seceders that now began, from various causes, to fall off from the great Whig party, more especially Lord Cadogan, Hampden, and Lechmere, and was prepared to use every opportunity for the overthrow of a Cabinet to which he still continued to belong.

In the month of July, Sunderland had been allowed by the King to go to Aix-la-Chapelle, to drink the waters. Walpole writes upon this to Stanhope:—"Lord Sunderland talks of leaving England in a fortnight, and, to be sure, will not be long from you. He seems very pressing to have instructions from us how to behave at Hanover. His professions for an entire reconciliation and a perfect union are as strong as words can express, and you may be sure are reciprocal; and when I consider that common interest should procure sincerity among us, I am astonished to think there is reason to fear the contrary (2)." Accordingly, from Aix-la-Chapelle, Sunderland wrote for leave to proceed to Hanover; and this permission Stanhope used his influence to obtain from the King. An implied censure is cast upon Stanhope by a modern writer, as if he had acted treacherously towards Townshend and Walpole, in promoting instead of opposing, the application of their dissatisfied colleague (3). But surely, on the contrary, it is evident, from the passage already cited in Walpole's letter, that such an application had been foreseen and reckoned upon in London—

(1) Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 641. positively, "Lord Sunderland has left us, and
(2) Walpole to Stanhope, July 30. 1716, O. S. In "will be soon with you."
another letter of Aug. 30. O. S., he says still more
(3) See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 96.

that Sunderland, far from making his journey to Hanover a secret, had asked Walpole for advice as to his conduct there—and that Walpole never requested Stanhope to hinder his progress. It is no less clear, from the mere fact of retaining this well-known antagonist in the Cabinet and in the office of Privy Seal, how necessary it was thought to keep on good terms with him. And, still further, Stanhope's recommendation rests on no external testimony, but on his own: he was so far from wishing to conceal it, as he might easily have done, had he pleased, that he mentioned it the same day to Lord Townshend's secretary with all the confidence of upright intentions. "I prevailed, this morning, for leave that Lord Sunderland should come hither after drinking the waters of Aix. He had writ to me for leave; and you will easily imagine, if it had not been granted, where the fault would have been laid; so I did really press it, and obtained it with difficulty (1)."

When once at Hanover, Sunderland assiduously applied himself to gain the favour of the King and the friendship of Stanhope, and not without success. The misunderstanding which arose with Townshend gave him an excellent opportunity to fill up, as it were, the gap left vacant in the confidence of both the monarch and the minister. He attended the Court to Gohre, and was there when, on the 11th of November, Stanhope tendered his resignation. So far from accepting it, the King caused Stanhope to write, under his own eye, and in French, a letter to Townshend, expressing grave displeasure at the delays of the French treaty, and requiring an immediate explanation. Orders were, likewise, sent to prorogue the Parliament, and to postpone the public business, until his Majesty's return. On that day Sunderland also wrote to Townshend to the same effect, but without authority from the King, and in a very rough and peremptory tone, thus showing, at once, how imperious was his temper, and how great was the influence he had already acquired over the mind of his sovereign (2).

The explanations of the Prime Minister were not long delayed. They bear the same date as Stanhope's charges—the latter New Style, and the former Old. To Sunderland he vouchsafed no answer at all. To Stanhope, his answer is short and resentful—only a few lines, ending with, "I pray God forgive you: I do." But his letter to the King contains a most manly, clear, and conclusive vindication of his conduct in every part of the transaction of which he stood accused (3).

(1) Letter to Poyntz, September 8. 1716. Coxe's Walpole.

(2) See Stanhope's and Sunderland's letters in Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 126—128. I have already made some extracts from the former in explaining the grounds for the suspicions of Lord

Townshend. The King himself also wrote to Lord Townshend on the same day, but his letter is not preserved.

(3) These letters, like the rest, are printed in Coxe's Walpole, ii. p. 128—134.

But in the interval, whilst Lord Townshend's answers were still expected at Hanover, there came from him an important despatch on another subject. It appears that the King had, some time before, sent directions to the Cabinet Council in England to consult on the heads of the business which it would be necessary to bring forward in the next session; his Majesty declaring, at the same time, that he was desirous of passing the whole winter abroad, if any means could be found to carry on his affairs in his absence. This seems to have been his Majesty's real inclination, although a more recent writer, without assigning a single proof from contemporary records, and speaking, as far as I can discover, merely from his own conjecture, represents it as a trap suggested by Sunderland to obtain proofs of the cabals with the Prince of Wales, which he imputed to Townshend and Walpole (1). According to the King's orders Townshend, on November 2. O. S., drew up, in a despatch to Stanhope, the sentiments of the Cabinet on the politics of the North, the payment of the public debts, the trial of Lord Oxford, and a proposed Act of Indemnity. Being anxious to gratify the King's inclination, Townshend did not press his Majesty's return on this occasion; but he strongly urged that, if his Majesty did remain at Hanover, the Prince should be entrusted with a discretionary power, so as to meet unexpected difficulties or altered circumstances (2). Townshend, moreover, thought it right to select some confidential person to be the bearer of this despatch, and to explain more fully to his Majesty, if needful, any of the points contained in it. For this purpose, he pitched upon Horace Walpole. That gentleman had received from Hanover the permission he had solicited to quit the Hague, and leave the signature of the French treaty to his colleague (3), and thereupon he had returned to England.

Horace Walpole made such speed in his new commission as to reach Gohre on the 23d of November, N. S. He found that the King had by this time determined to return to England, and to open the Parliament in person; and he therefore appears to have considered the despatch of which he was the bearer, and which provided for the event of the King's absence, as supererogatory, and bestowed no further thought or care upon it. It will presently be seen how greatly he was mistaken, and how very unfavourable an impression that despatch was producing on the mind of his

(1) Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 99.

(2) See this despatch in Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 120. It may be observed that as to northern politics, Townshend greatly fluctuated in his opinion. In his former letter to Stanhope of Sept. 28. O. S., he urges a peace with Sweden, even at some sacrifice: in his letter of November 2. O. S., he is for pushing the war with Sweden, but coming to a good understanding with the Czar. Nor can this fluctuation be sufficiently explained by any intermediate discovery of the Swedish scheme for

a Jacobite invasion, since that scheme would of course have dropped, had a peace been concluded as Townshend at first proposed.

(3) Stanhope not only granted this permission to the urgent request of Horace Walpole, but so far complied with his views as to write to Dubois, proposing that the signature should be delayed eight days more, in hopes that the Dutch might finish their formalities within that time. See his letter in the *Mém. secrets de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 227.

Majesty. The attention of Horace Walpole was, meanwhile, fully engrossed with the Royal and Ministerial resentments on the subject of the French treaty. He perused copies of the letters which had gone out to Lord Townshend, and observed, with sorrow and surprise, the unfounded suspicions of Stanhope and the rising ascendancy of Sunderland.

Want of frankness was never the fault of Horace Walpole. He warmly remonstrated with Stanhope; explained the doubtful circumstances in Townshend's conduct; declared, that if there was any blame incurred by the delay of the signatures at the Hague, that blame belonged solely to himself, and to his scruples in affixing his name to a separate treaty; and finally, he answered for the high honour and undiminished friendship of his two brother ministers.

Stanhope, on his part, convinced by the truth of these remonstrances, acknowledged that he had been misled by unfounded suspicions and suggestions, and had wrongly accused Lord Townshend on the matter of the French treaty. "We must now, however," added he, "look forward instead of backward." He declared that he frankly cast off his own doubts, and promised to use his influence with the King to efface the unfavourable impression which his Majesty, like himself, had conceived, from the delay of the signatures(1). Accordingly, he vindicated Townshend's conduct to the King and to Sunderland, and had already, in a great measure, re-established his Majesty's former good humour and complacency before the arrival of Townshend's own letter of defence. That letter completed the good work; the King, like Stanhope, now candidly acknowledged his mistake, and desired Horace Walpole to convey to Townshend the strongest assurances of his entire satisfaction and confidence in the matter of the signatures. Nor did his Majesty give any hint to Horace Walpole of other causes for displeasure. Stanhope, on his part, warmly expressed to Horace Walpole his feelings of friendship and esteem for the brother ministers; entrusted him with conciliatory letters to both, and earnestly requested him to lend his good offices for effacing all unpleasant recollections, and establishing a cordial and complete harmony between them. At the same time, however, he frankly warned Horace Walpole that rumours were abroad of cabals against the King's authority, begun by Townshend and Walpole with some of the Prince's adherents, and more especially with the Duke of Argyle; nor did Stanhope deny that he

(1) The authentic details of what passed between Horace Walpole and Stanhope, are, except one or two scattered hints, only to be gleaned from two letters of the former to the latter, on December 8. and 23. 1716, N. S. Coxe, who has printed these letters, has added some particulars from his own ideas of probability. Where could he find any authority for saying that "Walpole

"reminded Stanhope that he owed his high situation to Townshend and his brother," or that "Stanhope expressed a high sense of his obligations to them?" There is not a word to that effect in any contemporary statement, and the favour thus implied never existed, as I have shown elsewhere.

himself suspected that there was some truth in this intelligence (1). Nevertheless, Horace Walpole, knowing these rumours to have no foundation in fact, and being naturally of a sanguine, confident temper, did not doubt but that his speedy return to England with the letters of Stanhope, and the declarations of the King, would thoroughly heal the late and hinder future dissensions. Accordingly, on the 3d of December, after a stay of only ten days, he again set out for England; but his journey was so much delayed by unforeseen accidents, his missing the yacht over the Maesland Sluys, and afterwards the contrary winds, that he did not arrive in London till the 22d. He then delivered his letters and messages, to the perfect satisfaction, as it seemed, of Townshend and Walpole. But a new storm was already in the air, and scarcely had the first been lulled before it burst.

In order to explain the causes of this second and decisive ministerial tempest, it becomes necessary to revert to the King's jealousy and dislike of his son. We have already seen with what extreme reluctance his Majesty, on leaving England, had conferred upon his Royal Highness even the most moderate degree of authority. Every step, every word, from the Prince, were now most suspiciously watched, and most severely scrutinised at Hanover. Causes of displeasure soon arose, partly, it is true, from the Prince's fault, but much more from his necessary circumstances and position. The heir-apparent of a Crown seldom fails to be hated by the monarch in proportion as he is loved by the nation; and his only sure road to Court favour lies through unpopularity. Now the Prince, being less cold and reserved in demeanour than his father, and also in some degree acquainted with the English language, was naturally better liked by the multitude: he increased his popularity by a short progress through Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, and by several acts of grace, such as the dispensing with passports between Dover and Calais (2), which were all ascribed to him. Party-spirit, moreover, with its usual unerring instinct, darted upon this vulnerable point for assailing his Majesty's person and government. The Prince's affability of manner, his disposition to unite all parties, his fondness for English customs, were loudly extolled, with the covert insinuation of the King's deficiency in these qualities; and addresses to his Royal Highness were prepared and presented from several counties with the most loyal expressions, but often with the most dangerous designs. This, says Lord Townshend, is the wisest step

(1) Horace Walpole writes to Stanhope, Dec. 23. 1716: "And as to the King's interest..... what has been imputed to Lord Townshend and the others as a heinous crime, will be found to have been the most glorious and faithfullest part of their administration, for the service of his Majesty. I take this liberty with you because you talked in a very free though in a very mistaken

manner to me on this subject." (Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 147.) The important fact of this frank intimation of the suspicions then at work and soon to cause Townshend's downfall, is quite overlooked or suppressed in Coxe's narrative. It would not have been compatible with his charge of treachery against Stanhope.

(2) Tindal's History, vol. vii. p. 33.

the Jacobites have yet taken (1); but it was, also, eagerly promoted by Lechmere, Hampden, and the other discontented Whigs.

Thus, even if faultless, the Prince would hardly have escaped suspicions and misgivings from Hanover. But his own conduct was besides indiscreet and caballing. He closely connected himself with the Duke of Argyle, paid court to the Tories and to the Whigs in opposition, and showed the utmost eagerness to hold the Parliament in person. "By some things that daily drop from him," says Walpole, "he seems to be preparing to keep up an interest of his in Parliament, independent of the King's. . . . We are here chained to the oar, and working like slaves, and are looked upon as no other (2)." Under such circumstances, and treated, as they were, with coldness by the Prince, the situation of Townshend and Walpole must, no doubt, have been sufficiently irksome. Nor was theirs an easy course to steer. It was incumbent upon them, for the King's service, to counteract the Duke of Argyle's ascendancy, and to gain the Prince's confidence and favour, and in this they partly succeeded. But, while striving for that object, they fell into the opposite danger, by arousing against them jealousy and distrust in the mind of the King.

The integrity and honour of Lord Townshend in this, as in every other transaction of his life, were, I believe, without a stain. His prudence, however, in one or two cases, seems to be far more questionable, and he committed errors which his more cautious colleague successfully avoided. He was persuaded by the Prince to write to Stanhope, pressing the King for a speedy decision as to his Majesty's coming over, and plainly disclosing his Royal Highness's desire to hold the Parliament (3). Still more impolitic was the recommendation already mentioned in his despatch of the 2d of November, that a discretionary power should be vested in the Prince. That despatch was, in fact, as a modern writer well observes, the death-warrant of Lord Townshend's administration (4). It seemed to add weight and confirmation to the charges of Sunderland of cabals with the Duke of Argyle and other discontented Whigs, and of an intention to set the son above the father. The King, however, suppressed his resentment at the moment, partly, I presume, on account of the arrival of Horace Walpole, and the justification of Lord Townshend precisely at that time from another imputation, and partly to obtain time to consult Bothmar and his other secret counsellors in England. The return of the post, about the middle of December, appears to have kindled his Majesty's latent indignation into open flame; and he vehemently declared his intention of dismissing Lord Townshend from his service.

Under these circumstances, Stanhope asserts that he first endea-

(1) Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 76.

(2) Letters to Stanhope, July 30. and Aug. 9. 1716, O. S. Coxe's Walpole.

(3) Townshend to Stanhope, Sept. 28. 1716, O. S. Coxe's Walpole.

(4) Coxe's Walpole, vol. I. p. 102.

voured to alter the King's resolution, and that, finding his Majesty immovable, he next applied himself to soften his Majesty's resentment, by representing the past services and high character of Lord Townshend, and the injustice of any open disgrace. These remonstrances wrought upon the King so far as to induce him to permit that Lord Townshend should be offered the appointment to another great and important dignity of state, the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland; so that the loss of his office of Secretary might seem an exchange, or nominally even a promotion, instead of a dismissal. Accordingly, Stanhope wrote to Secretary Methuen, and likewise to Townshend, on the 15th of December, conveying that message from his Majesty in the most gracious terms, and without a single word expressive of the Royal indignation. To Robert Walpole he also wrote on the same day more at length:—"If I could possibly have an hour's discourse with you, I am sure I should make you sensible that the part I have had in the last step hath been for my Lord Townshend's service. Every circumstance considered, I do in my conscience believe this was the only measure which could secure the continuance of a Whig administration with any ease to the King. His Majesty hath been more uneasy of late than I care to say; and I must own I think he has reason, even though I don't pretend to know so much of the matter as the King does, his Majesty receiving many advices which come neither through my hands nor my Lord Sunderland's. But I cannot help observing to you, that he is jealous of certain intimacies with the two brothers (Argyle and Isla). I hope his Majesty's presence in England, and the behaviour of our friends in the cabinet, will remove these jealousies. No one man can contribute more to this than yourself; and I must tell you that my Lord Sunderland, as well as myself, have assured the King that you will do so. You know that all offices had been done you here, which might have made some impression, if my Lord Sunderland and I had not in good earnest endeavoured to prevent it (1).—You will, I am persuaded, believe that our endeavours were sincere, when I shall have told you with the frankness I am going to do what our scheme is here for the Ministry. In case my Lord Townshend accepts of Ireland, which, for a thousand reasons, he ought to do, the Cabinet Council will remain just as it was, with the addition of the Duke of Kingston, as Privy Seal. Mr. Methuen and I shall continue Secretaries. But if my Lord Townshend shall decline Ireland, and if—which by some has been suggested, but which I cannot think possible—he should prevail upon you to offer to quit your employments,

(1) This assertion is confirmed by previous passages in Stanhope's correspondence. Thus, writing to Lord Townshend on the 16th of October, he begs of him to press Walpole to settle the Munster and Saxe-Gotha payments, and adds the following

friendly caution,—“I have more reason to press this than I care to say to you, but I fear some people do ill offices to Walpole.” See also his letter of the 6th of November to the same effect.

“ the King, in this case, hath engaged my Lord Sunderland and
 “ myself to promise that his Lordship will be Secretary, and that
 “ I, unable and unequal as I am every way, should be Chancellor
 “ of the Exchequer for this session; the King declaring, that as
 “ long as he can find Whigs that will serve him he will be served
 “ by them, which good disposition his Majesty shall not have
 “ reason to alter by any backwardness in me to expose myself to
 “ any trouble or hazard. You know as much of our plan now as
 “ I do, and are, I dare say, fully satisfied that I think it highly
 “ concerns me that you should stay where you are. I am very
 “ sorry that my Lord Townshend’s temper hath made it imprac-
 “ ticable for him to continue Secretary. The King will not bear
 “ him in that office, be the consequence what it will. This being
 “ the case, I hope and desire that you will endeavour to reconcile
 “ him to Ireland, which I once thought he did not dislike, and
 “ which, I think, he cannot now refuse, without declaring to the
 “ world that he will serve upon no other terms than being Viceroy
 “ over father, son, and these three kingdoms. Is the Whig in-
 “ terest to be staked in defence of such a pretension? or is the
 “ difference to the Whig party, whether Lord Townshend be Se-
 “ cretary or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, TANTI?”

It is on this transaction that a charge of base dissimulation and treachery has been brought against Secretary Stanhope by Archdeacon Coxe. “ As Brereton,” he says, “ who conveyed these despatches without being apprised of their contents, could not have quitted Gohre more than three days subsequent to the departure of Horace Walpole, it was obvious that he (Horace Walpole) had been duped and deceived, that the plan for the removal of Sunderland had been then settled, and that the solemn promises made by Stanhope were never intended to be fulfilled (1).” But it will be found from the authentic letters which Coxe himself has published that his heavy accusation rests upon a gross error he has made as to the dates. It does him no great honour as an historian that we should thus be able to disprove the statements in his first volume by the documents in his second. The letters from Stanhope, announcing the removal of Townshend, are dated on the 15th of December. On the 8th Horace Walpole had already reached the Hague on his way home from Hanover, and wrote to Stanhope an account of his progress (2). It is evident, therefore, that he must have quitted Hanover towards the beginning of that month. But further still, a passage in a subsequent letter from Robert Walpole to Stanhope indicates the 2nd of December as the precise day when Horace began his journey homewards. Al-

(1) Memoirs of Walpole, vol. i. p. 401.

(2) See this letter in Coxe’s Walpole, vol. ii. p. 137. It is to be remembered that all the letters of Horace Walpole from the Continent are, like Stanhope, dated N. S. This is beyond question, he

having left London express with Lord Townshend’s despatch of Nov. 2., O. S., that is, Nov. 13., N. S., and his letters from the Hague and Hanover on his first arrival being dated Nov. 17. and 23.; and this is so stated by Coxe himself, vol. i. p. 99.

uding to the friendly expressions of Stanhope to Horace, and to the subsequent dismissal of Townshend, Robert Walpole observes, "What could possibly create so great an alteration among you in the space of twelve days is in vain to guess (1)." Thus, then, it appears that the real interval was no less than four times greater than that assigned by Archdeacon Coxe, and that therefore his charge of treachery deduced from the shortness of time completely falls to the ground.

Are there, however, any other grounds for accusing Stanhope of treachery in this transaction? I think none. How could he possibly have acted more kindly for his friend, or more patriotically for his country? When he found the King determined to dismiss his Prime Minister, and absolutely fixed in that determination, he could surely do no better for Lord Townshend than endeavour, as it were, to break the force of his inevitable fall, and obtain for him an appointment of still higher profit, and scarcely inferior power. It may be said, however, that he ought rather to have resigned his own office than acquiesced in the loss of Lord Townshend's. But what would have been the consequence? Not, I am convinced, any change in the King's inflexible temper, but the dissolution of the whole Whig administration; thus either throwing the Government into the hands of a factious opposition, or leaving the country, at a most stormy crisis, without any efficient hands at the helm. Can this really be thought the duty of an honest public servant? Let me borrow Stanhope's own words in writing to Methuen:—"The King thinks fit to remove one servant from a worse to a better post. Is this a reason for others to abandon him? I am sure that if it had happened to yourself to be turned out, and without any colour of reason, you would not in your own case let your resentment carry you to any indecent behaviour, much less would you spirit up mankind to such divisions as must end in the destruction of your country if not prevented. Do some people expect by their behaviour to force the King to make my Lord Townshend Secretary again? If they do, they don't know him. If they do not, what do they propose? Whoever wishes well to his King, to his country, and to my Lord Townshend, ought to persuade him to accept of Ireland. I hope Walpole, upon cooler thoughts, will use his endeavours to this end. If you have any interest or credit with them, for God's sake make use of it upon this occasion. They may possibly unking their master, or (which I do before God think very possible) make him abdicate England, but they will certainly not force him to make my Lord Townshend Secretary. I will not enter into the reasons which have engaged the King to take this measure, but it is taken; and I will ask any Whig whether the difference to the

(1) Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 148.

“ public between one man’s being Secretary or Lord Lieutenant of
 “ Ireland is of such consequence that we ought to hazard every
 “ thing for the resentment of one man (1) ?”

The vindication of Stanhope appears to me complete; and with respect to Sunderland also, I see no foundation for any charge of treachery. I admit that, unlike Stanhope, he, far from striving to avert, probably promoted and co-operated in the fall of Townshend. But then his political position was very different from Stanhope’s. He was not bound to Townshend by any ties of confidence and friendship. He had some grounds to complain of Townshend’s jealousy, and of his own exclusion from power. He was considered by Townshend not as an ally, but as a rival; and his enmity was all along expected and foreseen. Now it surely must be owned that previous confidence is implied in a charge of treachery; and that where there was no friendship there can be no breach of friendship.

In concluding my narrative of the various and intricate transactions which led to Lord Townshend’s dismissal, I may observe that even had they not existed there seems great reason to doubt whether the ministry could have continued unchanged. We have some remarkable expressions to that effect in a letter written at a previous period under Townshend’s own direction:—“ His
 “ Lordship and Mr. Methuen are sorry to observe that from the
 “ disposition of offices, and the behaviour of Lords Sunderland and
 “ Cadogan before the King’s going over, as well as from the en-
 “ couragement since given to the Tories by the Prince’s counte-
 “ nancing Mr. Hill, Mr. Hutchinson, and the Dukes of Shrews-
 “ bury and Argyle, the Whigs in general are become so uneasy
 “ and divided, that should things continue upon the present foot,
 “ the prospect for the next session of Parliament would be but
 “ melancholy (2).”

(1) Stanhope to Methuen, January, 13. 1717.
 Oxe’s Walpole.

(2) Mr. Poynts to Secretary Stanhope, August 17.
 1716, O. S. Coxe’s Walpole.

CHAPTER VIII.

The news of Lord Townshend's removal was received in London with almost universal disapprobation. No clear and definite cause being then assigned for that measure, and its advisers being absent from England, a large field was left open to conjecture, exaggeration, and mistrust (1). It was commonly considered as a Hanoverian cabal, as a fatal proof of the ascendancy of Continental politics; and the conduct of Stanhope, in being a party to it, was loudly and generally inveighed against. The Jacobites hailed this symptom of weakness in the Government as an omen of hope to their cause. The Whigs, who well knew the high worth and tried merit of Lord Townshend, felt no less sorrow than surprise at his dismissal; and the monied men foreboded the loss of public confidence, and the decline of public credit. "I will venture to say," writes Mr. Brereton, the same who brought these despatches from Hanover, "the town is in greater confusion now than it was "in any part or at any alterations whatsoever made in the late "Queen's reign. When I go into the City all the consi- "derable men there crowd about me, and press me in the most "earnest manner to give some reasons for these sudden and unex- "pected resolutions, and to tell them who I thought were the "advisers and contrivers of them (2)." It may be doubted, however, whether there is not some exaggeration in these statements, since, when we come to positive facts, we find that the fall in the funds did not amount to one per cent (3).

Townshend himself, and the Walpoles, were not among the least indignant. Their resentment was still further exasperated by a very intemperate letter from Sunderland to Lord Orford, directly accusing Townshend, Robert Walpole, and the Lord Chancellor, of having entered into engagements with the Prince and Duke of Argyle against the King's authority (4). No wonder that Townshend, perfectly innocent as he felt himself on that charge, should have more than ever given the reins to his passionate temper,

(1) "It is difficult to trace the causes of a dispute between statesmen." This was the remark of Sir Robert Walpole after his own quarrel with Lord Townshend in 1730. Coxe's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 339.

(2) Mr. Brereton to Mr. Charles Stanhope, December, 1716. Erasmus Lewis writes to Swift, Jan. 12. 1717,— "The division of the Whigs is so great that, morally speaking, nothing but another rebellion can ever unite them." In this

sense Lewis would probably not have been displeased at their union.

(3) Letter from Mr. Charles Stanhope to Mr. Brereton. December, 1716.

(4) This letter itself is missing; but it is mentioned by Lord Townshend when writing to M. Slingeland, Jan. 1. 1717, O. S., and by Baron de Wassenaar when writing to Lord Townshend, Jan. 26. 1717. Coxe's *Walpole*.

should complain of this "infamous accusation" from the "villany" and "infatuation" of Lord Sunderland, and should impute to that nobleman "frenzy fits" in writing his letters (1).

Townshend lost no time in sending his answers to Hanover. To Stanhope he wrote only a few lines in a style of bitter irony; to the King his letter was couched in very loyal and becoming terms, respectfully but firmly declining the offer of Ireland. "My private affairs," says he in his correspondence with the Hague, "would not permit me to remove to Ireland, any more than common honesty would allow me to put the profits of that employment in my pocket, without going over to do the duties of it (2)." This was intended as a severe reflection on Sunderland, for having acted in the manner here described; but it might have been more prudently omitted, since we shall find Townshend himself very shortly afterwards taking precisely that course which he had branded as repugnant to "common honesty."

Both the Walpoles, on their part, wrote to Stanhope in very reproachful terms, declaring that he had acted "in a passion," and with "sudden changes to old sworn friends;" and that, in their opinion, "the authors of this scheme did not expect that Townshend would, nor desire that he should, accept the Lord Lieutenancy." Stanhope, in his reply, expresses deep concern that what he judged and meant as a service to Lord Townshend should be thus resented; that, so far from representing his Lordship's refusal of the Lord Lieutenancy to his prejudice, he had obtained the King's commands to renew the offer; that the Lord Lieutenancy would at all events be kept open for him till the King's return; and that he entreated Robert Walpole to prevail upon Townshend to accept it. He adds his satisfaction that Walpole at least has expressed no thoughts of resigning his office, and most earnestly hopes that they may "continue to live and act for the King's service with the same friendship and union which has been (3)."

These friendly expressions tended in no small degree to allay the resentment of the brother ministers; and a still more favourable effect was produced when the King left Hanover, and passed a few days at the Hague, on his way to England. The leading men of the Dutch republic were, for the most part, personal friends of Townshend. To one of them, Slingeland, he had just written a full account of his dismissal and vindication of his conduct. They openly expressed their fears of the fatal consequences which this division in the British Cabinet might produce to the combined

(1) See Townshend's letter to Slingeland, Jan. 1. 1717, O. S.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Stanhope to Robert Walpole, Jan. 1. and 2. 1717. Archdeacon Coxe imputes the conciliatory language of Stanhope in writing to Walpole and Methuen to his "terror" at perceiving the great

weight which the opinion of the Dutch statesmen had with George the First when his Majesty was at the Hague on his return to England. (*Memoirs of Walpole*, vol. 1. p. 104, 106.) A single fact overturns this surmise. The letters quoted by Coxe are dated from Hanover before the King's departure.

interests of the two countries, and they left no exertion untried to promote a reconciliation. They held repeated conversations with Sunderland and Stanhope; they wrote pressing letters to Townshend. They assured him that Sunderland repented of his violent letter to Lord Orford, and of his charge of caballing with the Duke of Argyle, which had proceeded from his misconceiving a hasty expression of Lord Cadogan. They declared, as they truly might, that the blame rested mainly upon the Hanoverians, and their false intelligence from England; that if Lord Townshend declined the King's commands at present, he would close the avenue to his returning favour; and that if even Lord Townshend should be indifferent to that consideration, he ought still to sacrifice his own resentment to the necessity of union and to the public good (1).

The King himself, on his arrival (he landed at Margate towards the end of the month), received Townshend very graciously, and expressed his regret for the precipitation with which he had acted. By his direction the fallen minister received a visit from Count Bernsdorf, who stated to him that his Majesty having, though perhaps on false reports and on hasty impulse, taken away the seals from Lord Townshend, could not, with due regard to his own consistency and character, immediately restore them. But, if Lord Townshend would accept of Ireland, the King, satisfied with that mark of submission, would give him every satisfaction in his power; would make no other change whatever in the administration; and, so far from requiring Townshend to proceed to his post, would allow him to continue a member of the Cabinet in England, and give him leave to consider the Lord Lieutenancy as only a temporary office, to be exchanged hereafter for another at his pleasure. Townshend was softened by these promises; he saw, moreover, all the evils of division at that dangerous crisis; and, being still more patriotic than passionate in his character, he gave way, and accepted the terms proposed to him. His political adherents, comprising Methuen, Pulteney, Walpoles, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Orford, were thus satisfied, and remained in their places. Methuen, who had hitherto merely acted as Secretary of State during Stanhope's absence, was now appointed his colleague for the southern department; and thus it was hoped that the party schism might be completely closed, and the great body of Whigs completely reunited.

My wish of presenting these intricate ministerial transactions in one unbroken narrative has prevented me from noticing till now the conclusion of the treaties at the Hague.—Even after sufficient full powers for Lord Cadogan had arrived, some trifling obstacles delayed for several days longer the separate signature with Abbé Dubois. Cadogan insisted that the title of King of France should

(1) Baron de Wassenaar to Lord Townshend, Jan. 19. and 20. 1717. Coxe's Walpole.

still be borne by George the First, and that the treaty should be written, not in French, but in Latin. In the former point he prevailed, in the latter he yielded; and, in fact, how could he deny that the two "Kings of France" should negotiate in the language of that country? "It is not difficult to discover," says Dubois, "that these pretensions in the English Ministers proceed from their inexpressible terror of being brought before Parliament, and most severely arraigned on the slightest pretext (1)." But these little difficulties being soon surmounted, the Convention between France and England was finally signed on the 28th of November.

Meanwhile, the slow formalities of the Dutch Republic were by no means exhausted, and the agents of the Court of Vienna made every exertion to delay or to prevent its accession. But happily the principal statesmen were sensible of their true interest; and some threats of the Regent's displeasure having spurred their lazy good will, they at length waved some forms, quickened some others, and finally signed the treaty on the 4th of January, 1717. It repeated all the articles of the previous convention between England and France; which convention, when Stanhope, shortly afterwards, passed through the Hague, was, at his suggestion, destroyed; that no idea might prevail of separate interests, and that the whole might seem in appearance, as well as be in reality, "THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (2)."

It had been intended that the King should open Parliament immediately on his return; but its meeting was delayed, and the public attention diverted by a new and unexpected discovery. That the Jacobites should enter into another conspiracy was no strange event; but to find the King of Sweden negotiating with them, and intending to assist their revolt by foreign invasion, might justly excite dismay. So far back as the late rebellion the Duke of Berwick had formed a project of this nature, and held several conferences upon it with Baron Spaar, the Swedish Minister at Paris. It was designed that a body of seven or eight thousand Swedes, then encamped near Gothenburg, should be embarked at that port; that a sum of 150,000 livres should be advanced by the Pretender for their expenses; and that they should proceed to Scotland, which, as Berwick observes, would be the easier, since no one had the least idea of such a scheme, and since, with favourable winds, the passage might be made in forty-eight hours (3). A trusty messenger was immediately despatched with this project to the King of Sweden. But Charles being then closely besieged in Stralsund, it was long before this communication could reach him; and when it did, the critical state of his own affairs compelled him to decline it. A renewal of this enterprise was now a favourite

(1) *Mém. de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 232.; see also p. 464.

(2) *Mém. de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 240.; *Corps Diplomatique*, vol. viii. part i. p. 464. ed. 1791.

(3) *Mém. de Berwick*, vol. ii. p. 147. ed. 1778. See also the extracts from the Stuart Papers. Appendix.

object with Charles, and recommended to him by the influence of Baron Gortz, his chief confidant and minister. Gortz was a Franconian by birth, and an adventurer in fortunes; but a man of singular activity, penetration, and address. For courage he was much less distinguished: he appears to have slunk ignominiously from several duels, especially from one with General Grumkow, first minister to the King of Prussia (1); and it is not a little singular that a coward should have gained the highest favour of the most warlike prince of his age. His wandering, hap-hazard mode of life, before his appearance at the Swedish Court, had given him a peculiar dexterity in dealing with different characters, and an utter freedom from scruple as to the means which he employed; and he was, says Voltaire, equally lavish of gifts and of promises, of oaths and of lies (2).

This active adventurer, having gone from Court to Court to stir up enemies against the House of Hanover, at length fixed his station at the Hague, as envoy from Sweden. Amongst those whom he had noticed and wished to take with him in his journeys, was Voltaire, at that time a very young man, known only as the author of some political lampoons, for which he was soon afterwards confined in the Bastille; but the historian has since commemorated the obscure intrigues of the satirist (3). From Holland Gortz carried on a secret correspondence with Count Gyllenborg and Baron Spaar, the Swedish ministers at London and at Paris; he had also some direct communications with the Pretender and the Duke of Ormond, and he had received full powers from Sweden. The views of Gortz were most extensive. He wished to form new political connections for his master, whose imprudent heroism had hitherto gained him more admirers than allies. He projected a peace with the Czar, and even a perfect concert of measures between that monarch and Sweden (4)—a conspiracy against the Regent in France—an insurrection against George the First in England—and an invasion of Scotland by Charles in person. It is evident that nothing could have been more auspicious for the Jacobite cause than to find itself freed from the unpopularity which attended its dependence upon France, and assisted no longer by a Romish but by a Protestant ally. Spain also entered warmly into this scheme. Its prime minister, Alberoni, sent to Spaar a subsidy of a million of French livres; and the little Court of the Pretender offered 60,000*l.* Time, which, next to money, is the chief auxiliary in such enterprises, was to be fixed as early as possible; the

(1) See Lamberty, *Mem.* vol. ix. p. 267. This was the same Grumkow so grossly caricatured in the *Mémoires de Barendt*.

(2) *Histoire de Charles XII.*, livre viii.

(3) See Voltaire, *Histoire de la Russie sous Pierre le Grand*, partie II. ch. 8. Observe how slightly Voltaire, then called Arouet, is spoken of in the eponatemporary *Mémoires de St. Simon* vol. xv. p. 69.)

(4) The Czar, who was then travelling in Holland and France, was certainly favourable, in general, to the schemes of Gortz. According to Voltaire, he did and he did not see Gortz at the Hague. "Gortz vit deux fois à la Haye cet Empereur." (*Histoire de Charles XII.*) "Quand Gortz fut à la Haye, le Czar ne le vit point." (*Histoire de Pierre le Grand.*) But such inaccuracies are not uncommon in Voltaire.

invading army was to number 12,000 Swedish soldiers, and the military reputation of their King was in itself a host.

Happily for England this mine was tracked before it burst. So far back as October, some letters between Gyllenborg and Gortz being stopped and deciphered by the Government in London, afforded a clue to the whole conspiracy (1), and on the King's return fresh information was received, and further measures became necessary. Stanhope, to whose department this affair belonged, laid it before the council on the 29th of January, and proposed the decisive remedy of arresting the Swedish envoy and seizing his papers. A foreign minister who conspires against the very Government at which he is accredited has clearly violated the law of nations. He is, therefore, no longer entitled to protection from the law of nations. The privileges bestowed upon him by that law rest on the implied condition that he shall not outstep the bounds of his diplomatic duties, and, whenever he does so, it seems impossible to deny that the injured Government is justified in acting as its own preservation may require. On such grounds the Cabinet having agreed to the proposal of arresting Gyllenborg, it was executed on the same day by General Wade, who found the Count making up some despatches. In a few words he explained his mission, laid hold of the papers on the table, and demanded those from the scrutoire. The Swede, much surprised and irritated, warmly expostulated on the laws of nations being violated in his person, and asked leave to send for the Marquis de Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador, that he might consult with him; but Wade stated his positive orders not to let him speak with any person. On the other hand, the Count would by no means give up the key of the scrutoire, and the Countess, who came in, declared that it contained only her plate and linen; but it being, nevertheless, broke open, it was found to be full of papers. These, General Wade, according to his instructions, sealed up and carried away, leaving a sufficient guard upon his prisoner. On the same day were also arrested, Mr. Cæsar, Member of Parliament for Hertford, and Sir Jacob Bancks, formerly member for Minehead, who were suspected of a share in the same conspiracy (2).

In a proceeding so unusual and startling, it was judged proper that Stanhope should write a circular to all the foreign ministers in London, informing them of the reasons for Gyllenborg's arrest; and none of them expressed any resentment, except the Marquis de Monteleon (3). But a far more complete vindication than Stanhope's letter was afforded by those of Gyllenborg, which had

(1) Lord Townshend to Secretary Stanhope, Oct. 12. and Nov. 2. 1716. (Coxe's Walpole.) Eo-lingbroke, writing to Wyndham, Sept. 18., observes. "The people who belong to St. Germain's and Arignon were never more sanguine in appearance."

(2) "Count Gyllenborg has passed most of this summer with Cæsar, a creature of Lord Oxford's, in Hertfordshire." Townshend to Stanhope, Oct. 12. 1713.

(3) Political State, 1717, vol. I. p. 180.

been seized at his house, and which were forthwith published by authority (1). They confirmed, in the most undoubted manner, all the charges of the Government, all the suspicions of the public. It is remarkable that the name of Walpole occurs in them; and some hasty words of his are repeated, as if his disgust with some of his brother ministers might probably draw him into the conspiracy. In this I am persuaded that Gortz and Gyllenborg did complete injustice to Walpole, and, in fact, their expressions clearly prove that he had not afforded them any adequate grounds for such hopes (2).

Gortz was on his way to England to put the last hand to the conspiracy, and had already reached Calais, when he heard of the fate of his colleague, and upon this returned to Holland. But at Arnheim he and his two secretaries were taken into custody, by an order from the States, obtained at the application of England. The arrest of this prime mover was certainly still more important than Gyllenborg's; but it appears to me to have been far less justifiable. For, admitting the full right of any government to seize and search a foreign minister if conspiring against itself, yet it by no means follows that this extreme resource should be extended to the case of a conspiracy against an ally.

Charles, when informed of the proceedings at London and at Arnheim, maintained a haughty silence, neither owning nor disowning the conduct of Gyllenborg, but directing, as a measure of reprisal, the arrest of Mr. Jackson, the British resident in Sweden. With respect to the Dutch, whom he wished to conciliate, he pursued a milder course, merely forbidding their minister to appear at his Court. Meanwhile, the Regent of France interposed his good offices as mediator; and, after several months of negotiation, and the Regent making an assurance, in the name of Charles, that his Majesty had never any intention to disturb the tranquillity of Great Britain, Count Gyllenborg was sent home and exchanged with Mr. Jackson; and Gortz, with the consent of the English Government, was set at liberty in Holland (3).

The Parliament, on its meeting (it was opened on the 20th of February by the King in person), expressed great indignation at the conspiracy so happily crushed. One member even went so far as to move that war should be declared against Sweden; which, Stanhope observed, it would be quite time enough to do if Charles should acknowledge the practice of his ministers. Addresses to the King were carried in both Houses with perfect unanimity. But this happy concord was not of long continuance; and the late schism

(1) The material passages of this correspondence are printed in the Parliamentary History, vol. vii. p. 396—421.

(2) "I do not know whether Mr. Walpole's expressions were the effect of his first rage on account of his brother-in-law, my Lord Townshend's, being removed, or whether they came

"from his heart." Gyllenborg to Gortz, January 23. 1717. The subject was mentioned in the House of Commons by Mr. Hungerford, on the 22d of February. Coxe, in his Life of Walpole, passes over the whole transaction in silence.

(3) Political State, 1717, vol. ii. p. 88.

in the Administration was soon found to be by no means truly and thoroughly healed. Walpole was too conscious of his own ability and influence, and too aspiring in his temper, to be long contented with a second place. His own quarrel, some years afterwards, with his brother-in-law and most intimate and steady friend Lord Townshend, clearly shows how little he could bear a rival near the throne; and according to his own expression at that time, he was determined that the firm should be not Townshend and Walpole, but Walpole and Townshend. Thus also he ill brooked the superior influence of Sunderland and Stanhope. Private coldness, and, perhaps, private cabals, soon led to public reserve, to utter silence in the House of Commons, or to faint and formal support. On the motion of granting his Majesty a supply against Sweden, it was expected by the Government that Walpole, named as he had been in the Swedish correspondence, would have felt it incumbent upon him to show peculiar zeal and energy. But, on the contrary, his unwillingness and dissatisfaction were apparent; and though he himself spoke in favour of the motion (1), yet he seems to have done so coldly and shortly; and all his and Townshend's personal adherents, known to act according to his advice and direction, voted on the opposite side. They were, of course, joined in this policy by the whole body of Jacobites, Tories, and discontented Whigs, and prevailed so far that, on the division, the motion for a supply was carried by a majority of only four—the numbers being 153 against 149.

No Government could possibly close its eyes or restrain its hands from the authors of so insidious an attack; and coming as it did from the party of which Lord Townshend was called the leader, it was necessary to make an example of that nobleman. The state of the case was immediately laid before the King; and, according to his Majesty's directions, Secretary Stanhope, on the same evening of the division, the 9th of April, wrote a letter to Lord Townshend, acknowledging his past services, but announcing his dismissal from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. If Stanhope and Sunderland had formed any similar intention against Walpole, it was anticipated by that minister, who, early next morning, waited on his Majesty to resign his places of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. George showed great regret at parting with so able a servant, and endeavoured to persuade him to keep his post, using many kind expressions, and several times pressing the seals back upon him; but Walpole, though moved even to tears by his Majesty's goodness, remained firm in his determination. His example was followed the same morning by Methuen and Pulteney, and, a few days afterwards, by Lord Orford and the Duke of Devonshire. Stanhope was appointed First Lord of the Treasury

(1) Coxe is mistaken in saying that Walpole in p. 406.) Both Robert and Horace Walpole spoke this debate "maintained a profound silence." (Life, for the Supply. (Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 439.)

and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sunderland and Addison Secretaries of State, James Craggs Secretary at War, the Earl of Berkeley First Lord of the Admiralty, the Duke of Newcastle Lord Chamberlain, and the Duke of Bolton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: Lord Cowper and the Duke of Kingston remaining in their places.

The loss of Walpole was severely felt by the new administration. His influence with the House of Commons, and his reputation with the public, had greatly risen, and he was superior to Stanhope both in power of debate and in knowledge of finance. His late conduct, however, exposed him to many angry reflections; his cabal against his colleagues was termed "a criminal conspiracy," and his withdrawing from the Government, "a defection;" and these charges appear to have induced him, during the first few days, to pursue a very moderate course. When Stanhope proposed to fix the subsidy against Sweden at 250,000*l.*, and when Pulteney thundered against "a German ministry," Walpole closed the debate, and turned it in favour of the Government by observing, that having already spoken in favour of the Supply, he should now give the Court his vote. Soon afterwards he took an opportunity to promise, in the House of Commons, that "the tenor of his conduct should show he never intended to make the King uneasy, nor to "embarrass his affairs (1)." But never, certainly, was any profession so utterly belied in performance. Almost from the moment he left the Treasury until the moment he returned to it, he uniformly and bitterly opposed every measure of the Government. No regard for the public, no feeling for his own consistency, ever withheld him. He unscrupulously leagued himself with Shippen, Wyndham, Bromley, and other decided enemies to the reigning dynasty, insomuch that Shippen, on one occasion, expressed his satisfaction that his friend Walpole was no more afraid than himself of being called a Jacobite. He had made a warm opposition to the Schism Bill at its passing, saying that it rather resembled a decree of Julian the Apostate, than a law of a Protestant Parliament; yet he no less strenuously resisted the repeal of that very law when proposed by Stanhope. We shall find him, who had been one of the prime movers of Oxford's impeachment, contriving a legal difficulty, and assisting that minister's escape. We shall find him joining the vulgar outcry against a standing army, and declaring that 12,000 men were fully sufficient, at the very time when he well knew the country to be in danger of another insurrection, and of invasions both from Sweden and from Spain. We shall find him, so acute and practical a statesman, not ashamed to argue against that necessary measure the Mutiny Bill, and exclaiming, in the heat of debate, "He that is for blood shall have blood!" In

(1) Parliamentary History, vol. vii. p. 446, and 449.

short, his conduct out of office is indefensible, or, at least, is undefended even by his warmest partisans (1); and, in looking through our Parliamentary annals, I scarcely know where to find any parallel of coalitions so unnatural, and of opposition so factious.

The character of a statesman so reckless in opposition, but so eminent in office, deserves the most attentive consideration, and affords the best clue to the history of England for more than twenty years. During his life, he was loaded with unmerited censures; since his death, he has sometimes received exaggerated praise. Amidst the showers of invective which his enemies have poured, amidst the clouds of incense which his flatterers have raised, the true lineaments of his mind are dimly and doubtfully seen; and I should have failed far more completely in my attempt to give an impartial representation of them, but for the kindness of a most eminent man, who has condescended to point out several errors in my first impressions, and to send me his own matured reflections on this subject.

Robert Walpole was born in 1676, of an ancient gentleman's family in Norfolk. His natural indolence would probably have overpowered and kept down his natural abilities, had he not been a third son, and seen the necessity of labour for his bread. At Eton, where he was the contemporary, and in some degree the rival, of St. John, he was educated as one intended for the church, and used to say of himself afterwards, with perhaps no unreasonable vanity, that had he taken orders, he should have been Archbishop of Canterbury instead of Prime Minister. But, at the age of twenty-two, he found himself, by the death of his brothers, heir to the family estate, with a double advantage—the inheritance of an elder and the application of a younger son. On the decease of his father in 1700 (2), he was returned to Parliament for the family borough of Castle Rising. He immediately and zealously attached himself to the Whigs; and as, besides the two seats at Castle Rising, he could command another at Lynn, he brought his party no small accession of political patronage. The first time when he rose to speak (on what subject is not recorded) he by no means fulfilled the hopes of his friends; he was confused and embarrassed, and, according to the parliamentary phrase, “broke down.” But his perseverance soon retrieved this failure. The occasion on which he appears to have first distinguished himself was the celebrated

(1) See reflections of Speaker Onslow and of Archdeacon Coxe (Memoirs, vol. i. p. 110., and vol. ii. p. 581.)

(2) Horace Walpole says in one of his letters, “The other day Sir Robert found an old account book of his father's, wherein he set down all his expenses. In three months and ten days that he was in London one winter, he spent—what do you think?—64*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* There are many articles for Nottingham a*l.* eighteen pence

“for dinners, five shillings to Bob (Sir Robert), and one memorandum of six shillings given in exchange to Mr. Wilkins for his wig. And yet this old man, my grandfather, had 2000*l.* a year Norfolk sterling. He little thought that what maintained him for a whole session would scarce serve one of his younger grandsons to buy ja-pan and fans for princesses at Florence.”—(Letters to Sir Horace Mann, vol. i. p. 191. ed. 1833.)

proceeding on the Aylesbury election in 1704; and thus, by a curious contrast, the statesman, who was afterwards denounced as the most profligate parliamentary leader ever known in England, the very "father of corruption," gained his earliest laurels as the champion of free elections!

From this time forward Walpole slowly but steadily rose in fame as a debater. He also naturally contracted a close friendship and intimacy with many of the leading men of his party, especially with Lord Treasurer Godolphin; with Pulteney, who in after life became his chief rival and antagonist; and with Stanhope, who had taken his brother Horace as his private secretary. In March, 1705, he was appointed one of the council to the Lord High Admiral; and in 1708, when St. John resigned the Secretaryship of War, Walpole was promoted to that office. Next year he was also made Treasurer of the Navy. In 1710 he was one of the managers of Sacheverell's impeachment; but when the disgrace of his friends followed close upon that ill-advised, or at least unfortunate, measure, he honourably adhered to their falling fortunes, and in spite of some insidious overtures from Harley, threw up his Secretaryship in September the same year. His party attachment, however, was soon to expose him to greater evils than the loss of place. In December, 1711, a charge of corruption was brought forward against him in the House of Commons, relating to some forage contracts, which, as Secretary at War, he had made in Scotland. Witnesses were examined, and Walpole heard in his defence. A warm debate ensued; and at length the House resolved, "That Robert Walpole, Esq. was guilty of a breach of trust, and notorious corruption; that he should be committed prisoner to the Tower of London;" and on a subsequent motion, "That he should be expelled the House." It is quite certain, however, from the temper of his judges, that even the most evident innocence, or the strongest testimonies, would not have shielded him from condemnation, and that, had he made no forage contracts at all, or made them in the spirit of an Aristides or a Pitt, he would have been expelled with equal readiness by that House of Commons—the same which did not blush to hurl an unworthy charge of peculation against Marlborough.

On his condemnation, Walpole surrendered himself a prisoner, and was sent to the Tower. His sentence, so far from impairing his character, raised his reputation. He was considered a martyr to his party, and praised as martyrs real or fancied always are. He received repeated visits in prison from Marlborough, Somers, Godolphin, and the other chief men of the day; and when released at the end of the session in July, 1712, he found himself raised to an important personage in the estimation of his friends. The Tories, however, still continued to look upon him as a very subordinate character; and so late as 1713, we find Swift, in some

satirical verses, place Walpole in the lowest rank of the Whigs as a contrast to Lord Somers (1).

An attempt had been made to re-elect Walpole for his borough; but the House of Commons declared him incapable of sitting in that Parliament, and he was therefore excluded till the dissolution next year. In the interval he assisted Steele in the composition of several party pamphlets, continued and improved his political connections, and on re-entering Parliament (from which point he joins and is borne along with the current of my narrative), he spoke with an energy and effect which he never yet had attained. The Ministers found that, in attempting to crush, they had only sharpened his hostility.

The talents of Walpole were eminently practical, and fit for the conduct of great affairs. He was always steady, and therefore usually successful in his schemes. His views of policy were generally most acute, and his knowledge of finance profound. No fanciful theory, no love of abstract principles, ever warped his judgment; even the most trying circumstances could very seldom ruffle his good humour; and calm himself, he worked upon the passions of others. So closely had he studied all the weak points of human nature—so skilfully were his address and management adapted to them, that he scarcely ever failed, either in public or in private, to gain upon his hearers. There have certainly been many more eloquent orators, but never, I believe, a more dexterous debater. He would not willingly leave even the least part of his subject untouched. He knew that weak minds seldom yield to a single argument, even to the strongest, but are more easily overpowered by a number, of whatever kind. Always catching and always following the disposition of the House—knowing exactly when to press, and when to recede—able at pleasure to unfold the most intricate details, or to involve in specious reasoning the grossest fallacies—he, in the long run, prevailed over spirits far more lofty and soaring.

We are assured, however, that the powers of debate were not those to which he entirely or principally trusted for the management of the House of Commons. The indignant clamour of his contemporaries—the eloquent voice of a Wyndham—the magic pen of a Bolingbroke—have denounced in glowing terms the patron and parent of parliamentary corruption. Beneath the flowers of their rhetoric, and the venom of their party rancour, there is no doubt a foundation of truth. But the more equal tribunal of posterity has discovered no small excuse for him in the political turpitude even of many who thus arraigned him—in the general lowness and baseness of his age—in the fact, that so many of the

(1) "You'll then defy the strongest Whig,
"With both his hands, to bend a twig,
"Though with united strength they all pull,
"From Somers down to Craggs and Walpole."

(Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 399.) Craggs was then only a sort of *galopin d'ambassade*.

representatives of the people were on sale, and ready, if not bought by Walpole, to be bid for by the Jacobites. The more the private letters of this period come to light the more is this truth apparent. What shall we say, for example, when we find the great grandson and representative of Hampden, and himself a distinguished statesman, have the effrontery to threaten in writing, that, unless he can obtain a pension from the reigning family, he will “very soon take service in some other family”—meaning the Pretender’s(1)? Are we really justified in speaking as if public men had been all disposed to be virtuous and incorruptible during Walpole’s government, and were turned from the paths of honour by the address of that wily tempter?

Besides, are not these charges against Walpole marked by extreme exaggeration, even on the testimony of his enemies themselves? At the fall of Walpole a select committee was appointed to inquire into his public conduct during the last ten years, and out of its 21 members, that committee comprised no less than 19 of his bitterest enemies. The Minister then stood forsaken and alone—there was no Court favour at his back—no patronage or lucre in his hands—much popularity to again, and no danger to run by assailing him. Yet, even under such favourable circumstances, what did this ten years’ siege upon his character, this political Troy, really bring forth at last? What fact does the report allege in support of its avowed hostility? An attempt upon the virtue of the Mayor of Weymouth! The promise of a place in the revenue to a returning officer! The atrocity of dismissing some excise officers who had voted against the Government candidate! Vague surmises from the large amount of secret service money! Now, if Walpole had in real truth been the corrupter of his age—if he had prostituted public honours or public rewards in the cause of corruption—if fraudulent contracts, undue influence at elections, and bribed members of Parliament, were matters of every-day occurrence—if, in short, only one tenth part of the outcry against Walpole was well founded, how is it possible that powerful and rancorous opponents should be able to find only so few, imperfect, and meagre proofs to hurl against him? No defence on the part of Walpole’s friends is half so strong and convincing as this failure of his enemies.

On these grounds, then, I think that we are justified in asserting—first, that there was extreme exaggeration in the charges against Walpole, and, secondly, that there is no small excuse to be found for him in the tone and temper of his age. I am far, however, from denying that considerable corruption did exist. I am even inclined to believe that Walpole did not sufficiently strive against it, and went beyond the supposed necessities of the case.

(1) Letter to Lady Suffolk, June 30. 1717, in the Suffolk Correspondence.

An honest minister, even if unable to stem the tide of corruption—even if he can reconcile it to his conscience to be borne along by it—should at least never lose the hope of changing its direction, and purifying its waters. Still less should he do any thing to strengthen its current and aggravate its foulness. Now, it appears to me that the corruption of public men, so far from diminishing, rather grew and increased during the long administration of Walpole. On this point it is impossible to produce any English testimony that shall be considered quite free from partiality. But Count Palm, the Imperial Minister in London, could have no bias for or against the previous characters of our history, and we find him in 1726 apparently limiting the corruption of the House of Commons within “these few years (1).” Some other testimonies might, I think, be shown. But it also seems to me that the sort of language which we are assured was held by Walpole in familiar conversation was calculated to prolong and to perpetuate a low tone of public morals. He used to talk of honesty and patriotism as “school-boy flights;” of himself as “no saint,” “no Spartan,” “no reformer;” and ask young men, when first entering public life, with their inborn feelings and classic themes of freedom fresh upon them, “Well, are you to be an old Roman?—a patriot? You will soon come off that, and grow wiser.”—Thank God! the next generation did not “come off that,” and was “wiser!”

The administration of Walpole was prudently and beneficially directed to the maintenance of peace abroad, to the preservation of quiet and the progress of prosperity at home. It may, however, be doubted whether, in his domestic policy, he was not too fond of palliatives, and applied himself merely to silence complaints, instead of redressing wrongs. It is also to be observed, that though he loved peace much, he loved his own power more. He kept the country from hostilities so long as he could do so with safety to himself; but when the alternative lay between a foolish war and a new administration, he never hesitated in deciding for the former. Office was, indeed, his natural element; when excluded from it, he was as we have seen, most turbulent and restless; he crept back to it, through a peculiarly humbling coalition; and even at the end, Speaker Onslow assures us that he “went very unwillingly out of his power.”

The knowledge of Walpole was very limited, and he patronised literature as little as he understood it. “In general,” says his son, “he loved neither reading nor writing (2).” “How I envy

(1) See Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 506.

(2) Horace Walpole to Mann, Aug. 17. 1749. I do not, however, place any reliance on the well-known story, that during the excise debates Walpole heard for the first time of Empson and Dudley. On referring to Walpole's own speech (Parl. Hist.

vol. viii. p. 1305.), it will be seen that he begins by acknowledging the hints he had received from Yorke, and then draws an elaborate contrast between himself and the unworthy favourites alleged by Wyndham. Now surely it is a very different thing never to have heard of Empson and Dudley,

“you!” he exclaimed to Fox, whom he found one day, after his fall, reading in the library at Houghton. His splendid success in life, notwithstanding his want of learning, may tend to show what is too commonly forgotten in modern plans of education—that it is of far more importance to have the mind well disciplined than richly stored—strong rather than full. Walpole was, however, fond of perusing and quoting Horace, to whom, in his private character, he might perhaps, not unaptly be compared. He was good-tempered, joyous, and sensual, with an elegant taste for the arts; a warm friend, an indulgent master, and a boon companion. We are told of him, that whenever he received a packet of letters, the one from his gamekeeper was usually the first which he opened. To women he was greatly addicted, and his daughter by his second wife was born before their marriage. He had an easy and flowing wit, but too commonly indulged it to the utmost limits of coarseness; and Savage, who had seen him familiarly at Lord Tyrconnel’s, used to say of him that the whole range of his mind was from obscenity to politics, and from politics to obscenity (1). In his private expenses, he was not only liberal, but lavish; and it must be acknowledged that the magnificence of his buildings, the extent of his purchases, and the profusion of his entertainments at Houghton, gave his enemies no small handle for invective (2). He should have recollected that the display of wealth by a Prime Minister is always unpopular with the multitude: if acquired, it excites suspicion; if inherited, envy. So true is this, that in democracies an outward air of poverty is often considered the best recommendation to public favour and confidence. In the United States an intelligent French traveller lately saw an eminent living statesman, a candidate for the Presidentship, canvassing in a patched coat and ragged hat (3). Such is the uniform of the courtiers to King Mob!

It would be unjust to Walpole to conclude his character without alluding to his mildness and placability towards his political opponents. The system under which contending statesmen used to raise up rival scaffolds, and hunt down one another even to the death, ended during his administration; although I must own that I think no small part of the praise belongs to the personal clemency and kindness of George the First and George the Second (4). On the whole Walpole appears to me to have been a man of many

and not to be conversant with every minute particular of their lives and characters. In these *Yorkes* was no doubt better versed.

(1) See Johnson’s *Life of Savage*.

(2) According to Coxe, his buildings and purchases at Houghton must have cost no less than 300,000*l.* (p. 723.), his pictures 40,000*l.* (p. 730.), his lodge at Richmond 14,000*l.* (p. 729.), and each “meeting” at Houghton 3000*l.* (p. 728.). I believe that he died far from rich.

(3) *Marie, ou l’Esclavage aux États-Unis*, par M. de Beaumont, vol. I. p. 237.

(4) On this point we may safely trust the testimony of a zealous Jacobite. Lockhart of Carnwath tells us, “It was moved and pressed in the Cabinet Council, to prosecute the Earls of Wigtoun, Kin-cardine, and Dundonald, the Lord Balmerino, and myself, for high treason (in 1726), but the late King (George the First) opposed it; he said ‘he would have no more blood or fore-faulters’ . . . and in this he was so positive, that his ministers, after several attempts, were forced to ‘drop it.’” (Vol. II. p. 398.)

useful and some great qualities; who faithfully served his country, but who never forgot his own family; and who rose partly by the frailties of others, as well as by merits of his own. With every allowance for the "evil days and evil tongues" amongst which his lot had fallen, it is impossible not to own that his character wants something of moral elevation. Name him in the same sentence with a Chatham, and who will not feel the contrast? The mind of Chatham bears the lineaments of a higher nature; and the very sound of his name carries with it something lofty and august. Of Walpole, on the other hand, the defects—nay, perhaps, even the merits—have in them something low and common. No enthusiasm was ever felt for his person; none was ever kindled by his memory. No man ever inquired where his remains are laid, or went to pay a homage of reverence at his tomb. Between him and Chatham there is the same difference as between success and glory!

At the period of Walpole's resignation, in 1717, he had just matured a very able and well-considered scheme for the reduction of the national debts. The rate of common interest for money had, by the statute of the 12th of Anne, been reduced to five per cent.; but in the funds it continued to exceed seven (1): and of these funds a part, namely, the Long and Short Annuities, was irredeemable, and could not be touched without the consent of the proprietors. The plan of Walpole, in which we may trace the earliest germ of a National Sinking Fund, was, in the first place, to borrow 600,000*l.* at only four per cent., and to apply all savings to the discharge of the principal and interest of the debts contracted before December, 1716. Concurrently with this scheme, he hoped to form arrangements with the Bank and South Sea Companies, by which they should not only reduce their own interest, but lend, if required, the former two millions and a half, and the latter two millions, at five per cent., to pay off such holders of redeemable debts as might refuse to accept an equal reduction. The first part of these measures was brought forward by Walpole on the very day of his resignation; an event which he announced, saying, "that he now presented that Bill as a country gentleman; but "hoped that it would not fare the worse for having two fathers, "and that his successor would take care to bring it to perfection." Nor were the expectations of Walpole disappointed; the arrangements he had in view with the Bank and South Sea Companies were successfully concluded, with some alterations, by Stanhope; a result, no doubt, almost entirely owing to Walpole's skill and reputation for finance (2); but marked with peculiar disinterest-

(1) "Do not we make seven or eight per cent. "by the public funds, and this upon the security "of the Parliament of England, and are paid "punctually every quarter?" (Remarks of an English Gentleman to Count Gyllenborg, as quoted in his letter to Gorts, Dec. 4, 1716. Mr. Hungerford

said in the House of Commons, May 20, 1717, "He "knew by experience, and in the course of his "business, that money may be had at 4 per cent. "on good securities." See the detailed accounts in the Commons' Journals, vol. xviii. p. 497—507.

(2) Several publications have assigned to Stan-

edness on the part of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. He stated, in the House, that he understood it had been the common practice of those concerned in the administration of the Treasury to make bargains for the public with the governors and directors of companies, by which some private advantages were generally made; but that, in his opinion, such bargains ought to be determined at the bar of the House; and if any advantages could be made, the public ought to have the benefit of them. This was a system in which his predecessors had not proposed any alteration.

The financial measures in question were finally embodied in three bills, and all passed into laws. But though Stanhope and Walpole scarcely differed on this subject, a violent altercation arose between them on one occasion when it was before the House. Stanhope, giving way to his passionate temper, said that "he innocently owned his incapacity for the affairs of the Treasury, which were so remote from his studies and inclination that therefore he would fain have kept the employment he had before, which was both more easy and profitable to him; but that he thought it his duty to obey the King's commands;—that, however, he would endeavour to make up, by application, honesty, and disinterestedness, what he wanted in abilities and experience;—that he would content himself with the salary and lawful perquisites of his office; and, though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himself upon any body to make it up;—that he had no brothers, nor other relations, to provide for;—and that, on his first entering into the Treasury, he had made a standing order against the late practice of granting reversions of places."

Walpole, stung by these insinuations, replied with great warmth, complaining, in the first place, of breach of friendship and betraying private conversation. He frankly owned that while he was in employment he had endeavoured to serve his friends and relations, than which, in his opinion, nothing was more reasonable or more just. "As to the granting reversions," he added, "I am willing to acquaint the House with the meaning of that charge. I have no objections to the German ministers whom the King brought with him from Hanover, and who, as far as I have observed, have behaved themselves like men of honour; but there is a mean fellow" (alluding to Robethon), "of what nation I know not, who is eager to dispose of employments. This man, having obtained the grant of a reversion, which he designed for his son, I thought it too good for him, and therefore reserved it for my own son. On this disappointment the foreigner was so impertinent as to demand 2500*l.*, under pretence that he had been

hope the merit of the reductions, and we read on his monument in Westminster Abbey, "Delicatum publicarum pecuniarum fidem, temperato so-

"lertor senore, conservavit integram." I am bound to say, that I think this praise belongs not to Stanhope but to Walpole.

“ offered that sum for the reversion. But I was wiser than to comply with his demands, and one of the chief reasons that made me resign was, because I would not connive at some things that were carrying on.” Stanhope answered, Walpole rejoined; several violent expressions passed; and it needed the interference of the House to prevent a hostile meeting between these former friends. Soon after this time, Pope writes, “ The political state is under great divisions; the parties of Walpole and Stanhope are as violent as Whig and Tory (1).”

By the advice of the new Administration, the King, on the 6th of May went to the House of Lords with a speech, in which were recommended a reduction of 10,000 men in the army, and an Act of Grace to many persons involved in the late rebellion. Under the circumstances of the country, the former was a very popular, and the latter a very wise measure.

The two other most important proceedings of this session were the attack upon Lord Cadogan and the release of Lord Oxford. Cadogan, as ambassador to the Hague, had superintended the transporting the Dutch auxiliaries at the time of the rebellion. A charge of fraud and embezzlement in these expenses was now brought forward against him by some of the Jacobite members of parliament, to whom his zeal and success against the rebels in Scotland had made him peculiarly obnoxious. In this spiteful attack, Shippen might smile to find himself backed by Walpole and Pulteney; the former speaking for nearly two hours, and making such violent exertions that the blood burst from his nose, and that he was obliged to retire from the House. They were answered by Stanhope, Craggs, Lechmere, and several others; and evidence in vindication of Cadogan was given at the bar (2). Lechmere, who had lately been appointed Attorney-General, observed most truly that the inquiry was altogether frivolous and groundless, and the result of party malice; that it was of the same nature as those which had formerly been levelled against Marlborough, Townshend, and Walpole himself; and that those very persons who were now most clamorous for an inquiry had been wholly silent about these pretended frauds whilst they were in office. Notwithstanding, however, these home-thrusts, the spirit of faction was so strong that the motion was only negatived by a majority of ten.

The proceedings in Lord Oxford's case seemed to partake of his character and could scarcely have been more slow and dilatory had they been directed by himself. For nearly two years had he now been in confinement, and no progress yet made in his trial. But on a petition from Lord Oxford complaining of the hardship, the business was taken up with vigour. The Lords appointed the 25th of June as the day for it. The Commons renewed the sittings

(1) To Lady Mary W. Montagu. *Letters*, vol. i. p. 119., ed. 1820.

(2) See Lord Cadogan's Case in *Boyer's Political State*, 1717, vol. i. p. 697—702.

of their Secret Committee; and as it was found that the zeal of Walpole had suddenly cooled on leaving office, and that he almost always absented himself, it became necessary to appoint another chairman in his place. In fact, he and Townshend in their eagerness to thwart and embarrass the new administration at all risks, were now combining with the Tories to screen their former enemy from justice. They could not, after their own past accusations, openly appear as his defenders; such a change would have hurt their characters, and perhaps their consciences; and they accordingly took a more artful course, by inducing Oxford's friend Lord Harcourt, to propose a specious alteration in the order of proceedings.

When, therefore, the 24th of June had come—when the Peers had assembled in Westminster Hall—when the King, the Royal family, and the foreign ministers were seated around as spectators—when Oxford, brought from the Tower, stood bare-headed at the bar, with the fatal axe carried before him—when the articles of impeachment and the Earl's answer had been read—when Hampden had harangued—when Sir Joseph Jekyll had just risen to make good the first article—Harcourt interposed, and stated that before the managers proceeded further he had a motion to make. The Peers accordingly adjourned to their own House, where Lord Harcourt represented “that going through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to very little purpose. For if the Commons could make good the two articles for high treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas the proceeding in the method the Commons proposed would draw the trial into a prodigious length.” He also observed, “that a Peer, on his trial on articles for misdemeanours only, ought not to be deprived of his liberty nor sequestered from Parliament, and is entitled to the privilege of sitting within the bar during the whole time of his trial; in all which particulars the known rule in such cases may be evaded should a Peer be brought to his trial on several articles of misdemeanours and of high treason mixed together, and the Commons be admitted to make good the former before judgment be given on the latter (1).” Harcourt, therefore, moved that the house should receive no evidence on the charges for misdemeanours until after the charges of high treason were determined, it being well known to the whole Privy Council, as we learn from Townshend's own letters, that there was not sufficient evidence to convict Lord Oxford of that crime (2). The motion of Harcourt was strongly opposed by Sunderland, Coningsby, Cadogan, and other ministerial speakers; but, being supported by many plausible arguments, by the whole force of the

(1) This argument is more fully reported in the subsequent Lords' Reasons. (Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 489.)

(2) Townshend to Stanhope, Nov. 3. 1716.

Tories, and by the influence and authority of the late Whig premier, it was carried by a majority of 88 against 56.

This resolution, of which a high constitutional authority observes that it was "hardly conformable to precedent, to analogy, or to "the dignity of the House of Commons (1)," was warmly resented by that House: they considered it an infringement of their privileges, and refused to comply with it. This was the very result which the secret partisans of Oxford had expected and desired. Several messages and explanations which passed between the two Houses served, as in private quarrels, only to widen the breach; and the Lords persevering, appointed the 1st of July for the trial. The Commons, on their part, determined not to maintain the prosecution on those terms. Thus, when on the day fixed the Lords assembled in Westminster Hall, no prosecutor appeared; and the noble judges, after sitting still a quarter of an hour, returned to their own House. A motion was then made, that as no charge had been maintained against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, he should be acquitted; and this motion, after some debate, was carried—a sentence which is said to have been hailed with loud cheers by the multitude (2). The Commons, on their part, could only address the Crown that Oxford might be excepted from the Act of Grace; but the Earl was, of course, released from the Tower, and the Commons never renewed their impeachment against him.

Amongst the Peers most keen in pressing the impeachment of Oxford, and most mortified at his acquittal, was the Duke of Marlborough, and we might blamé the hero as unduly vindictive, did we not remember that he was blindly uxorious, and that the Duchess abhorred the fallen minister with even more than her usual force of hatred. It has, however, been asserted, on the contrary, (the evidence is traditionary, but respectable,) that Marlborough, in secret, earnestly promoted the acquittal of Oxford; the Earl having obtained possession of some letter signed by the Duke before the death of Queen Anne, in favour of the Pretender, which letter Oxford threatened to use, if driven to extremity. There are, however, two different and incompatible versions of the story, and the testimony of Oxford's secretary may be considered almost decisive against its truth (3). Nor, in my opinion, does much historical interest attach to it; for that Marlborough had communica-

(1) Hallam's Const. Hist., Bandy's edit. vol. iii. see 170. also Hatsell's Precedents, vol. iv. p. 286.

(2) "The acclamations were as great as upon any occasion; and our friend, who seems more formed for adversity than prosperity, has at present many more friends than ever he had before in any part of his life. I believe he will not have the fewer from a message he received this morning from the King by my Lord Chamberlain, to forbid him the Court."—Erasmus Lewis Swift, July 2. 1717.

(3) "Possibly they may keep Lord Oxford another year in prison, which my Lord Marlborough seems passionately to desire." (Lewis to Swift, June 15. 1717.) "My Lady Marlborough is almost distracted that she could not obtain her revenge." (The same, July 2. 1717.) For the tradition see the Biogr. Brit. art. Churchill, in second edition, and Coxe's Marlborough, vol. vi. p. 333.

tions with the exiled family nearly to the close of Queen Anne's reign, is certain from other evidence; and whether or not any paper on the subject may have fallen into the hands of his enemies, is a point of very subordinate importance.

Another fact, of much greater moment, and of absolute certainty, is established by a letter amongst the Stuart Papers. Stung with indignation at the harsh treatment he had received from the House of Hanover, Oxford wrote from the Tower to the Pretender promising his services, and giving his advice on the management of the Jacobite affairs (1).

The Act of Grace and Free Pardon was the last measure of this session. By its merciful provisions the Earl of Carnwath, Lords Widdrington and Nairn, were released from the Tower; seventeen gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and twenty-six in Carlisle Castle, were set at liberty; many likewise from the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and in the custody of messengers. At Chester about two hundred of the prisoners of Preston were set free; in Scotland all persons remaining in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling received the same benefit; and in short, the prison doors were thrown open in both kingdoms. Besides the Earl of Oxford, there were some other exceptions named, especially Lord Harcourt, Prior, and Thomas Harley; but, on the whole, no Act of Grace, in like circumstances, had, for ages past, been clogged with fewer (2). In fact, the gradual advance of humane and merciful principles in our legislation, the progressive respect for human life, and aversion to human sufferings—are most cheering and delightful to contemplate. Even the very clemency of one age appears cruelty to the more compassionate feelings of the next. When in Elizabeth's reign, for example, the great Lord Burleigh signs a warrant for torturing on the rack, or disembowelling some suspected persons, and gives orders that it shall be done "as charitably as such a thing can be," his contemporaries admire the kindness of the reservation, whilst we can see only the barbarity of the sentence. Thus also in the Act of Grace of 1717, so highly extolled for its mercy, a modern reader is shocked to find excepted "all and every person of the name and clan of Macgregor."

It is to be observed, however, that the Act of Grace by no means reversed the past attainders, nor restored the forfeited estates, the yearly value of which in Scotland was about 30,000*l.*, and in England 48,000*l.*

At the close of the session, the First Lord of the Treasury was

(1) Lord Oxford to the Pretender, Sept. 1716. This letter was seen by Sir James Mackintosh at Carlton House.

(2) An abstract of the act is given in the Political State, 1717, vol. II. p. 49—72. One contemporary pamphlet carries its adulation to such a pitch

of blasphemy as to say that the "clemency of King George was not only great, but even extended farther than that of God himself!" (Tindal's Hist. vol. VII. p. 160.) The reverse of the picture may be seen in Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 5.

raised to the Peerage by the title of Viscount Stanhope. I have already had occasion to notice that until the Septennial Act had taken full effect, and had raised the House of Commons into greater power and dignity, hardly any care seems to have been taken by any government to retain some of its leading members in that House. Harley, St. John, and Stanhope, are strong contemporary instances of this indifference. By the promotion of the latter, the ministerial lead in the Commons devolved upon Addison, Craggs, and Aislabie—men without sufficient official experience or parliamentary weight—who do not seem to have been entrusted with the direction, and scarcely even with the knowledge, of the more important affairs—who only defended what others had decided upon—who were not so much Ministers as deputies and agents for Ministers; insomuch that we find Craggs sometimes designated as merely “Lord Sunderland’s man.”

The close of the session left Ministers at leisure to devote their whole attention to foreign politics, which continued to bear an uncertain and lowering aspect. At this period, the chief danger seemed to lie in the Peninsula. The Court of Lisbon, indeed, gave no uneasiness. John the Fifth was then slumbering on the throne of Portugal, and his long reign from 1707 to 1750 was the usual reign of a weak Prince in a Catholic country—the government of the King’s mistress when the King is young, and the government of the King’s confessor when the King is old. But, at Madrid, the equally feeble mind of King Philip was sustained and strengthened by the genius of Alberoni, one of the most remarkable characters of this age, who, by birth the son of a labouring gardener, and in calling a village curate, had, partly by eminent abilities, and partly by low buffooneries (1), (I ought also to add, favourable fortune,) risen to a Cardinal in the Roman Church and Prime Minister of the Spanish Monarchy. The Queen entirely governed Philip, but Alberoni governed the Queen. Under his skilful direction, Spain began to resume its ancient position amongst nations. Trade revived, order and economy were introduced in the finances, a new navy was created, the army became disciplined and well commanded. “Let your Majesty remain but five years at peace,” said he to his master, “and I will make you the most powerful monarch in Europe (2).” Mr. Bubb, the British Minister at Madrid, observes in like manner that, “as low as Spain is, there is no nation can so soon retrieve itself, and sooner at present than ever. Formerly the dominions in Italy and Flanders were a vast charge to them instead of an advantage. They were maintained by the resources of the Indies and of the two Cas-

(1) See in St. Simon (Mem. vol. v. p. 40. ed. 1828) how he first gained the favour of Vendôme.

(2) See Alberoni’s apology in the Historical Register, 1732. p. 201. This is an able defence, full of important facts, but going rather too much

into detail. A prime minister vindicating his public conduct might have disdained to boast that “he was at the sole charge of curing fifteen girls who were all sick of a contagious distemper;” (p. 203.)

“tilles, whereas at present this expense is at an end; the Castilles pay rather more than ever, while the King draws considerable resources from Aragon and Catalonia, which paid little or nothing before (1). In fact, his resources exceed by one third those of any of his predecessors, and his expenses are reduced one half; so that, with a little order, he will soon make himself an useful ally (2).” Nothing, in fact, can show more strongly the general misgovernment of Spain than the sudden prosperity and power to which an able minister has sometimes been able to raise it, and the glory of such statesmen is the disgrace of its usual system of despotic rule.

Alberoni at first did not want inclination as well as means to become a most useful ally to England. He found, in 1715, at the commencement of his power, some commercial negotiations pending between that country and Spain; and it was chiefly through his influence that they were brought to a successful issue. A previous treaty of commerce with the Archduke, as King of Spain, had been concluded by Stanhope at Barcelona, in 1707, on most advantageous terms; but this, of course, had fallen with the Austrian cause. In the new treaty with Spain, signed in December, 1715, Stanhope obtained very large concessions; restoring British subjects to the same advantages in trade which they enjoyed under the Austrian Kings, and providing that they should in no case pay higher or other duties than the Spaniards themselves (3). In the same conciliatory spirit, Alberoni, during the rebellion in Scotland, avoided any open countenance or support to the Pretender; and even published a proclamation in the name of Philip, declaring his Majesty's intention to give no assistance to the enemies of George. “Next to God,” once said Alberoni to Mr. Bubb, “the King my master looks up to yours (4).” The friendly disposition of the Spanish and British Ministers was still further improved by a personal correspondence which sprung up between them. Stanhope, while a prisoner at Zaragoza, had become acquainted with Alberoni, who was then an humble attendant of the Duke of Vendome (5); and even at that period Stanhope, struck with his abilities, had foretold his future greatness. He now wrote to Alberoni, expressing pleasure to see his anticipations fulfilled—thanks for

(1) In 1701, Louis the Fourteenth truly observes in his instructions to Count Marsin, “L'Aragon ne donnerait pas le moindre secours pour les besoins les plus pressans de la Castille.” (Mém. de Noailles, vol. II. p. 108.)

(2) Mr. Bubb to Secretary Stanhope, Feb. 19. 1715. This is fully confirmed by San Philippe: “Verdaderamente, Alberoni dio a ver las fuerzas de la Monarquia Española, quando sea bien administrado el Erario, siendo indubitable que gastos tan excesivos en tan breve tiempo ningun Rey Catolico ha podido hacerlos.” (Comentarios, vol. II. p. 167, etc.)

(3) The treaty of Stanhope with Charles the Third, in 1707, may be seen in Marten's Supplem.,

vol. I. p. 64.; and that with Philip the Fifth in 1715, *ibid.* p. 111. Mr. Bubb writes to Stanhope, Dec. 12. 1715. “The ministry here have done every thing they could against us.... Whatever we settled with the King in the morning, the Cardinal del Giudice and his party undid at night... Alberoni has behaved very obligingly and heartily in this affair.”

(4) Mr. Bubb to Secretary Stanhope, May 4. 1716.

(5) Alberoni, in his apology, boasts that it was he who persuaded Vendome to accept the command in 1710, and also to move forward from Bayonne when the Duke was deterred by an attack of gout, and by the news of the battle of Zaragoza. (Hist. Register, 1722, p. 200.)

Alberoni's exertions towards the Commercial Treaty—and wishes for a “sincere and lasting friendship” between the two Courts (1). Alberoni replied in a similar strain; and the correspondence then begun was continued on a very confidential footing, thus excluding, in fact, from business Monteleon, the Spanish Ambassador at London, who was wholly in the Pretender's interest.

This mutual cordiality was not, however, of very long continuance. In proportion as the power of Alberoni increased, his views of policy expanded, and they at length became irreconcilable with those of England. It is the usual fault of adventurers, if raised to the head of affairs, to embrace too many projects at once—to prefer the shining to the solid—and to pursue in public affairs the same daring and hazardous course which led to their own personal advancement. Alberoni was eager to depress the party of the Regent in France, and entered warmly into the cabals against the authority of his Royal Highness by the Duke du Maine and other malecontents. Another favourite object was to humble the Emperor, who had never yet acknowledged Philip as King of Spain—who still retained that title for himself, and assigned that of Prince of Asturias to his infant son (2)—who had formed at Vienna a council of Spanish exiles—and who, above all; under the peace of Utrecht, held all the former Spanish dominions in Italy. Besides the natural desire of regaining these, the Queen of Spain, as a Princess of Parma, had claims to the eventual succession of that duchy and of Tuscany, and was most anxious to acquire the guarantee of them for one of the Infants. “In short,” concludes Mr. Bubb, “the absolute control over Spain will belong to the highest bidder for the Queen's son. This is the grand and the only maxim which has never changed since I have been here (3).”

With these views, it may easily be conceived that the Court of Spain was deeply mortified to see the conclusion of the defensive treaty between England and the Emperor. The guarantee of territory which it contained, affording a strong additional security to the Italian provinces, was peculiarly unwelcome; but still far greater pain and indignation were excited at Madrid on the news of the Triple Alliance, thus checking any designs upon France even more directly than those upon Italy. There was still every disposition, on the part of England, to cultivate the most friendly intercourse with Spain; but this was no longer in accordance with the ambitious designs of Alberoni. From this time forward he appears to have changed his whole system; and, though still holding a conciliatory tone towards England, he suspended the execution

(1) Stanhope to Alberoni, Dec. 30. 1715.

(2) San Felipe, Coment. vol. ii. p. 166. The young prince died in 1717, the same year Maria Theresa was born.

(3) Mr. Bubb to Secretary Stanhope, June 15, 1716.

of the Treaty of Commerce, and connived at the vexations practised upon English merchants; while, moreover, he decidedly rejected some proposals from England to bring about an accommodation between Spain and the Emperor.

Alberoni, however, was by no means anxious for war; he still wished, on the contrary, to avoid an open rupture; he felt the necessity of the five years of quiet he had asked for his reforms, and saw the danger of plunging into hostilities against powerful allies, and with imperfect preparations. But one very slight incident baffled his pacific views. Don Joseph Molines, then ambassador at Rome, having been appointed Inquisitor-General of Spain, had set out on his journey by land with a passport from the Pope, and a promise of security from the Imperial Minister. Nevertheless, he was arrested on his way by the Austrians, and conveyed to the citadel of Milan; while his papers were transmitted to Vienna, with the hope of their affording intelligence as to the designs of the Spanish Cabinet. This insult, after so many other causes of complaint, real or supposed, was the last drop that made the waters of bitterness overflow. Philip and his Queen, highly incensed, would no longer hear of any objections to a war, and overbore the real reluctance of their favourite minister (1).

Alberoni had, in fact, sufficient difficulties and dangers on his hands at home. His bold innovations had raised a whole host of enemies; and at this very time a plot was forming against him by one of the most distinguished generals in the Spanish army, and one of the most steady adherents to Philip during the war of the succession, the Marquis de Villadarias. The confederates of Villadarias were Don Joseph Rodrigo, the President of Castille, and some thirty of his most devoted officers; and his project was a partial rising, to combine the principal cities and the superior courts and councils, for a joint representation to the King, and for the dismissal of the obnoxious minister. The French ambassador, when secretly consulted by Villadarias, thought the enterprise too hazardous (2), nor does it seem to have proceeded; at least I find no further account of it; and when Spain had become actually engaged in war, the noble spirit of Villadarias would not refuse to serve his country even in a subaltern capacity, and under the direction of his political enemy; and I shall have to speak of his gallantry as one of the Generals in the second Spanish expedition.

War being once inevitable, Alberoni bent all his energies to its

(1) Some high authorities, such as San Phelipe (vol. ii. p. 181.), the Mémoires de Noailles (vol. v. p. 75.) etc., treat the reluctance of Alberoni as mere affectation, and himself as the sole cause of war. But the contrary is, I think, satisfactorily proved by Coxe (Memoirs of the House of Bourbon, vol. ii. p. 275.).

(2) St. Aignan to Louville, June 1. 1717. Mémoires de Louville, Villadarias had previously been

to Paris to concert measures with the French statesmen. Louville wrote to St. Aignan, April 12. 1717, "Villadarias retourne à Madrid. Il est au fait de tous nos secrets. Confiez-vous à lui, mais ne le voyez point en public. Il est de ces vrais Espagnols qui veulent une alliance offensive et défensive avec la France, mais qui la veulent uniquement dans l'intérêt de leur Prince et de leur pays."

successful prosecution. He did not act like some preceding Spanish ministers, who, in difficult circumstances, had done nothing for themselves, and appeared to rely entirely on their saints, or their allies. He sent his chief secretary and confidant, Don Joseph Patiño, to hasten the preparations at Barcelona, where the soldiers and the ships were collecting. The whole force amounted only to twelve ships of war and 8600 men; but, in a period of profound peace in the south, even these excited considerable alarm, and no less conjecture throughout Europe. Of their aim and object nothing was known, and therefore much was reported. The Emperor trembled for Naples, the Genoese for Savona, and the King of Sicily for that island; in England it was feared that the Spaniards would send over the Pretender; while the Pope piously believed that all these preparations were levelled against the Infidels in the Levant. In fact, one principal reason for this mystery was to impose upon his Holiness, who had not yet consented to bestow upon Alberoni the much desired Roman purple; but that favour having been wrung from the reluctant Pontiff in July, the new Cardinal immediately threw aside the mask. Orders were given for the sailing of the expedition; its command was entrusted to the Marquis de Lede, and on the 20th of August its real object was disclosed by its anchoring in the Bay of Cagliari.

The island of Sardinia, consisting chiefly of marshes or of mountains, has, from the earliest period to the present, been cursed with a noxious air, an ill cultivated soil, and a scanty population. The convulsions produced by its poisonous plants gave rise to the expression of Sardonic smile, which is as old as Homer (1), and even at present the civilisation of the surrounding continent has never yet extended to its shores. The people are still almost in a savage state; and I do not remember any man of any note or eminence who was ever born amongst them, unless it be the historian of this very expedition (2). This barren territory, for centuries a dependency of Spain, had been secured to the Emperor at the same time that Victor Amadeus obtained the far more fruitful island of Sicily. Of late, however, a prospect of exchanging the first for the latter had been held out to the Emperor by the members of the Triple Alliance, in hopes to obtain his accession; and it was partly with the view of baffling this negotiation, and partly as a step to future conquests in Italy, that Alberoni made Sardinia the first object of his arms.

The Spanish troops experienced no difficulty in landing, nor much in the investment of Cagliari. But they met with a stubborn resistance in its siege, the place being garrisoned chiefly by some Aragonese and Catalans of the Austrian party, who combined

(1) *Odyss.* lib. xi. v. 302.

(2) San Philippe, *Comment.* vol. ii. p. 158—168. He was present with the Spanish army, and took an active part in the cause of Phillip, as he had

also done in 1706. (*War of the Succession*, p. 232.) He is obliged to own of his native island, "Nada me perdió el Emperador con Cerdeña; nada ganó el vencedor."

on this occasion the common rancour of exiles with the proverbial courage of their countrymen (1). They defended themselves to the last extremity; and even when they had surrendered, the island was not yet subdued. The Spaniards had to march forty leagues to the northward to form the sieges of Alghero (2) and of Castel Aragonese (3); they suffered severe loss from the pestilential vapours in the midst of the summer heats, and more than two months elapsed before their conquest was entirely completed; when the Marquis de Lede, leaving 3000 men as a garrison, returned with the rest to Barcelona.

There is no doubt that, instead of returning homewards, the Spanish expedition would at once have proceeded to Sicily, had not England interposed at the first news of its aggression. The King of England was pledged to maintain the neutrality of Italy, and bound besides by a defensive treaty with the Emperor. Above all, the great object of the Triple Alliance had been the preservation of peace in Europe; and the allies were determined to spare no labour nor firmness for that end. Dubois hastened over to London, to hold some confidential interviews with Stanhope. It was determined to make every exertion to mediate between Philip and Charles; and according to the plan laid down, the former was to renounce all claims on the Italian provinces, and the latter on the Spanish monarchy; the Emperor was to be gratified with the acquisition of Sicily in exchange for Sardinia; and the King of Spain with the succession to Parma, and to the whole or nearly the whole of Tuscany, for the Infant Don Carlos. These offers, being a tolerably fair and impartial award for each of the contending parties, were, of course, bitterly opposed by both. It was hoped, however, that, backed by so formidable a confederacy as the Triple Alliance, they would be finally accepted; and, in order to give them greater weight at Madrid, Stanhope despatched his cousin, Colonel William Stanhope (since created Earl of Harrington), as ambassador to Spain. The Regent, soon afterwards, sent thither the Marquis de Nancreé in the same character; but the tone both of France and of Holland, in this negotiation, was far less earnest and effectual than that of England, the Regent being withheld by the affinity which had so lately subsisted in politics, and which still subsisted in blood, between the two branches of the House of Bourbon. "I have been shown the instructions for M. de Nancreé," writes Lord Stair: "they are certainly drawn in the most guarded

(1) The Aragonese were proverbial for their valour amongst the Spaniards. Thus in Don Quixote:—"ganar fama sobre todos los caballeros aragoneses, que seria ganaria sobre todos los del mundo." (Part 2. ch. 4. vol. v. p. 79., ed. Paris, 1814.) I remember at Madrid seeing a worthy Castilian very testy at this passage.

(2) Alghero was founded in the twelfth century by the Doria family. The fortifications are still kept in good repair, and there are some fine brass

guns with the inscription "Parant hec fulmina pacem." (Smyth's Sardinia, p. 281.)

(3) This is now called Castel Sardo. "It occupies the summit of a steep rocky pinnacle immediately over the sea." (Smyth's Sardinia, p. 281.) The place is no favourite with Capt. Smyth; he tells us that "like the Carse of Gowrie, it may be said to want water all the summer, fire all the winter, and the grace of God all the year through!"

“and cautious terms that I have ever seen. No man could touch
 “fire with more unwillingness and circumspection than these in-
 “structions touch every point that could give the slightest chagrin
 “to Spain. M. de Nancreé is to say nothing savouring of threat....
 “Nor has he any orders to insist upon a declaration that the Spa-
 “niards will not, in the meanwhile, undertake an invasion of
 “Italy. Yet, in my opinion, there is no way to avoid a war so
 “sure as seeming not to be afraid of it (1).” “As to the Dutch,”
 observes Stair, in another despatch, “they will gladly accede
 “whenever they find us concur with the Emperor; but their weak
 “and pitiable state of government prevents them from engaging
 “in any thing of vigour, unless they find themselves in good and
 “large company (2).”

Nor were there few difficulties with the Court of Vienna. St. Simon assures us, that the Emperor had such strong personal repugnance to resign his claims upon the Spanish monarchy, that his ministers scarcely durst mention the subject before him (3). I find it stated, however, in the instructions to Colonel Stanhope, “that the Emperor at first had showed no want of readiness to conclude a peace with Spain. He agreed to yield the succession of Parma; but, in spite of the most pressing entreaties from his Majesty and from the Regent, he positively refused the dominions of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Even while the war with the Turks seemed likely to continue, the Emperor and his ministers seemed immovable on this point. But now, when it is evident that the Emperor may at his pleasure conclude a peace, or at least a long truce, with the Turks, the King our master, and the Regent, are apprehensive that the Imperial Court will be still more difficult to deal with than before.”

Temporal enemies were not the only ones roused against Alberoni by his conquest of Sardinia. The Pope, swayed by Austrian counsels, and indignant at having been duped by the Spanish Minister, launched forth an angry brief to Philip, threatening him with the “divine vengeance,” and assuring him that “not only your reputation, but your soul also is at stake (4);” and he backed these spiritual remonstrances by a suspension of the *INDULTO*, or ecclesiastical tax, in the Peninsula. This brief was publicly circulated throughout Spain, but was treated with utter contempt by the Minister; and the *Indulto* was strictly levied as before. It is remarkable that one of the very few serious differences between the Spanish Court and the Holy See should have occurred with a Cardinal as Prime Minister; and it is still more strange that, in a country so blindly devoted to the Catholic faith as Spain, the Papal

(1) Lord Stair to Lord Stanhope, Paris, March 6. 1718. (Orig. in French.)

(3) Mem. vol. xv. p. 328. ed. 1829.

(2) To Lord Stanhope, March 11. 1718. (Orig. in French.)

(4) See the brief at length in the *Historical Register*, 1717, p. 367.

ndignation should have produced so little effect. Is it that the Spaniards are still more zealous for their country than for their religion, and, even in matters of faith, look rather to Madrid than to Rome? I find it stated that, at this period, even the statues of saints could not please them unless attired in the true Spanish habit (1)!

The representations of Colonel Stanhope and of M. de Nancré were met by Alberoni first with anger, and afterwards with dissimulation. In one of his private letters he inveighs against "certain unprincipled men, who would cut and pare states and kingdoms as though they were so many Dutch cheeses (2);" nevertheless, after a vain struggle for the cession of Sardinia, he sullenly consented to open a negotiation on the basis of the proposed preliminaries. But it soon became apparent that his object was only to gain time and to spread divisions. Under his orders, the most active measures were in progress for another armament. Ships of war were built in the Spanish ports, or bought in foreign ones (3); the founderies of cannon at Pamplona, and the manufactories of arms in Biscay, sent forth the din of preparation; soldiers were enlisted in all quarters; the irregular valour of the Miquelets in Catalonia was raised and improved by discipline; and no less than six regiments were formed from those hardy mountaineers. In order to obtain money for this armament Alberoni did not, as he boasts himself, lay any tax upon the people; but mortgaged some revenues, enforced the strictest economy, sold some offices at Court, and stinted the Queen's personal expenses, insomuch that her Majesty afterwards complained of not having been allowed "sufficient to provide common necessaries (4)"—words which, from such a quarter, may perhaps mean only jewels and trinkets! In short, there was no doubt that Alberoni persevered in his aspiring hopes, and that the return of summer would be marked by a renewal of his warlike enterprises.

To withstand the confederacy of France, England, and Holland, and to dare at the same time the enmity of the Court of Vienna,

(1) See the Travels of Father Labat, who visited Cadix in 1705, and who says of one of its churches: "Sainte Anne, qui est d'un côté du berceau de l'Enfant Jésus, est habillée comme une vieille dame, d'une grande robe de velours avec des dentelles d'or. Elle est assise sur un carreau à la manière du pays, et tient son chapelet à la main. Saint Joseph est à côté de sainte Anne, vêtu à l'espagnole, les culottes, le pourpoint et le manteau de damas noir, avec la gonnelle, le bas de soie avec la rose de rubans de la même couleur, les cheveux partagés sur le côté de la tête et poudrés, de grandes lunettes sur le nez, le chapeau à forme plate sous le bras gauche, l'épée de longueur, et le poignard avec un très-grand chapelet à la main droite!" (Voyages, vol. i. p. 23.) In the same volume is a curious story of the monks of Cadiz, who, it seems, never attended the midnight mass prescribed by their rules, although the bells for it were still rung

every night, as they said, "pour l'édification du peuple!"

(2) To Mr. Bubb. Printed from the *Mémoires* Papers in the original French in Seward's *Anecdotes*, vol. iii. p. 255. ed. 1804.

(3) "This Court has contracted for the timber and all other necessaries for the building of three ships in Catalonia, and eight in Cantabria, and six from 60 to 80 guns they have bought of the Dutch; so that they pretend to have a numerous squadron at sea next year. One Castañeta, a sea officer, and a builder, is gone to Holland to take care of their purchase; these six ships they will certainly have, and, if we allow them, six more."—Mr. Bubb to Lord Stanhope, Nov. 14. 1717. *Hardwicke Papers*, vol. xxxvii.

(4) This was said in 1725. See Mr. Keene's despatch as quoted in Coxe's *House of Bourbon*, vol. ii. p. 392.

might have appalled the boldest Spanish statesman in the proudest days of the monarchy ; but, even in its decline and abasement, did not daunt the lofty soul of Alberoni. His active armaments at home were combined with skilful negotiations abroad. He enticed Victor Amadeus by holding out a prospect of the Milanese as an equivalent for Sicily ; he encouraged the Turks to continue their war against the Emperor in spite of their defeats ; he made overtures to Prince Ragotzky, the exiled Prince of Transylvania, and urged him to attempt the recovery of his dominions. In the north of Europe he adopted the views of Gortz, and had grounds to expect that Charles the Twelfth and the Czar, concluding a peace, and forgetting their old animosities, would combine against George the First for the restoration of the exiled family. The commercial jealousy of the Dutch was stirred anew by the intrigues of Alberoni. The factions in France were taken under his fostering care ; he caballed to raise an insurrection of the discontented in Brittany, and of the Protestants in the Cevennes ; and made overtures to the secret parties of the Jesuits, of the Parliaments, and of the Duke and Duchess du Maine. The convocation of the States-General, the immediate reformation of abuses, the speedy payment of the public debts—all popular measures, and the more so as being some of them impracticable—were professed as objects by his emissaries ; and the seeds were ready laid of a wide and alarming conspiracy.

But it was against England, as the soul and spirit of the whole confederacy, that the Cardinal more especially directed his batteries. Besides his northern negotiations, he entered into a direct correspondence with the Pretender, who, in consequence of the Triple Alliance, had been compelled to cross the Alps, and who had fixed his temporary residence at Romé. An expedition to the British coasts, conveying a sufficient body of troops, and to be headed by Ormond or by James himself, stood foremost amongst the schemes of Alberoni. Meanwhile he availed himself to the utmost of the divisions in England ; his agents and creatures publishing specious declamations on the burden of taxes, the dangers of a standing army, the losses of trade which must follow a rupture with Spain, and other such popular topics ; and finding, unhappily, not merely the Tories, but also some of the Whigs in opposition, eagerly second their efforts to agitate and inflame the public mind.

Such unwearied and combined exertions threatened the most serious danger, and required the most active measures ; but before I come to the steps adopted by the British Government for its defence, I must resume the thread of our domestic affairs.

CHAPTER IX.

While the coldness between George the First and his son had been merely a Court secret, or a public surmise, it produced comparatively little mischief; but when it grew into an avowed and open breach, followed by a change of residence, and authenticated by published letters, it became a much more momentous affair. The jealousy and suspicion of the King, the forwardness and caballing of the Prince, have been already mentioned in this narrative, and from a very slight spark, their smouldering resentments blazed high. On the christening of one of the Prince's children, the Prince had designed his uncle, the Duke of York, as godfather; but, by the King's commands, the Duke of Newcastle stood in that relation at the ceremony, not as proxy for the Duke of York, but in his own behalf. The Prince, incensed at this insolence (so he called it), as soon as the ceremony was over, addressed Newcastle in very harsh and reproachful terms; and the King, offended at this want of respect, ordered his son to remain in his own apartments under arrest, and soon afterwards sent him his commands to quit St. James's. The Prince and Princess accordingly withdrew into the house of the Earl of Grantham, Lord Chamberlain to his Royal Highness. This frivolous dispute, in which the King was certainly severe, the Prince undutiful, and both childish, produced a total alienation between them during several years (1). A notice was issued, that no person who paid his respects to the Prince or Princess would be received at Court; they were deprived of their guard of honour and other distinctions; and the Secretary of State wrote a circular to the Foreign Ministers, giving an account of this whole transaction; nay, to such an extent did the Royal displeasure proceed, that George formed a scheme for obtaining an act of Parliament by which the Prince, on coming to the throne, should be compelled to relinquish his German states. This project he afterwards laid before Lord Chancellor Parker; and it was only on the Chancellor's representations of its inexpediency and impracticability, that it was abandoned by his Majesty. On the other hand, the Prince, fixing his residence at Leicester House, openly raised the standard of opposition against his father.

(1) St. Simon, who is always fond of scandal, and not always solicitous as to its truth, does not scruple to say, "Jamais le père n'avait pu souffrir ce fils, parce qu'il ne le croyait point à lui." (Mem. vol. xviii. p. 197. ed. 1829.)

1718. The feverish anxiety produced by this schism in the Royal family was very apparent during the whole of this session. It was a subject never touched upon, but always feared and expected in debate. On one occasion, when the House of Lords was very full and the Prince of Wales present, Lord North and Grey rose, as he said, "to take notice of the great ferment that is in the nation." Here he made a pause, and his hearers were in no small pain and suspense as to what might follow; but Lord North soon relieved them by mentioning only the great scarcity of silver, and the consequent hinderance of trade.

This scarcity of silver was, in fact, one of the principal matters to which the Parliament of this year directed their attention. The reports on this subject of Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint, are still on record, and appear interesting from his name, if not from their contents. Lord Stanhope, in his official statement, as head of the Treasury, ascribed the scarcity of silver to three causes; first, the increasing luxury in relation to plate; secondly, the vast exports of bullion and other plate to the East Indies; thirdly, the clandestine trade that had lately been carried on of exporting silver and importing gold to and from Holland, Germany, and other countries. In support of these allegations Stanhope produced several papers, and, among the rest, one drawn up at the Custom House, by which it appeared that in 1717 the East India Company had exported near three millions of ounces of silver, which far exceeded the imports in that year; so that large quantities of silver specie must necessarily have been melted down, both to make up that export and to supply silversmiths. He also hinted at "the malice of some persons, who, by hoarding up silver, thought to distress the Government;" and declared that, nevertheless, public credit had never yet been so high, for that "the Government could now borrow great sums at three and a half per cent." On the whole, it was resolved, "that the standard of the gold and silver coins of this kingdom ought not to be altered in weight, fineness, or denomination; but that a bill should be brought in for the more effectual preventing the melting down of the coins of this kingdom." I find, however, from the Lords' Journals, that though this bill was accordingly prepared, and went into committee, it did not pass this session.

It has often occurred to me to doubt whether our practice of computing sums in gold instead of silver coins—always reckoning by pounds or guineas instead of crown-pieces—has not had a tendency to raise and keep up prices unduly for small purchases. The Duke de Sully carries this idea further; he declares himself convinced by experience that even a crown-piece is too large a value for common computations (1); and, in fact, it may be ob-

(1) "Je crois avoir fait l'expérience que l'habitude de nommer un écu faite d'une dénomina-

served, that, since his time, the French have adopted the reckoning by LIVRES instead of ECUS.

The Parliament sat only from the 21st of November to the 21st of March, without much of moment occurring. It is remarkable, that the seceding Whigs do not appear to have gained ground by their open junction with the Tories; and that the Government prevailed against them, on almost every occasion, by larger majorities than during their cabals in office (1). The chief question on which the Opposition made a stand this session was the Mutiny Bill—a good topic for popular declamation, and on which the long experience of Walpole, as Secretary of War, enabled him to speak with peculiar powers of mischief; but it was carried in the Commons by 247 against 229. In the House of Peers, Oxford and Strafford (for the impeachment of the latter had been silently dropped), resuming their places, took a prominent part in the debate; Lord Townshend also spoke against the bill; and in the division they had 77 votes, and the Government 91. During one discussion Shippen, forgetting his usual caution, was betrayed into the observation, that some of his Majesty's measures were rather calculated for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain; and that it was the only infelicity of his Majesty's reign that he was unacquainted with our language and constitution. Nothing could be more true than the remark—nothing more mischievous than the intention; and a storm of indignation was immediately raised against the "downright" Jacobite (2). It was moved that he should be taken into custody; and, though Walpole interposed in favour of his new ally, and dexterously afforded him an opportunity for an explanation, which would probably have been accepted, yet Shippen, disdaining any submission, was sent to the Tower, where he remained during the rest of the session.

Meanwhile, our relations with Spain had been growing to the critical point described in the foregoing chapter; and the Ministers, on full consideration, foresaw that an English fleet might be required to avert or to resist the designs of Alberoni. For this purpose a Royal message was delivered to the House of Commons, on nearly the last day of the session, adverting to the possible necessity of a larger naval force; and a corresponding address was moved by Sir William Strickland, pledging the House to make good any such excess in the sea-service of 1718, as his Majesty might find requisite to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. Both the message and the address cautiously shunned the mention by name of any

"non plus propre aux petits détails porte insensiblement toutes les parties du commerce dans les ventes et dans les achats au delà de leur vraie valeur." (Mém. de Sully, vol. ii. p. 148. ed. 1747.)

(1) "Tout est allé dans le Parlement au sou-hait de notre Roi, qui n'aura plus d'embarras pour de l'argent pendant toute cette séance. Augst les fonds continuent à hausser considéra-

blement."—Lord Stanhope to Abbé Dubois, Dec. 23. 1717. Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxvi.

(2) "I love to pour out all myself as plain
"As downright Shippen." FORS.

Shippen used afterwards to say of Walpole, "Robin and I are, two honest men; though he is for King George, and I for King James."

foreign power; but Walpole insidiously observed, that such an address had all the air of a declaration of war against Spain. It was, however, carried without dividing. Preparations were immediately commenced for a large armament at Portsmouth; its destination to be the Mediterranean, its commander Sir George Byng.

Still, however, it was confidently hoped that negotiations might prevent an appeal to arms; and it was chiefly with the view of effecting this happy result, that a change was made at this period in the office of Secretary of State. Stanhope, from his personal intimacy at the Courts of Paris, Vienna, and the Hague, and his long experience of Spain, was the person who, even when removed to the Treasury, still exercised a paramount influence on our foreign affairs. Dubois, Prince Eugene, and many others, continued to apply to him instead of to Sunderland; he was still looked to by Continental states as the head of the counsels relative to them; and the King likewise relied mainly on him in these affairs. Under such circumstances it was undoubtedly better that he should resume the office which would give him the official and responsible control of our foreign policy; and that the management of our domestic affairs, together with the chief post at the Treasury, should be transferred to Sunderland. Accordingly an exchange of offices took place between the two ministers; and Stanhope was also, at this period, raised to an Earldom. The office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which Stanhope had also held, was, however, conferred upon Aislabie.

The other Secretary of State, appointed with Sunderland, had been Addison. That admirable writer, whose works must give instruction and delight to all men capable of either, and whose renown can never cease so long as the English people, or even the English language, endure, unhappily comes before the historian as only a mute at St. Stephen's, and a trifler in Downing Street. Whenever he had to deal with practical and pressing affairs, the razor was found too sharp for the blocks. It has often been related, how, when Secretary to the Lords Justices, and desired to write an official notice of the Queen's death, he was so distracted with the choice of words, and so overwhelmed with the importance of the crisis, that at length the Lords, losing all patience at his bungling, summoned a common clerk who readily did what was required in the usual form of business. In a higher office his deficiencies were of course still more apparent (1). He himself became painfully sensible of them, and solicited his retirement, which he obtained at this time with a pension of 1500*l.* a year. But ill health (this had been another cause of his official failure) brought his useful life to a close in only fifteen months: he expired at

(1) The following is a striking remark by Sir James Mackintosh:—"What a good exchange of stations might have been made by Swift and Addison! Addison would have made an excellent Dean, and Swift an admirable Secretary of State!" See the *Memoirs of Mackintosh*, by his son, vol. II. p. 91.—a worthy record of a most accomplished man.

Holland House (then and since a classic spot in English literature), with the memorable words upon his lips, "See in what peace a Christian can die!" His successor, as Secretary of State, was James Craggs, a ready speaker, a good man of business, and a consistent politician.

The Government sustained at this time another loss, and no light one, in Lord Cowper, who resigned the Great Seal. His motive I do not find explicitly stated by others, and his own private journal does not extend so far (1). That he parted from his colleagues on good terms, may be presumed from his being promoted to an Earldom; but I conjecture that the Peerage Bill, and the act for the relief of Dissenters, which he so strenuously opposed next year, might be already contemplated by the Cabinet, and that Lord Cowper had determined never to concur in them. His health, however, was declining, and his temper had soured, and either of these circumstances might suggest a wish for retirement. His place was occupied, not filled, by Lord Parker, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and afterwards Earl of Macclesfield.

From the usual versatility of the Duke of Shrewsbury, it is doubtful whether his death could be considered a gain or a loss by any political party. He expired this year on the 1st of February.

Charles Talbot, the twelfth Earl of Shrewsbury, was born in 1660, and succeeded to the title at a very early age, his father having been killed in a duel with the Duke of Buckingham (2). The family was then, as at present, Roman Catholic; but the young Earl embraced the Protestant faith so early as 1679, and by his steady adherence to it in very trying times, incurred the displeasure of King James. He was foremost in the secret schemes against that Prince; and one of the seven who, in June, 1688, signed the celebrated Association, inviting the Prince of Orange. He continued throughout one of the chief promoters of the Revolution; and, as such, was employed as Secretary of State, and raised to a dukedom by the new sovereign. So polished, engaging, and conciliatory were his manners as to make him in a great measure loved and trusted by both parties, insomuch that William the Third used to call him the "King of Hearts." "I never," says another most acute observer, "knew a man so formed to please, and to gain upon the affection while challenging the esteem (3)." He appears, moreover, to have combined considerable talents with upright intentions; but his temper was timid and shrinking; he

(1) The last entry in Lord Cowper's Diary is Sept. 21, 1714, and there are but very few in that and the next preceding years.

(2) See an account of this duel in Pepys's Diary, January 17, 1688. Lady Shrewsbury was the Duke of Buckingham's mistress, and is said to have held his horse in the dress of a page whilst he was fighting her husband.

(3) Lord Bolingbroke to Lord Orrery, May 18th 1711. Marlborough compares his manner to Eugene's in one of his letters. "Prince Eugene has "In his conversation a great deal of my Lord Shrewsbury, with the advantage of seeming "franker." (To the Duchess, June 15, 1704.)

was averse to business from his disposition, and unequal to it from his health. "If," as he says himself, "a man cannot bear the air of London four days in a year, he must make a very scurvy figure in a Court as well as in a Ministry (1)." His delicate mind also, like his body, was not made for the wear and tear of politics, as is truly and beautifully expressed in a letter to himself from Lord Halifax: "I confess I always thought there was too much fine silver in your Grace's temperament; had you been made of a coarser alloy, you had been better fitted for public life (2)." Accordingly, during the whole term of his administration under King William, we find him almost unceasingly applying to his Majesty for permission to resign. His value, however, as the only man who could soften and combine the fierce partisans of that mortifying period was so much felt by William, that no prince ever showed greater reluctance to dispense with the services of a subject, and that his importunity did not prevail till 1700, when he resigned all his offices; and, hoping to restore his health by quiet and a purer air, proceeded to Rome, and resided there five years. On his return, passing through Augsburg, he contracted or announced a marriage with the Marchesa Paleotti, his Italian mistress. Having reached England he resided chiefly in the country, at his seat of Heythorp; but renewed his former intimacy and political union with the Whigs, leaving his proxy with the Duke of Marlborough, and declaring that thus placed he thought his vote more sure to be employed for the public good than were he present to give it (3). But this good understanding soon became disturbed. He was nettled at the coldness with which the Duchess of Marlborough, and other Whig ladies, treated his foreign wife (4), and he was no less offended at failing to obtain from the Whig Ministers some object of personal ambition for himself; the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, according to one account—a pension, according to another. At this period of displeasure with his former friends, he became entangled in the subtle snares of Harley; he privately entered into all the cabals of that crafty statesman and of his bedchamber ally; and he had secret conferences with the Queen at Windsor, on subjects not confided to her ministers. Still, however, with his characteristic doubt and timidity, he avoided committing himself, or making any decided movement, until perfectly assured of the ascendancy of Mrs. Masham. He then took his seat in the House of Lords, and boldly defended the cause of Sacheverell

(1) Letter to King William, December 10. 1698, printed in Coxe's Correspondence, p. 181.

(2) Letter without precise date, but written in 1708, and printed in the Correspondence, p. 655.

(3) He observes in one of his letters at this time "I own it is hard at first to choose one's friendships well, but when they are once fixed upon a merit like the Duke of Marlborough, and their worth experienced, it is past my comprehending how that should ever be lessened or

"shaken." (See Coxe's Marlborough, vol. v. p. 212.)

(4) The Duchess writes to Lady Cowper, Oct. 23. 1710: "Your description of the Duchess of Shrewsbury is very good. I have heard much such an account of her, only with this addition: my Lord Duke looking a little grave, she chuckled him under the chin, bidding him look up, amongst all the company! She is a great honour to a Court!"

against the Ministry. Nor was this all. The Queen availed herself of an interval, when Parliament was prorogued, Marlborough commanding in Flanders, and Godolphin betting at Newmarket, to deprive the Marquis of Kent of the Chamberlain's staff, and intrust it to Shrewsbury. Complaint and remonstrance proved unavailing; and this first step was followed up until the utter overthrow of the Whig Administration, and the establishment of the Tories, with whom Shrewsbury then combined. Though retaining his office of Lord Chamberlain, he was appointed to that of Ambassador at Paris, from whence in the autumn of 1713, he was as I have already had occasion to state, transferred to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

The year 1717 is remarkable as the last on which the Houses of Convocation ever sat. From the Restoration to the Revolution, that assembly had been very inefficient either for good or for evil; and Bishop Burnet sarcastically observes of it in 1689, that "ever since 1662, the Convocation had continued to sit, but to do no business; so that they were kept at no small charge to do nothing, but only to meet and read a Latin litany (1)." Since that period, however, and especially in the reign of Anne (2), they had at intervals displayed great activity and most violent wrangling, the two Houses being almost always on bad terms with one another. On the accession of George the First, the Convocation was permitted to hold its sittings as usual. But it was not long before the Lower House plunged eagerly into a contention with Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, who, in a sermon on the spiritual kingdom of Christ, had used expressions tending, it was alleged "to subvert all government and discipline in the Church;" and also "to impugn and impeach the Royal Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical." This debate, known by the name of the Bangorian Controversy, would supply materials enough for a volume, but hardly interest enough for a page; and it may be sufficient for most readers to state, that the Government, anxious to compose these dissensions, and prevent any appearance of a schism in the Church, arrested the proceedings by a sudden prorogation, since which the Convocation has never met again for business. Several good and wise men have deplored the cessation; and it is certainly possible that the frequent holding of this assembly might have checked the progress of dissent, and more early provided sufficient space and means for religious worship. But it is at least equally probable that its disputes would sometimes have widened into schism, its zeal warmed into intolerance; that the trade of agitator might have grown profitable in the church as it is in the state, and that the enemies of all religion would often have been gratified with the unseemly sight of conflicting divines.

(1) Hist. vol. ii. p. 33. fol. ed.

(2) Somerville's Queen Anne, p. 81. and 124.

The British negotiations at Madrid continued, but did not advance. In vain did Colonel Stanhope and Nancreé combine their efforts—in vain did the latter receive new and more effectual instructions from the Regent; in vain did Lord Stanhope urge Alberoni in private letters—the Cardinal maintained the same haughty tone as if Spain still held in its hands the balance of European power (1). The project of peace he termed an unheard-of monster, a goat-stag (2), and the peace of Utrecht a treaty made for the Devil; complaining that the King his master was treated as if he were a king of plaster, or like a German! “But the Lord’s hand,” he added from Scripture, “is not shortened!” It is easy to perceive that the Prime Minister had not yet wholly discarded the coarse buffooneries which had first fascinated Vendôme, and that his style had not risen with his station. He was above all indignant at the naval preparations in England, but only the more actively pursued his own. The Spanish armament comprised twenty-nine ships of war (3), with transports for 35,000 veteran soldiers, 100 pieces of battering cannon, 40 mortars, and a vast supply of provisions, stores, and ammunition of all kinds. Never, says a Spanish historian by no means favourable to Alberoni—never had an expedition so formidable been sent forth by any former sovereign of Spain, not even by the Emperor Charles or by Philipp the Second (4). The fleet was intrusted to Don Antonio Castañeta, a ship-builder rather than a sailor in his original profession, and the troops were commanded by the Marquis de Ledesma, a Fleming in the Spanish service, of misshapen stature, but of great military experience. The first place of equipment for the expedition was Cadiz, and its precise destination entirely unknown. Except the ex-Jesuit Patiño, the Cardinal had not a single confidant to his schemes, and is perhaps the only instance in history of a very vain man (for such undoubtedly, was Alberoni) who never once betrayed his secrets.

On receiving information of this mighty armament, Stanhope and Sunderland did not hesitate to give Byng their last instructions; and the Admiral sailed for the Mediterranean on the 4th of June with twenty ships of the line. The news from Spain had also no small effect at Vienna in lowering the pretensions of the

(1) Antonio Perez used to say, “Francia y España las Balanzas de Europa, Inglaterra el ‘Fiel.’” (Relaciones, Append. p. 26. ed. 1634.)

(2) *Un hirco-cerf!* (St. Simon, *Mém.* vol. xvi. p. 180. ed. 1829.) *Comme un Roi de plâtre!* (Ibid.) *Traiter un Roi d’Espagne à l’Allemande!* (P. 236.) *La main de Dieu n’est pas raccourcie!* (Vol. xv. p. 106. The Treaty of Utrecht a treaty made for the Devil! (Alberoni’s Apology, *Hist. Regist.* 1722. p. 209.)

(3) See the enumeration of these ships in Campbell’s *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iv. p. 437. This is as the fleet was off the Faro. San Philippe reckons twenty-two ships of the line, and three

merchant vessels, *armados en guerra*; but this was on leaving the Spanish ports, and the others may have joined on the voyage.

(4) Nunca se vieron en España preparativos tan grandes; ni Ferdinando el Católico que tantas expediciones ultramarinas hizo, ni Carlos V. ni Felipe II. que hizieron muchas hau formado una mas adornada de circunstancias y de preparativos. (San Philippe, vol. ii. p. 167.) The French ambassador says that Alberoni had an eye to every thing himself. “Il entre dans tous les détails, et paye ‘jusqu’aux souliers des nourrices!’” *Mém. de Louville*, vol. ii. p. 220.

Emperor. Our agent at that Court was then General de St. Saphorin, a Swiss of the canton de Berne, who had lately been taken into the English diplomatic service (1). He had found at first the Emperor's Ministers, especially Staremberg, deaf to all his overtures; but the greatness of the Spanish expedition, and, still more, the news of its having proceeded from Cadiz to Barcelona, wrought such changes, that St. Saphorin was able to announce their acceptance of the terms proposed to them. They also consented to the mediation of England for a peace between the Emperor and the Turks, which was, accordingly, signed this summer, and which left a considerable Austrian force disposable for Italy. Under these circumstances, Stanhope immediately concerted his measures with Dubois, who was still in London (2), to frame the articles for a new treaty between England, France, and the Emperor. There still remained to subdue some hesitation in the mind of the Regent, and great reluctance on the part of his principal ministers; and Stanhope, anxious to overcome all obstacles at this crisis, undertook a journey to Paris, and held several conferences with Philip. The Marshal d'Huxelles, chief of the Council for Foreign Affairs, not only opposed the project with the greatest warmth, but absolutely refused to sign an alliance levelled against a grandson of Louis the Fourteenth. Nevertheless, Stanhope and Stair prevailed. The treaty was concluded early in July, though not finally signed till August; and, from the subsequent accession of the Dutch, received the name of THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE. The basis of this celebrated treaty was declared to be the Peace of Utrecht, and its object the preservation of tranquillity in Europe. It provided, according to the intentions I have already explained, for the mutual renunciations of the King of Spain and the Emperor, for the reversion of Parma and Tuscany to the Infant Don Carlos, and for the exchange of Sicily and Sardinia between Victor Amadeus and Charles. As a compensation for the unequal value of the two islands, the Emperor acknowledged the claims of the House of Savoy to the succession of Spain in case of the failure of Philip's issue. In twelve separate and secret articles it was stipulated, that the term of three months should be allowed for the accession of Philip and of Victor Amadeus, in default of which the whole force of the contracting parties was to be employed against both or either, and compel them to submit.

(1) St. Simon speaks of this gentleman as "fort décrié depuis longtemps par plusieurs actions contre l'honneur et la probité, et par ses manéges encore et ses déclamations contre la France." *Mém.* vol. xv. p. 193. ed. 1829. On the other hand, I find in the *Biogr. Univ.* (art. Pesmes), "A ses talens militaires et diplomatiques il joignoit le jugement le plus sain, l'esprit le plus persévérant, et le cœur le plus droit!" I have no materials for deciding which of these statements is a lie.

(2) Dubois remained in England for the formal signature, and did not return to Paris till August. (*Hist. of Europe*, 1718, vol. ii. p. 197.) The Duke de St. Simon describes him as having played a merely passive part. "Stanhope régla tous les articles du traité.... L'Abbé Dubois avait déclaré qu'il ferait tout ce que voudrait le Roi d'Angleterre," etc. (*Mém.*, vol. xvi. p. 285. and 299.) But it is to be observed that St. Simon had a personal animosity against Dubois, and strives on every occasion to depreciate his exertions.

In hopes, however, of still averting an appeal to arms, Stanhope determined to proceed in person to Madrid, with the secret articles, and to make every exertion to subdue the stubbornness of Alberoni. He relied very much for success on an offer of yielding Gibraltar, in case all other means should fail; an idea, of course, kept profoundly secret, and, in my opinion, quite inconsistent with our national interests, or national glory (1). He also relied on some strong instructions from the Regent to M. de Nancre, which he was to carry out with him to Madrid, and which, according to St. Simon, had been dictated by Stanhope himself (2). With these prospects he set out from Paris, attended by Mr. Schaub (afterwards Sir Luke), a Swiss in the British service, and his confidential secretary.

At that time the departure of the Spanish armament was already known, and its destination suspected in France (3). It had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders, which the Admiral was not to open till out at sea, and which were found to contain an injunction to steer to Cagliari, and there to open another sealed parcel enclosed. At Cagliari the real object of the expedition was at length revealed, the Admiral being directed to land the troops in Sicily, and the General to make himself master of that island. Accordingly the fleet pursued its voyage, and on the 1st of July the army was set on shore at the beautiful bay of Solanto (4), four leagues distant from Palermo. That capital was unprepared for defence; many of the chief men friendly to their former Spanish rulers, or connected in blood with them, and the multitude, as usual, thinking their present grievances the worst, and looking back to the past as to the "good old times." The Marquis Maffei, the Piedmontese Viceroy, after providing for the garrison of the castle, had only at his disposal about fifteen hundred soldiers. He made a precipitate retreat, and the Spaniards a triumphal entrance; the citadel surrendered to them after a short blockade, and they confidently expected the speedy and complete reduction of the island.

The motive of Alberoni in directing his arms to this quarter had been principally to avert the threatened interposition of France and England. Both powers were pledged to the neutrality of Italy, and one also to the guarantee of the Emperor's dominions; but neither of them had contracted any such obligation with regard to Sicily, or to the states of Victor Amadeus. Alberoni might

(1) The blame of this idea of giving up Gibraltar rests mainly with Stanhope; he had suggested it from Paris to his colleagues in England, and obtained their acquiescence. (Secretary Craggs to Earl Stanhope, July 17. 1718. See Appendix.) In another letter of Craggs to Stanhope, of Sept. 16. 1720 (Hardwicke Papers, vol. lvii.), he alludes to "the opinion you have that Gibraltar is of no great consequence."

(2) Mém. vol. xvi. p. 382. ed. 1829.

(3) "Le 1r de ce mois, moi Lord Stanhope ai vu

" M. le Régent.... Il avait appris de très-bonne part que la flotte d'Espagne devait aller en Sicile, que l'idée du Cardinal est de s'emparer de cette île, et que pendant l'hiver il croit pouvoir baller assez de besogne au Roi en Angleterre " et à M. le Duc d'Orléans en France."—Lord Stanhope and Lord Stair (joint letter) to Secretary Craggs, July 6. 1718. Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxv.

(4) Solanto is close under Cape Zafarana. I remember seeing there a palace and "tonnars," or tunny fishery, of the late King of Naples.

therefore not unreasonably hope that they would hesitate before they plunged into a war, where they had no direct pledge to redeem, and no immediate interest to defend. He might hope, at all events, for some months of delay and negotiation, during which he trusted that his intrigues might have matured—that a domestic conspiracy might be bursting forth in France—that a Swedish or Russian army might be landing in Great Britain—and that he might then, without molestation, pursue his further designs on Naples and the Milanese. Nor was he withheld by the state of his negotiation with Victor Amadeus; that negotiation had indeed proceeded to considerable lengths; but had finally failed, the King of Sicily demanding subsidies which the King of Spain was not inclined to grant. The invasion of Sicily was still further recommended by the large number of Spanish adherents, and the small number of Piedmontese troops, in that island.

Flushed with the tidings of the first success in Sicily, Alberoni became less tractable than ever. The first news of the Quadruple Alliance, or rather the very idea of its possibility, excited his fury. "Could I believe," he cried, "that such a treaty was really signed, Nancreé should not remain a quarter of an hour longer in Madrid. . . . The King my master will wage eternal war rather than consent to this infamous project, and he will wreak his vengeance on those who presume to threaten him with it. If Stanhope comes here thinking to lay down the law, he will find himself ill received. I have sent him a passport as he requested, and I will hear the proposals he brings, but it will be impossible to give them the slightest attention unless they totally differ from the project (1)."

Nor was the Cardinal daunted by the close approach and avowed object of the British expedition. On arriving off Cape St. Vincent, Admiral Byng had despatched a messenger with the tidings and with a copy of his instructions to Colonel Stanhope, requesting him to communicate both to the Spanish Government. In an interview which the British envoy consequently had with Alberoni, he found all his remonstrances met only with a burst of vehement invective against France and England; and when he presented a list of the British ships, the Cardinal furiously snatched it, tore it to pieces, and trampled it under his feet. At the close of the conversation, however, he promised to take the King's commands, and to send an answer in writing; but this answer, which was delayed for several days, brought merely a dry intimation that Admiral Byng might execute the orders of the King his master.

In this temper of the Spanish Government the arrival of Lord Stanhope at Madrid, on the 12th of August (he had been delayed by their remissness in forwarding his passport), could produce little

(1) St. Simon, *Mém.* vol. xvi. p. 243. and 349. ed. 1829.

effect. Finding that the Court had gone to the Escorial, he hastened thither, obtained the co-operation of the Marquis de Nancre, and had several conferences both with the King and with the Cardinal; but neither the Royal puppet, nor the minister who pulled the strings, gave him any but very slight hopes of acceding to his propositions. Even these slight hopes were dispelled by the news of the reduction of Messina. "I showed my Lord Stanhope," says the Cardinal himself, "that as long as the Archduke (the Emperor) is master of Sicily, all Italy will be the slave of the Germans, and all the powers of Europe not able to set her at liberty. I also represented to him very clearly that to make war in Lombardy was to make it in a labyrinth, and that it was the destructive burial-place of the French and English. In conclusion, I told him that the proposition of giving Sicily to the Archduke was absolutely fatal, and that of setting bounds afterwards to his vast designs a mere dream and illusion. This is the substance of all the conferences had by my Lord Stanhope (1)." —From Stanhope's despatches (2), however, it appears that Alberoni continued pacific professions to the last, and endeavoured to shift the blame from himself to his master. He declared that he wished for no conquests in Italy, and knew that Spain would be far more powerful by confining itself to its continent and to its Indies, and improving its internal administration, than by spreading itself abroad in Europe as before. At parting with Stanhope he even shed tears, and promised to let slip no occasion that might offer of adjusting matters; and, more than once, he bitterly complained of the King of Spain's obstinacy and personal resentment against the Emperor and the Duke of Orleans. Yet, on the other hand, he could not altogether conceal his hopes of raising disturbances in France and England; he evidently felt no small share of the animosity which he ascribed solely to his master; and he seems to have fluctuated from hot to cold fits, according as the mail from Sicily brought him favourable or unfavourable news.

With respect to Gibraltar, that affair was so secretly conducted, that it cannot be accurately traced. Whether, as some believe, there were other conditions (especially a large demand of territory in America) annexed to the offer (3), and that Alberoni would not comply with them, or whether Gibraltar itself appeared to him an inadequate reward for the relinquishment of his ambitious schemes, certain it is that the proposal did not move him from his purpose,

(1) Cardinal Alberoni to Marquis Beretti Landi, Aug. 29. 1718. Boyer's Political State, 1718, vol. II. p. 222.

(2) Stanhope's despatches from Fresneda near the Escorial, and from Bayonne on his return, are inserted in the Appendix, and give a very curious view of Alberoni's character and policy.

(3) "There is reason to believe that the offer of Gibraltar was coupled with some condition

"besides the immediate accession of Spain to the peace." Coxe's House of Bourbon, vol. II. p. 329.) It may be observed that Gibraltar was about this period a source of profuse and ill-regulated expense. Lord Bolingbroke in a despatch to Lord Portmore of March 29. 1712, complains that "at Gibraltar things have hitherto been in the utmost confusion and under the loosest management."

and that the English Minister found it necessary to return homewards without succeeding in the object of his journey.

But whatever resentment Stanhope might feel at the stubbornness of Alberoni, he did not fail to observe, nor hesitate to own, the eminent talents of that Minister. He who had seen Spain in the evil days of her Charles the Second, when a decrepit sovereign feebly tottered on her sinking throne—when her agriculture, her trade, and her respect among nations were all but annihilated—when famine stalked through her palaces (1)—when her officers, chosen by Court favour, brought back nothing from their campaigns but ignorance and promotion—when her soldiers, once the terror of Europe and the scourge of America, were reduced for want of pay to beg in the streets, or to wait at the convent doors for their daily dole of food (2);—he who had seen Spain during the war of the succession, torn and bleeding with internal strife, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom—he could scarcely have believed that in the course of a few short years he should see the same country send forth an armada of nearly thirty line-of-battle ships, and of more than thirty thousand well appointed, well paid, and well disciplined troops—that this fleet should be built in the long disused and forsaken harbours of Catalonia and Biscay—that this army should be clothed from new native manufactories—that weavers from England and dyers from Holland should import their industry and ply their trade in Castille—that a great naval college should be established and flourishing at Cadiz—that new citadels should be built at Barcelona and Pamplona, and the old fortifications repaired at Rosas, Gerona, Fuenterabia, and St. Sebastian. Already had workmen begun to construct a new and extensive port at Ferrol—already had a Dutch engineer undertaken to render the river Manzanares navigable, and the capital of Spain open to water-carriage (3). America, which, in the words of Alberoni, “had become Terra Incognita even to Spain,” again appeared an Eldorado; and a FLOTA arriving from it during Lord Stanhope’s embassy, had on board no less than six millions and a half in gold and silver (4)! Nor had Alberoni been wholly engrossed with what is useful; objects of taste and elegance had also a part of his care.

(1) Lettres de Villars, p. 220.

(2) See Labat’s Travels, vol. i. p. 252. This was no new case: the Duke of York told Pepys how the Spanish soldiers “will refuse no extraordinary service if commanded; but scorn to be paid for it as in other countries, though at the same time they will beg in the streets.... In the citadel of Antwerp a soldier hath not a liberty of begging till he hath served three years.” (Pepys’s Diary, December 20. 1668.)

(3) A similar project, to connect Madrid and Lisbon by water-carriage, had been formed under Charles the Second; but the Council of Castille, after full deliberation, answered that if God had chosen to make these rivers navigable, he could have done so without the aid of man, and that

therefore such a project would be a daring violation of the divine decrees, and an impious attempt to improve the works of Providence! (Letters by the Rev. E. Clarke, 1763, p. 284.) The smallness of the Manzanares, which is almost dry in summer, has been a frequent subject of jest among the Spaniards themselves. That quaint old poet Gongora, however, allows it the rank of Viscount among rivers:—

“Manzanares, Manzanares,
“Os que en todo el aguatismo,
“Es el Duque de Arroyos,
“Y Visconde de los Rios!”

(4) Boyer’s Polit. State, 1718, vol. ii. p. 167.

A traveller at this time might have seen a stately palace arising in the romantic wilds of Guadarrama (1), and new ornaments embellish the delicious island-garden of Aranjuez (2). Struck with these great works, and greater designs, Stanhope publicly observed, "If Spain goes on at this rate, and has the same success in the other establishments she has in view, there is no power will be able to resist her (3)!" The Spaniards on their part, roused by their own successes, might be pardoned for assuming a prouder tone, and displaying their high national spirit; they might speak more slightly than ever of all foreign nations, and forget at the moment that they had a Frenchman for their King, an Italian for their Minister, and a Fleming for their General!

From negotiations at Madrid, let us now turn to warfare in Sicily. The Piedmontese had become very unpopular in the island; many towns and districts rose in insurrection against them; and in one, Caltanissetta (4), forty of their soldiers were butchered by the savage peasantry. The only places that could offer any resistance were Syracuse, Trapani, Melazzo, and Messina; in the first of which Maffei, the Viceroy, had taken refuge; but it was against the latter that De Lede directed his arms, leaving only a small detachment to the westward for the blockade of Trapani. To march along the Sicilian coast is by no means an easy task, from the great number of FIUMARAS, which have never any bridges to cross them (5), and which, according to the season, display either swollen and impetuous torrents, or dry and rugged beds of huge stones. The Spanish infantry was, accordingly, transported to Messina by sea; while only the cavalry proceeded along the shore, its vanguard commanded by the Marquis de Villadarias, the old and gallant adversary of the English in the Bay of Cadiz, and on the field of Almenara.

The city of Messina gladly opened its gates to the invaders; but the citadel, which had a garrison of 2500 Piedmontese, required a regular siege; and trenches were opened against it on the 31st of July. Its safety was an object of the deepest solicitude to the Austrians in the kingdom of Naples, foreseeing that they themselves would infallibly be the next object of attack. Their Viceroy, Count Daun, was a brave and skilful officer; but the troops under his orders were few (6); and it is certain that, had he been left only to his German soldiers (the Neapolitan are scarcely worth reckoning),

(1) The palace of San Ildefonso, begun during Alberoni's administration, was completed in 1723. (San Philippe, Comment. vol. II. p. 303.)

(2) These gardens seem familiar to us, from Mr. Southey's beautiful description. (Penins. War. vol. IV. p. 60.) They have been embellished by almost every successive sovereign of Spain, since Charles V. Even in the sixteenth century the place was proverbial for its fountains, and the name is humorously applied by Cervantes to issues in the leg! (Don Quixote, part. 2. ch. 50. vol. VII. p. 28. ed. Paris. 1814.)

(3) This is a testimony to which Alberoni re-

ferred with pride after his fall. See his Apology, Hist. Register, 1722, p. 208.

(4) This is, I presume, the *Cantanieta* of San Philippe. The Spanish writers are often careless as to names. One of their strangest blunders relates to Syracuse, which, from a resemblance of sounds, they sometimes confound with the capital of Aragon, and call *Zaragoza de Sicilia*.

(5) There is a proverbial saying in Sicily, that the island contains only *un monte, un fonte, e un ponte*; meaning Etna, Arethusa, and a bridge over the Salso near Alicata. (Capt. Smyth's Sicily, p. 199.)

(6) According to St. Simon there were only 6000

he would, so far from assisting Maffei, have speedily shared his fate.

But the mighty arm of England was already outstretched for his succour. On the very day after the investment of Messina, the fleet of Sir George Byng anchored in the Bay of Naples. The possibility of an attack upon Sicily had not been overlooked in the Admiral's instructions; he was directed, in that case, "with all his power to hinder and obstruct the same; and he, therefore, immediately landed, to concert measures with Count Daun. He was informed that the last letters from Vienna gave hopes of the King of Sicily's speedy accession to the Quadruple Alliance, his Majesty having already requested the aid of the Imperial troops, and consented to admit them into the Sicilian fortresses. Under these circumstances, it was resolved that Daun should despatch, and Byng convoy, a detachment of 2000 German infantry to the garrison of Messina. These men being embarked in *TARTANAS*, the Admiral bore away for the straits of the Faro; but still hoping to prevent hostilities, he sent his first captain to the Marquis de Lede with a conciliatory letter, proposing a suspension of arms for two months. This overture being civilly declined, he put the Germans, for safety, into Reggio, and sailed through the Faro in search of the Spanish fleet.

The Spanish Admirals, meanwhile, were benumbed by that indecision which, in military matters, is perhaps still more pernicious than error. Castañeta does not appear to have been guided by any positive orders from his Government; but was directed, in all difficulties, to apply to Patiño, the *INTENDENTE*, as he was called, of the whole expedition, who, having been eighteen years a Jesuit, may be presumed to have had somewhat less of naval than of religious or political knowledge. From fear of responsibility, or ignorance of details, Patiño gave only a very vague answer, amounting to little more than that the Spanish fleet should provide for its safety. A council of officers, convened thereupon, and comprising, besides Castañeta, the Rear-Admirals Mari, Chacon, and Cammock, could scarcely be said to deliberate; it only wavered. Much loose conversation passed; no useful resolution was taken. The only sensible scheme was that of Cammock, an Irishman in the Pretender's interest and the Spaniards' service, who proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Messina, ranging their ships in line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea, by which means they might not only have been supported by the batteries and troops on shore, but, from the variety and force of the currents, would have rendered a regular attack upon them extremely difficult, if not impracticable (1). This proposal being over-ruled, the Admirals put out to sea, without any fixed deter-

foot and 1800 horse in the kingdom. (*Mém.* vol. xvi. p. 279. ed. 1829.) Tindal speaks of eight or twelve thousand. (*Hist.* vol. vii. p. 214.) Considering how long a Spanish invasion of Naples

had been expected by the Emperor, even the highest of these numbers appears incredibly small.

(1) The station of the Spanish fleet was at a beautiful bay called *Il Paradiso*, about two miles

mination either to fight or to retreat; but continued lingering and hovering, first off Cape Spartivento, and then off Cape Passaro, until in the morning of the 11th of August they saw Byng and his squadron close upon them. The British fleet was superior in force as well as in discipline; for, though the Spaniards had most ships, several of these were only brigs or armed merchantmen, whilst none of the British vessels carried less than fifty guns (1). On the approach of the English, Mari and six men-of-war, which were separated from the main fleet of the Spaniards, drew nearer to the Sicilian coast; and Byng despatched a division, under Captain Walton, to intercept them. There seems little doubt that the English Admiral would not have shrunk from the responsibility of the first attack; but the firing, in fact, was begun by Mari's ships, and, being returned by the English, there ensued a general engagement (2). A slight breeze, which sprung up, carried the English fleet into the very midst of the Spanish, and mingled the ships of both nations together. The Spaniards, without order and concert, and vessel after vessel, attacked in succession by a superior force, found even the highest courage, the most stubborn resistance, unavailing. Castañeta himself, as bold in action as irrelative in council, endeavoured to cheer his seamen by the most determined bravery; and even when wounded in both legs, this Spanish Widdrington still continued to fight upon his stumps. But both his efforts and his example were in vain. Even had the English been fewer, I may be pardoned for believing that they would still have been victorious. Castañeta was made prisoner, and the greater part of his fleet either taken or destroyed. Admiral Cammock alone, with ten ships of war, forced his way from the battle, and found shelter in the port of La Valetta. In an opposite direction Mari had also made his escape with some ships of the line; but Captain Walton, being sent in pursuit, compelled them to surrender. Walton's report, on this occasion, is remarkable for simplicity, the usual attendant and the surest recommendation of merit. It was merely, "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast: the number as per margin." A naval writer well observes, that the ships which Captain Walton thrust into his margin would have furnished matter for some pages in a French relation (3).

north of Messina. About a century after the action it was viewed by a very experienced and intelligent naval officer (Capt. Smyth), who observes, that, "had the fleet remained at anchor there (as Cammock proposed), it would have been very difficult to annoy it." (Sicily and its Islands, p. 112.) Among the Stuart Papers I have found "his Majesty's private instructions to Admiral George Cammock."

(1) The total number of guns in the English fleet was 1400, in the Spanish 1284; and two vessels included in the latter list were not in the action, having been sent to Malta under Admiral Guevara.

(Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. iv. p. 427. and 438.)

(2) That the Spaniards began the action is always urged in the English State Papers of this period, and is distinctly admitted by San Phelipe (Comment. vol. ii. p. 195.). The Spanish historian is somewhat testy at this battle. He observes, that the English are superior seamen to the Spaniards, because they study nothing else (porque estos no tienen otro oficio), but that the Spanish courage is far higher (imponderable valor, mas que los ingleses!) (p. 191. and 198.).

(3) Campbell's Admirals, vol. iv. p. 428.

The loss of the English in the action of Passaro was not considerable; only one ship, the *Grafton*, suffered severely. To have thus annihilated the Spanish armada might be thought something more than merely a declaration of war; yet Byng affected not to consider it as such, and sent a complimentary letter to De Lede, urging that the Spaniards had begun the battle, and that they ought not to look upon this accident as a rupture between the two nations. This compliment, it may well be supposed, was very coldly received by men still smarting under the loss and shame of their defeat. Nor did it deaden their zeal for the reduction of Messina; on the contrary, they pushed their attacks with so much vigour, that, in spite of the efforts of the Austrian troops at Reggio, and the activity of the British fleet in the straits, the place surrendered at the close of September; and Byng thereupon sailed back with his squadron to Naples.

The conduct of the English Admiral in fighting the Spanish fleet was entirely approved by the English ministry. It is remarkable that Stanhope, who had left Spain before any news of the action had arrived (1), writes to Byng from Bayonne on the 2d of September, recommending the very course which the Admiral had already taken: "Nothing has passed at Madrid which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have..... If you should have an opportunity of attacking the Spanish fleet, I am persuaded you will not let such an occasion slip; and I agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary Craggs, that the first blow you give should, if possible, be decisive. The two great objects which I think we ought to have in view are, to destroy their fleet if possible, and to preserve such a footing in Sicily as may enable us to land an army there." The manner in which the Admiral had anticipated these directions was much praised; even the Spaniards acknowledged his high personal merit; and, on his return from his command, this brave and skilful officer was deservedly raised to the rank of Viscount Torrington.

The high-flown hopes which Alberoni had cherished of the Spanish armament may give us some idea of his burst of rage at its defeat. He wrote to the Marquis de Monteleon in most vehement terms, loudly complaining of breach of faith, and commanding that minister to depart immediately from England. His letter and the ambassador's to Mr. Craggs, were also, by his direction, made public in London, with the view of raising a national ferment against the ministry. But the indignation of Alberoni was not

(1) Coxe conjectures that "before Earl Stanhope quitted the capital, some intelligence of the discomfiture of the fleet probably reached Alberoni." (*House of Bourbon*, vol. ii. p. 330.) But this is certainly an error. The action was fought on the 11th, Lord Stanhope set out on the 26th; and on examining, the dates at which

other tidings of the Sicilian army reached Madrid, it will be found that they never came in so short a time. Nor could a vessel be speedily despatched from a fleet just defeated and dispersed. Nor is Coxe's supposition to be reconciled with Alberoni's burst of indignation at the first public announcement of the battle.

confined to words; he gave orders, in direct violation of the Treaty of Commerce, to seize the British goods and vessels in the Spanish ports, and to dismiss the British Consuls from the Spanish territory. Numerous privateers also were fitted out and sent forth against the British traders. Yet it is remarkable that, in spite of these mutual injuries, the breach was not yet considered complete and decisive, and that a declaration of war from England was still withheld.

We are also assured that an edict was published at Madrid by beat of drum, prohibiting all persons from speaking of the disaster of the fleet; an order which, as it seems suited only for the meridian of Tunis or Algiers, I should have thought utterly incredible in Spain, were it not recorded by most unimpeachable authority (1).

Alberoni himself, irritated and not dismayed by his reverses, haughtily persevered in his domestic preparations and foreign cabals; and I shall now proceed to relate the issue of his manifold schemes in Holland, Piedmont, Sweden, France, and England.

The commercial jealousy of the Dutch, and their natural slowness, were turned to the best advantage by the Marquis Beretti Landi, the Spanish ambassador. He had, however, an able antagonist in the minister from England, Earl Cadogan, whose great influence with the States rested not merely on his talents and services, but also on his known intimacy with the Duke of Marlborough, and on his marriage with a Dutch lady of powerful connections. Neither of these distinguished rivals altogether prevailed. Cadogan, indeed, obtained the accession of Holland to the Quadruple Alliance; but Landi delayed it for several months, and until the cause of Spain had been struck by further disasters.

At the Court of Turin there was no such opportunity for hesitation: the difficulties of Victor Amadeus were pressing and immediate. He found his kingdom of Sicily at the same time claimed by Charles and attacked by Philip. No succour, no hope appeared for him in any quarter; on the one side stood the Quadruple Allies, presenting the treaty and demanding his signature, and on the other side there gleamed 30,000 Spanish bayonets against him. Even after the expedition to Sicily, Alberoni had not altogether lost his hope of cajoling Victor Amadeus: he represented the conquest of the island as only a precautionary measure to prevent its transfer from its rightful owner, and expressed an ardent zeal for the preservation of the Peace of Utrecht. But the artifice was too gross, and easily seen through (2). The King of Sicily determined, that if he must lose his island, he would at least incline to that power

(1) "On publie au son du tambour une défense de parler du désastre de la flotte." (Duc de St. Aignan to the Regent, Sept. 17. 1718. *Mém. de Noailles*, vol. v. p. 96.)

(2) "Esta carta (del Cardinal) en la realidad era absolutamente inútil, y no debiera haber Alberoni perdido tiempo en ella." (Ortiz Compendio, vol. vii. p. 336.)

which offered a positive, though insufficient, compensation for it; he therefore broke off all intercourse with Spain, acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, and consented to give over to Imperial troops the remaining fortresses of Syracuse, Melazzo, and Trapani. His regal title of Sicily was soon after exchanged for that of Sardinia, still held by his descendants; and this was perhaps the only negotiation which the House of Savoy had ever yet carried on without extracting from it some advantage.

In Sweden and Russia, the schemes of Alberoni seemed at first more hopeful; and, according to his own expression there was reason to expect that the northern clouds would break in thunder and hail-storms (1). A negotiation between Charles the Twelfth and the Czar had been opened in the Isle of Aland, under the mediation of a Swedish agent; and the Duke of Ormond had hastened to Russia as plenipotentiary of the Pretender (2). It was agreed that Peter should retain Livonia, Ingria, and other Swedish territories to the southward of Finland; that Charles should undertake the conquest of Norway and the recovery of Bremen and Verden, and that both monarchs should combine for the restoration of Stanislaus in Poland, and of the Stuarts in Great Britain. The latter point was foremost in the wishes of Gortz, who had planned and forwarded the whole design—who enjoyed more than ever the confidence of his master—and who had left his Dutch captivity, stung with disappointment at his failure, and burning with revenge against King George and King George's ministers. So active and embittered an enemy was the very man to raise and direct the tempest against England. The tempest was raised; but it burst upon his own head. Charles, pursuing his plans and impatient of delay, led an army into Norway, notwithstanding the severity of winter; and on the 11th of December, with the snow and ice deep around him, he was pressing the siege of the frontier fortress of Frederickshall, when a musket ball from an unknown hand laid him lifeless on the frozen ground. He had begun to reign and (what in him was synonymous) to fight in his eighteenth year; he died in his thirty-sixth; and, during that period, he had been the tyrant and scourge of that nation by whom his memory is now adored! Such is the halo with which glory is invested by posterity! But very different was the feeling at the time of Charles's fall; and a total change of system was so universally demanded as to be easily effected. His sister Ulrica was proclaimed his successor by the Senate; but the form of the monarchy was altered from the most despotic to the most limited in Europe. All his ministers were dismissed, all his projects abandoned: his chief favourite, Gortz, gratified the public resentment by an ignominious death

(1) St. Simon, vol. xv. p. 308. ed. 1829.

(2) Amongst the Stuart Papers is the original and signed by Peter the Great. Ormond travelled under the name of Brunet.

passport given to Ormond in Russian and Latin.

upon the scaffold; and the intended league, which had threatened the throne of England, vanished as speedily and as utterly as one of those thunder-clouds to which Alberoni had compared it.

I have already had occasion to notice the projects of Alberoni in France, and the party with which he was connected in that country. Its head was nominally the Duke, but in truth the Duchess du Maine; the former being of a timorous and feeble mind, and the latter abounding in courage and in cabals. She was granddaughter to the famous Condé, and was assured by all her dependants, especially her husband, that she inherited the spirit of that great man, although in truth her character had more of passion than prudence, and more of prudence, than dexterity. A single fact from her domestic life will give an idea of her violence; she could not bear the least suspense of hunger, or restraint of regular meals, and had always in her apartment a table with cold meats, of which she partook at any instant that the fancy struck her. This bold virago had opened a secret concert of measures with the Prince of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, and used to drive to nightly conferences at his house in a borrowed carriage, with Count Laval acting as coachman. It does not appear that any great number of persons were fully initiated into their schemes (1); but it is certain, that though the conspirators were few the malecontents were many. The conclusion of the Quadruple Alliance had provoked great murmurs, there being opposed to it the judgment of the most able statesmen, and, what is far more formidable, the prejudices of the multitude. Marshal d'Huxelles had repeatedly refused to sign that treaty, and only yielded, at length, to the positive commands of the Regent; Marshal Villars presented a strong memorial against what he termed the unnatural alliance of France with England; and, in one word, all the adherents of the old Court loudly inveighed against the altered system of the new. Even the wife of the Regent, a sister of the Duke du Maine, was more mindful of her ties by blood than by marriage. The States of Brittany complained of provincial oppression, the Jesuits sighed for a return, and the Parliament of Paris for an augmentation of power; and all with one voice reprobated, as they most justly might, the personal profligacy and boundless influence of Dubois. Nothing could be more various than the views of all these parties and persons, some eager to destroy, others only to restore or to improve; but the skill of Alberoni knew how to combine them for one common movement; and it is precisely by such junctions of dissembling knaves and honest dupes that nearly all revolutions are effected. The project was to seize the Duke of Orleans in one

(1) "Messrs. de Laval et de Pompadour avançaient comme certain tout ce qui leur passait par la tête, promettant l'entremise et l'appui de quantité de gens entièrement ignorans de leurs desseins, que sur de vaines conjectures ils ju-

geaient propres à y entrer." (Mém. de Madame de Staal, vol. ii. p. 6.) She was then Mademoiselle de Launay; first a maid and afterwards a companion and confidant of the Duchess du Maine. Her reflections are shrewd and sarcastic.

of his parties of pleasure near Paris, to convoke the States-General, to proclaim the King of Spain, as next in blood, the rightful Regent, and the Duke du Maine his deputy. Already had the eloquent pen of Cardinal Polignac been employed in appropriate addresses, which were kept in readiness, to the King, to the States, and to the Parliaments; and already had armed bands, under the semblance of FAUX SAUNIERS, or salt smugglers, been directed to gather on the Somme.

The first intelligence to the Regent that some such plot was brewing came from the Cabinet of St. James's, and a warning was also given by the French embassy at Madrid. The Government, however, judiciously refrained from showing any symptom of alarm; thus lulling the conspirators into such security and remissness, as to neglect the use of cipher and other precautions for secrecy. It only remained for Cellamare to transmit to Madrid an account of his proceedings, with copies of the manifestoes already mentioned, and to take the last orders of Alberoni upon the subject. There was then at Paris a young Spanish abbé, Don Vicente Portocarrero, a kinsman of the celebrated Cardinal; and it was he whom Cellamare determined, at the beginning of December, to send with these important papers, thinking that his youth would be a security against suspicion, and his rank against arrest; and for similar reasons he adjoined to him a son of the Marquis de Monteleon. But these things had not escaped the watchful eye of Dubois. How they came to his knowledge is doubtful; on this point St. Simon professes ignorance, and Voltaire shows it (1). Be this as it may, Dubois gave orders to pursue the travellers, and Portocarrero was overtaken at Poitiers, himself arrested, and his papers seized. These papers, forwarded to Paris, were found to afford a clue to some discoveries, and a confirmation of others; and Dubois, making a great merit of his vigilance, and keeping the affair as much as possible in his own hands, laid them before the Regent. It was determined to adopt the same treatment towards Cellamare as, under precisely similar circumstances, Gyllenborg had received in London; and his person was accordingly put under arrest, and his papers examined; but the ambassador had already had time to conceal or destroy the most private.

To seize the persons of the Duke and Duchess du Maine seemed of still more importance, and perhaps of greater difficulty in case of popular ferment and tumult. The Regent determined that,

(1) "Une entremetteuse distinguée fournissait des filles à ce jeune homme. Elle avait long-temps servi l'Abbé Dubois, alors Secrétaire d'État. Elle fit agir une fille fort adroite qui vola des papiers importants, avec quelques billets de banque, dans les poches de l'Abbé Portocarrero. . . . L'Abbé ayant vu ses papiers, disparaitre, et ne retrouvant plus la fille, partit sur-le-champ pour l'Espagne; on courut après

"lui," etc. (Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*) This story, however, is certainly false, at least in its details, it being quite evident from the original documents that Portocarrero had no suspicion of discovery or pursuit until he reached Poitiers. A similar anecdote, perhaps with more foundation, is told by Madame de Staël of the Secretary of Cellamare, but she does not name him. (*Mém.* vol. ii, p. 24.)

immediately on their arrest, they should be conveyed from the neighbourhood of Paris; the Duke to Doullens, in Picardy, and the Duchess to the castle of Dijon. Not the slightest resistance was experienced in the execution of these orders: the husband was arrested at Sceaux, the wife in the Rue St. Honoré, and they were removed to their several destinations, each with equal safety, but by no means with equal submission. During the journey, the Duke, pale and terror-stricken, was seen to mutter prayers and cross himself whenever he passed a church; but did not venture to ask many questions, or to make a single complaint; and, for fear of giving offence, did not even mention the Duchess or his children. The Duchess, on the contrary, having for many years at Sceaux amused herself with acting plays, assumed the deportment of a tragic heroine, poured forth torrents of furious reproaches, not the less sincere though often contradictory, and seemed to find great consolation and relief in abusing the officer who guarded her (1).

Besides the Duke and Duchess du Maine, Cardinal Polignac, M. de Pompadour, and several others, were either exiled or arrested; and the conspiracy was effectually crushed by the dispersion of its chiefs. Cellamare was escorted to the frontiers of Spain. A circular, addressed to the Foreign Ministers at Paris, explained the causes which had led to the strong but necessary measure of seizing one of their number; and in confirmation of this statement, were also published two of the letters from Cellamare, which Portocarrero had been conveying (2).

Before the news of this disappointment reached Madrid a total rupture had already taken place between Alberoni and the Duke de St. Aignan, French ambassador (3). The latter, disgusted at his fruitless remonstrances, and bound by positive instructions, had requested his audience of leave; but this, under various pretexts, was eluded by the Cardinal, who expected the speedy explosion of the conspiracy in France, and who wished, in the event of its failure, to retain the French ambassador as a hostage for Cellamare. Under these circumstances, St. Aignan, set out from Madrid without notice, and Alberoni, much irritated, gave orders to have him pursued and arrested. But the Frenchman, knowing the person with whom he had to deal, and expecting none such order, left his carriage near Pamplona, with a servant to personate him, and crossed the mountains on a mule to St. Jean Pied du Port. The precaution was well timed, for the servant was arrested, and for some time detained as the ambassador.

(1) St. Simon, *Mém.* vol. xvii. p. 250. and 270. ed. 1829.

(2) See these letters in their original Italian in Boyer's *Political State*, 1718, vol. ii. p. 509—518.

(3) "Saint-Aignan était trop jeune, trop timide, et surtout trop pauvre pour balancer un homme

"comme Alberoni. On ne doit pas attendre de
"vigilance utile d'un ambassadeur qui recourt
"aux expédients pour vivre; or, ce seigneur était
"souvent réduit à engager son argenterie, ainsi
"qu'il l'avoue dans ses lettres au Marquis de Lou-
"ville." (*Mém. de Louville*, vol. ii. p. 189.)

Meanwhile Alberoni, aware that this violent measure must lead to retaliation in France, wrote to Cellamare, directing him, in case he should be obliged to leave the country, "first to set fire to all the "mines." But this letter arriving after Cellamare's detention, was intercepted by the French Government, and would have rendered it far more difficult for Alberoni, had he even wished it, to disavow his agent and his acts. The Cardinal, however, entertained no such intention. On the contrary, when he learnt the miscarriage of his hopeful schemes, he induced his Royal master to issue, on the 25th of December, a manifesto, avowing and justifying his measures, assailing the government of the Duke of Orleans, and appealing to the French nation against it.

After such provocation it was impossible for the Regent any longer to withhold a declaration of war against Spain. The English Cabinet had for some time been urging him to this measure, and delaying its own, with a view to his accession. Both declarations were published at nearly the same time, the English on the 17th of December, O. S., and the French on the 9th of January, N. S.

At this period the Parliament was sitting, it having met on the 11th of November. The addresses in answer to the King's speech, moved in the Upper House by Lord Carteret, and in the Lower by Lord Hinchinbroke, produced a warm debate on Spanish affairs. Lord Stanhope, in answer to Lord Strafford, gave an account of his late negotiations and journeys, stating that it was high time for Great Britain to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of British subjects, who had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards—that he thought it an honour to have been amongst those who advised Sir George Byng's instructions—and that he was ready to answer for them with his head. On a division the Lords' address was carried by 83 against 50. In the Commons Walpole declared against the Quadruple Alliance with a vehemence which shortly afterwards proved a little embarrassing to him, when in scarcely more than a year he became a steady supporter of that very system. He observed that the late measures were contrary to the laws of nations, and a breach of solemn treaties, and that the giving sanction to them in the manner proposed could have no other view than to screen Ministers, who were conscious of having done something amiss, and who, having begun a war against Spain, would now make it the Parliament's war. Shippen and Wyndham supported Walpole, but Secretary Craggs replied to him with great spirit; and on putting the question, the Ministers had 216 votes, and the Opposition 155. Subsequently, on the King's declaration of war, there was in the Commons an equally vehement debate, but a still more decisive division. Nor does it appear that the war caused any dissatisfaction in the nation at large: on the contrary, the vast preparations

of Spain had excited uneasiness, and their attacks on our trade, indignation; the victory of Byng was highly celebrated, and the opposition of Walpole found but few supporters amongst the friends of the Hanover succession. Besides, with the multitude there are two things which are almost always very popular at the beginning—the first is a war, and the second a peace.

The great measure of this session was the Act for the relief of Protestant Dissenters. By the passing of the Bill against Occasional Conformity in 1711, and of the Schism Bill in 1714, they had been reduced to a state of great humiliation and depression, and they found the enmity of the Tories more steady than the friendship of the Whigs. Stanhope, however, had earnestly espoused their cause, and, ever since he came into power, had sought to frame and carry through some measure in their behalf. He wished to repeal not merely the Bill against Occasional Conformity and the Schism Bill, but also the Test Act, thus placing the Dissenters on the footing of perfect political equality. Nor were the views of Stanhope confined to Protestants; he had also formed the plan of repealing, or at least of very greatly mitigating, the penal laws in force against the Roman Catholics; and there will be found in the Appendix a paper which he wrote to be put into the hands of some leading men of that persuasion, containing some conditions with the Pope, and some clauses of an oath for themselves, as terms of the proposed indulgence. The first negotiations failed (1); and Stanhope's life was too short to carry that design any farther; nor do I think that he or any other man, at that period, would have been able to effect it against the general tide of public feeling; but still the scheme seems not undeserving of attention, as the earliest germ of Roman Catholic Emancipation.

Several conferences passed between Stanhope and some of the principal of the Protestant Non-conformists, and they found Sunderland as friendly in his views, though not so sanguine in his hopes. He seems to have estimated more justly than Stanhope the formidable obstacles in the way of the proposed concessions; the resistance not merely of the Tories and High Churchmen, but perhaps of the Whigs in opposition, notwithstanding all their previous pledges. "It would be difficult enough," said Sunderland, "to repeal the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts, but any attack upon the Test Act also would ruin all." Stanhope, after some opposition yielded to these views, and joined Sunderland in advising the Dis-

(1) Craggs writes to Stanhope, June 30. 1719. "Dr. Strickland thought that the paper was digested in the properest form to be shown to the Roman Catholics, and, at his request and persuasion, I carried a copy of that paper, not signed, to a meeting where the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Waldegrave, and Mr. Charles Howard assisted. . . . I found the two noblemen inclinable to come into the proposal therein made." The negotiation was, however, broken off. Craggs

says in another letter, of July 24., "I understand since, that these folks have been misled by the Prince's people, who have given them mighty assurances that they would destroy the present Ministry with the King, and so discouraged them from engaging themselves in a falling house. There is good reason to believe that this is all owing to Mr. Pulteney." These letters are in the Hardwicke Papers, vol. cxxx.

senters to forego for the present a part of their pretensions. The Ministers promised that the repeal of the Test Act should be proposed at a future and more favourable opportunity; and the King himself, who had taken a much warmer interest in this than in most English questions, spoke in the same sense to Lord Barrington, one of the dissenting body: the Dissenters acquiesced, and it was determined that only some few of the less important clauses of the Test Act should be comprised in the measure of relief.

With this compromise, Lord Stanhope brought forward his measure in the Lords on the 13th of December, under the specious name of an Act for strengthening the Protestant interest. He endeavoured to show the reason and advantage of restoring Dissenters to their natural rights, and of easing them from these stigmatising and oppressive laws, which, he said, had been made in turbulent times, and obtained by indirect methods; and he argued, that by the union of all true Protestants, the Church of England would still be the head of all the Protestant churches, and the Archbishop of Canterbury become the patriarch of all the Protestant clergy. Lords Sunderland and Stamford made some observations (of these we have no record) in support of the motion. But a powerful combination immediately appeared against it. The Duke of Devonshire first complained that the House was taken by surprise, and that it was irregular to bring in a bill of so great consequence without previous notice, forgetting, until Stanhope reminded him, that he himself had pursued that very course two years before, in bringing forward a still more important measure, the Septennial Act. The Earl of Nottingham observed, with a sneer, that the Church of England was certainly the happiest church in the world, since even the greatest contradictions—two acts made for her security, and the repeal of those very acts—were all said to contribute to her support. Earl Cowper declared himself favourable to the repeal of the Schism Act, but apprehensive for the security of the Test and Corporation Acts, “because he looked upon those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state, and therefore would have them inviolably preserved and untouched.” The Earl of Isla said that he considered the measure a violation of the Treaty of Union with Scotland.

The discussion being postponed till the 18th, was on that day almost entirely confined to the Right Reverend Bench. Both the Archbishops (Doctors Wake and Dawes) declared against the measure; his Grace of Canterbury observing, that “the scandalous practice of occasional conformity was condemned by the soberest part of the Dissenters themselves; and that he could not forbear saying that some amongst them made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence that was shown them upon the Revolution, though they had the least share in that happy event.” He also

derived an argument against the measure from the lenity of the Government; urging that since the Schism Act had never been enforced, and was, in fact, a dead letter, it seemed needless to make a law to repeal it. Several other prelates took the same course. On the other hand, the bill was strongly defended by Bishops Hoadley, Willis, Gibson, and Kennett (1). The latter, however, hurried away by his zeal, was betrayed into some very unseemly remarks on the clergy in Charles the First's reign, who, he "said, had promoted arbitrary measures and persecutions, until "they first brought scandal and contempt upon the clergy, and "at last ruin both upon church and state"—a reflection, which, as Lord Lansdowne smartly observed in his reply, would have much better become a descendant of Bradshaw than a successor of Laud!

The debate was continued on the following day, and was concluded by a division of 86 for the bill and 68 against it—so large a minority that the Ministers felt themselves compelled, in Committee, to comply with Cowper's amendments, and to strike out the clauses referring to the Test and Corporation Acts. With this mutilation the bill was sent down to the Commons. A sharp debate ensued on the 7th of January, and in the list of those
 1719. who spoke, we find the name of almost every man of any political note in the House; but even the meagre and scanty records which are usually given of speeches at this period fail us here, the gallery having been on that day closed against strangers. We only know that Walpole and his friends warmly opposed the bill, that some personal altercation arose between him and Lechmere, and that on a division there appeared 243 Ayes to 202 Noes. It was observed that even this small majority was gained chiefly by the Scotch members, for of 37 that were in the House, 34 voted for the Bill. It passed, however, without much further debate, and without any change.

When we consider the powerful combination, by which this bill was opposed, and the narrow majority by which it was carried in both Houses, we can hardly doubt that Sunderland judged rightly in his wish to exclude the Test Act from its provisions, and that had Stanhope's vehemence prevailed, the whole measure would have miscarried. But the "more favourable opportunity" promised the Dissenters for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts never came. Those Acts remained on the Statute book one hundred and nine years more, but remained only like rusty weapons hung in an armoury, trophies of past power, not instruments of further aggression or defence. An indemnity Bill, passed every year from the first of George the Second (there were some, but very few ex-

(1) Bishop Kennett was rather less indulgent to Roman Catholics. In his MS. Diary he appears much displeas'd with Swift, whom he heard "in-

structing a young nobleman that the best poet "in England was Mr. Pope—a papist!" (See Swift's Works, vol. xvi. p. 100.)

ceptions (1)) threw open the gates of all offices to Protestant Dissenters as fully as if the law had been repealed; and if they still wished its repeal, it was because they thought it an insult, not because they felt it an injury.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of April. In his Majesty's speech allusion was made to his design of passing the summer in his German dominions, and he accordingly set out for them a few weeks afterwards. Stanhope, though appointed one of the Lords Justices, was the minister who attended the King abroad. The Duchess of Kendal also, as usual, accompanied his Majesty. No mention was made in the Regency of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who thereupon indignantly retired into the country. Nor were they deputed to hold levees during the King's absence, that duty, to the great scandal of the public, and further divulgement of family discord, being assigned to the young Princesses.

CHAPTER X.

In England, as in France, the hopes of Alberoni rested more on internal factions, than on foreign arms. He knew the numbers and influence of the English Jacobites; he heard the clamours of the opposition against the Spanish war, and he trusted that the party which so eagerly echoed his manifestoes in the House of Commons would be as ready to support him in his schemes against the reigning family. But in this he was certainly quite deceived. Most statesmen bred in despotic monarchies utterly mistake the nature of our Parliamentary warfare, and cannot distinguish between the loyal subject who declaims against a minister, and the traitor who plots against the throne. Flushed with vain hopes, and finding the prospect of the Swedish invasion closed by the death of Charles the Twelfth, Alberoni resolved to assist the Pretender with an expedition of his own. Accordingly, he gave directions for equipping a formidable armament at Cadiz, and offered its command to the Duke of Ormond, the same general who some years before had led an English expedition against Spain, who had attempted Cadiz, and stormed Vigo! But such are only the common vicissitudes of exiles; they are used as tools by those who once felt them as foes. The Pretender himself was also invited to Spain, not indeed to head the vanguard of the invading army, but

(1) See Mr. Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, Baudry's edit. vol. iii. p. 182.

to be able to join it speedily, in the event of its safe landing and prosperous progress.

Since the influence of France had compelled him to cross the Pyrenees, James had resided sometimes at Urbino and sometimes at Rome. He had lately, to the great joy of his party, contracted a marriage with Princess Clementina, the grand-daughter of John Sobieski, late King of Poland, and she was on her way to join her betrothed husband, when she was arrested and detained at Inspruck, in the Imperial territories : a favour of the Emperor to the English Government unworthy of them to solicit, and base in him to grant. The memory of John Sobieski, the heroic deliverer of Vienna, might have claimed more gratitude from the son of the Prince whom he had saved. The Chevalier did not hesitate to accept Alberoni's invitation to Spain ; but knowing the great power of the Imperialists in Italy, and seeing by the affair at Inspruck how readily that power would be exerted against him, especially while a British fleet rode victorious in the Mediterranean, he thought stratagem requisite to effect his design. He pretended to set out to the northward with the Earls of Mar and Perth, and in reality despatched those noblemen and a part of his suite, who, as he expected, were arrested at Voghera, he being supposed to be amongst them. They were conveyed to the castle of Milan, and some time elapsed before the mistake was discovered and the prisoners were released. The news that the Pretender was taken had meanwhile spread abroad, and Lord Stair had written it in triumph to the Ministers in London. Under the cover of this report, James secretly embarked at the little port of Nettuno ; and after touching at Cagliari, landed at Rosas in the beginning of March, 1719. There being then no further object in mystery, he was received at Madrid, not only publicly, but Royally ; his residence was appointed in the palace of Buen Retiro, and visits were paid to him as to the King of England by Philip and his Queen. The magnificence of his entry and public reception is extolled by Spanish writers. But I may observe in passing, that the ancient splendour of the Court of Madrid had long since faded away, during the melancholy reigns of the last Austrian Princes, and that the subsequent accounts of it which the Spaniards are still inclined to utter and we to receive are often indebted to fancy for their brilliant colouring. Never, for example, was there an occasion when splendour would have been more natural and becoming—when it better accorded with the popular feeling, or had been ushered in by longer preparation—than the first public entry of Philip himself in February, 1701, four months after the death of Charles the Second ; yet never was there a pageant more mean and unsightly. For when we discard the national exaggerations, and look to the impartial testimony of an Englishman, who happened to be present, we find that “ his Majesty entered in a filthy old coach of the late

“ King, without guards; his better sort of attendants, some on horseback and some in coaches, at half an hour’s distance from one another; and divers of the inferior sort attending the baggage, in so very ragged clothes as exposed them extremely to the scorn of the Spaniards.” At the same time order was so ill preserved, that “ no less than forty men, women, and children, were trod under foot and killed outright, and above one hundred are now said to be languishing under their bruises, and dying daily (1).”

On James’s arrival at Madrid, the orders for sailing were despatched to the armament at Cadiz. It consisted of five men of war and about twenty transports, with 5000 soldiers, partly Irish, on board, and arms for 30,000 more. Several of the chief exiles of 1715 took part in this enterprise. Ormond himself was to embark when the fleet touched at Coruña, and to assume its command with the title of Captain-General of the King of Spain (2). He was provided with a proclamation to be published at his landing, in the name of Philip, declaring that his Majesty had determined to send part of his forces as auxiliaries to King James; that he hoped Providence would favour so just a cause; but that the fear of ill success should not hinder any person from declaring for it, since he promised a secure retreat in his dominions to all that should join him; and in case they were forced to leave their country, he engaged that every sea or land officer should have the same rank as he enjoyed in Great Britain, and the soldiers be received and treated like his own.

In England, meanwhile, the King and Ministers were still more active for their own defence. The Duke of Orleans, eager to requite a similar favour, had sent them timely warning of the intended expedition (3); and he offered them the aid of any number of his troops. These were declined; but six battalions were accepted, and came over from the Austrians in the Netherlands, and two thousand men from the States-General—a very doubtful policy, where the strength of the foreign succour was by no means such as to counterbalance the disgrace of employing it. The English troops were disposed to the best advantage, especially in the north and west. A squadron of our ships, under Sir John Norris, rode in the Channel. Both Houses assured the King of their support, and a proclamation was issued offering 10,000*l.* for the apprehension of Ormond on his landing (4).

(1) Mr. Jackson to Mr. Pepys, Feb. 24. 1701. Pepys’s Correspondence.

(2) Duke of Ormond to the Pretender, March 17. and 27. 1719. Stuart Papers.

(3) Letter of Abbé Dubois to Earl Stanhope, March 13. 1719. Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxviii. He gives all the details of the Chevalier’s embarkation at Nettuno, says that Cammock had gone to him at Rome *déguisé en matelot*, and that Ormond passed the Pyrenees *déguisé en valet*. He

offers as aid “ tout ce que nous pourrions faire pour la conservation de la France si elle étoit en danger.”

(4) There were two proclamations, one at Dublin and the other in London; the one offering 10,000*l.* and other 5000*l.* A strange distinction! (Boyer’s Polit. State, 1719. vol. i. p. 31. and 336.) The Duke’s house, in St. James’s Square, was about this time set up to auction by the Government; it was sold to a Mr. Hackett for 7500*l.*

But on this occasion it might be said of George, as once of Honorius (1), that winds and storms fought upon his side. Scarcely had the Spanish fleet lost sight of Cape Finisterre before it was assailed by a tremendous tempest. The surges of the Bay of Biscay, lashed into fury by a hurricane for twelve days, scattered all the ships from each other, and tossed them far and wide. In the extremity of danger most of the crews cast overboard the horses, the guns, the stands of arms, in order to lighten the vessels; others were dismasted or unrigged; and the same ports which had lately sent them forth strong and well appointed ships saw them return one by one as crippled wrecks. Against such disasters even the genius of Alberoni could not strive, and all further thoughts of the expedition were abandoned (2).

It was only a further aggravation of the calamity of this tempest to the Jacobites that two frigates escaped its violence and pursued their voyage to Scotland, since, thus unsupported, they could of course only bring ruin on those whom they conveyed and on those who welcomed them. On board were the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with some arms and about 300 Spanish soldiers. They landed on the 16th of April at Kintail in Ross-shire; and the frigates putting out again to sea, left them scarcely any alternative but to become either conquerors or captives. Their first object was concealment, in order to await the expected landing of Ormond in England; accordingly, they scarcely advanced beyond Kintail (3), and for some time the Government believed that they had re-embarked. A few hundred Highlanders joined them, either the devoted adherents of the exiled Lords, or the bold adventurers that always swarm in a lawless country, but there was no general gathering of the clans (4). During some weeks they appear to have remained unmolested; a strong proof of the unwillingness to give information, and of the thorough disaffection of that district to the existing government. At length some ships of war coming to that coast retook Donan Castle, of which the rebels had made themselves masters; and General, now Lord, Carpenter, who commanded in Scotland,

(1) The noble lines of Claudian are well known:—

“O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Eolus armatas hyemes, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!”

(De III. Cons Honor. v. 96.)

(2) Ormond himself had written to Alberoni from Coruña, (March 22. 1719, Stuart Papers,) requesting a delay, or in fact a relinquishment of the enterprise, as its design was already known to France and England. He could not, he says, be so imprudent as to propose to attack England with 5000 men, unless by surprise.

(3) According to San Phelipe, Lord Seaforth went on to Bracaam (Comment. vol. ii. p. 216.); meaning, probably, as has been suggested to me,

Brahan Castle, the chief seat of the Mackenzies. The names in San Phelipe are often strangely distorted. With him the Duke du Maine, for instance, becomes *Humena*; Lord Townshend, *Fouveskendem*; and Lord Cobham, *Chacon*.

(4) “A resolution had been universally taken “not to move in Scotland till England was fairly “engaged.” (Lockhart’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 22.) The Jacobites at Edinburgh were also on their guard against false rumours. An express came to them from Lord Stormont in Annandale, that Ormond’s fleet had been seen to pass that coast; “but I “gave it no credit,” says Lockhart, “when I “perceived his Lordship’s letter was dated at one “in the morning, about which time I knew he “was apt to credit any news that pleased him.”

directed some forces against them from Inverness. The officer employed in this service was General Wightman : he had with him about 1000 men, and found the insurgents above 2000 strong, occupying a strong position at Glenshiel. Making the best disposition of his scanty force, he began the attack on the evening of the 10th of June, the Pretender's birthday. The triumph of discipline over numbers was on this occasion easy and complete; the Highlanders did not venture to come to a close engagement, but were driven from rock to rock, until the summit of the hill, where they immediately dispersed. The loss of the King's troops scarcely exceeded 20 killed and 120 wounded. The Highlanders, swift of foot and familiar with the country, easily made their escape one by one to their homes; but the Spaniards, who had no such facilities, and who kept together as a body, were compelled to surrender at discretion. They were sent prisoners to Edinburgh, where the leading Jacobites vied with each other in showing civilities, and even advancing money to the officers (1). As for General Wightman, "I am taking a tour," he writes, "through all the difficult passes of Seaforth's country, to terrify the rebels by burning the houses of the guilty, and preserving those of the honest (2)." It may be doubted, however, whether this delicate operation would be performed with the nice discrimination it required, and whether hasty and exasperated soldiers were always the best possible judges of who had and who had not a leaning to the Jacobites.

The three leaders of this forlorn hope, Lords Tullibardine, Marischal, and Seaforth (the last of whom had been wounded in the action), succeeded in escaping a surrender, which, in their case, would have been the first step to the scaffold. They took shelter in the Western Isles, where they lurked till the ardour of pursuit had abated, and then embarked in disguise for Spain. The further fate of these eminent exiles was very various. Seaforth received the Royal pardon in 1726, and returned to Scotland, where he passed the remainder of his days (till 1740) in quiet retirement. Tullibardine survived to share the enterprise of Prince Charles in 1745, and to die next year of a broken heart in the Tower. The Earl Marischal, with his brother, James Keith, after various vicissitudes, entered the Prussian service; where the latter rose to the rank of Field Marshal, and to the friendship of Frederick, and closed his heroic life on the fatal field of Hochkirchen. On his part Lord Marischal was employed in civil affairs; went on missions into France and Spain; and in the evening of his life, when in need of repose, was appointed Governor of

(1) Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 23. "The great straits of the officers," he says, "appeared even in their looks, though their Spanish pride would not allow them to complain."

(2) General Wightman to Lord Carpenter, June 17. 1719. London Gazette.

the little state of Neuchatel. It was there that, in 1762, he became the patron and friend of Rousseau, who has drawn an interesting portrait of his honoured old age. "He used," says that eloquent writer, "to call me his child, and I called him my father. . . . When first I beheld this venerable man, my first feeling was to grieve over his sunk and wasted frame; but when I raised my eyes on his noble features, so full of fire, and so expressive of truth, I was struck with admiration. . . . My Lord Marischal, though a wise man, is not free from defects. With the most penetrating glance, with the nicest judgment, with the deepest knowledge of mankind, he yet is sometimes misled by prejudices, and can never be disabused of them. There is something strange and wayward in his turn of mind. He appears to forget the persons he sees every day, and remembers them at the moment when they least expect it; his attentions appear unseasonable, and his presents capricious. He gives or sends away on the spur of the moment whatever strikes his fancy, whether of value or whether a trifle. A young Genevese, who wished to enter the service of the King of Prussia, being one day introduced to him, my Lord gave him, instead of a letter, a small satchel full of peas, which he desired him to deliver to his Majesty. On receiving this singular recommendation, the King immediately granted a commission to the bearer. These high intellects have between them a secret language which common minds can never understand. Such little eccentricities, like the caprices of a pretty woman, rendered the society of my Lord Marischal only the more interesting, and never warped in his mind either the feelings or the duties of friendship (1)."

After the failure of Ormond's expedition, the Pretender could no longer forward the views of Spain; his presence at Madrid was only an additional bar to peace, and his entertainment an additional burden on the treasury. Alberoni, therefore, began to wish for his departure, and the Prince himself to be weary of his stay. A pretext alone was wanting on both sides, when news was brought that Princess Sobieski had contrived to make her escape from Inspruck, and to reach Bologna without further molestation. Her liberation was mainly contrived by Charles Wogan, who had been one of the prisoners of Preston, and who continued a most devoted partisan of the Stuart cause. Arriving at Inspruck under a false name, he obtained admittance for a female servant of one Mrs. Missat, into the convent where Clementina was confined, and proposed, without letting her fully into the secret, that she should change clothes with the Princess. But, at nearly the last moment, Jenny, the maid-servant, hearing Wogan and his companions name the word "Princess" to each other, became acquainted with the

(1) Rousseau, *Confessions*, livre xii. But I cannot swallow his peas.

real rank of the person concerned, and afraid of engaging any further in an affair of state. Many fair words and some pieces of gold were tried in vain to persuade her; but her female resolution melted away before the well-timed promise of a beautiful suit of brocade belonging to her mistress. Thus taking advantage of a storm of wind and hail, and, consequently, a dark night, the Princess assumed the disguise of Jenny, came out of the gate in her place, and set forth on the horses which Wogan kept ready, and notwithstanding bad roads, and worse weather, she never rested in her journey, till she had left the Austrian, and entered the Venetian territories (1). At these tidings, which afforded the desired pretext for departure, James immediately took leave of the Spanish Court, and returned to Italy, to solemnise his marriage.

Alberoni had hoped that a few of the shattered ships of Ormond's fleet might be speedily repaired and sent out; not, indeed, for their original destination, but for the smaller object of rousing and exciting the malecontents in Brittany. Partly, however, from necessary repairs, and partly from the dilatory disposition of Don Blas de Loya, the officer intrusted with this enterprise, the proper time for it slipped by, and the French Government was enabled to pour troops into the disaffected province, and to quell every hope of a rising (2).

Nor was the campaign on the Pyrenean frontier less adverse to the views of Alberoni. Early in April, the French had taken the field with more than 30,000 men; and though Villars had refused the command, it had been accepted by Berwick. It was strange to see the conqueror of Almanza warring against Philip the Fifth, and the father of the Duke of Liria in arms against his son; but it was known that his cold temper was seldom stirred by any personal partialities; and that his stern sense of duty never yielded either to error or temptation. On the other side, the Spaniards, the flower of whose forces was in Sicily, could muster only a few regiments of worn-out veterans or raw recruits.

Philip, nevertheless, determined to put himself at the head of those forces, deceived by the flattering representations of his agents, and trusting that, at his approach, the French soldiers would quit their ranks and hail as their chief the only surviving grandson of Louis the Fourteenth. He arrived at Pamplona, attended by the Queen, the Prince of Asturias, and the Prime Minister; and in pursuance of his hopes, prepared an address to the soldiers of Berwick, and assigned the very regiments in which those who

(1) *Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. ii. p. 212. ed. 1830. Wogan was knighted for this service by the Pope. He afterwards entered the Spanish service, and became a valued correspondent of Swift. (*Works*, vol. xvii. p. 438, etc.)

(2) "J'ai lu le procès de ceux qui furent exécutés à Nantes. Je me suis entretenu plusieurs

"fois avec quelques-uns des juges et de ceux qui furent effligés; je n'ai jamais vu de complot plus mal organisé. Plusleurs ne savaient pas exactement de quel il était question ou ne s'accordaient pas les uns avec les autres." Duclos, *Mém.* vol. ii. p. 39. ed. 1791.)

should come over were to be enrolled. Nay, so confident was he of the issue, that he had formed the design of advancing almost alone amongst the French troops, and claiming their allegiance as the rightful Regent. But Alberoni, afraid to endanger his Majesty's person in this romantic enterprise, opposed it by urgent remonstrances; and finding these received with less docility than usual, contrived to defeat it by a false order, and consequent delay of the Royal attendants.

The King's proclamation to the French soldiers was, however, published. But the instinct of military obedience is too strong to be broken, except on very rare occasions and by very extraordinary men. The French troops, so far from deserting, advanced rapidly from conquest to conquest; and Philip was reduced to remain an indignant spectator of reverses which he could neither hinder nor avenge. M. de Silly, who commanded the army before the coming of Berwick, passed the Bidassoa and reduced Port Passages, where he found six large men of war on the stocks nearly finished; and these, at the instigation of Colonel William Stanhope (he had been sent on a mission to the French army) were committed to the flames. The arsenal and magazines were also consumed, and the total loss of the Spaniards on this occasion has been estimated at not less than two millions of dollars. Fuenterabia was then invested, and after a stubborn defence surrendered on the 18th of June. The next enterprise of the invaders was partly naval. An English squadron having appeared off the coast as auxiliaries, eight hundred French soldiers were embarked and conveyed to Santoña, another naval station, where Alberoni had carried on the construction of his fleet. The fortress was destitute of regular troops, and garrisoned only by some Miquelets and armed peasants of the neighbourhood, who fled at the first fire. On taking possession of the place, the French, as at Passages, burnt three ships of war on the stocks, and the materials for seven more—a conflagration which following the action off Cape Passaro and the tempest off Cape Finisterre, completed the destruction of the Spanish navy, and was ascribed to the maritime jealousy of England (1).

Marshal Berwick next turned his arms against St. Sebastian, and obtained possession of the city on the 2d, of the citadel on the 17th of August, while Philip, whose force did not exceed 15,000 men, could do nothing for its relief, and was compelled to return to Madrid without striking a blow. At the close of the campaign the whole of Guipuzcoa was in the hands of the French; and the States of that province even offered to acknowledge their dominion, on the condition that their own rights and liberties should be secured (2). That this offer, which would only have increased the

(1) Que era el principal designo de los Ingleses, suspirando siempre, porque España no tenga navios, para aprovecharse así de los tesoros

de las Indias con los seyos. (San Felipe, Coment. vol. ii. p. 235.)

(2) This proposal was made from Guipuzcoa only,

jealousy of the Allies and the difficulties of a peace, was promptly rejected by the French Government, need excite no surprise, but it does seem strange to find such an offer proceed from that loyal people. We find, however, on further investigation, that Alberoni, in his eagerness to establish a new and uniform tariff for trade, and to regulate the inland custom-houses between the various kingdoms of the monarchy, had despotically broken through and trampled on the ancient and cherished privileges of the Basques. It seems, in fact, the peculiar curse of all those who have attempted to regenerate Spain, that they think it necessary in the first place to destroy the liberties and laws which they find already happily established in some provinces, and to reduce every thing to the same dead level of servitude—to clear the ground, as they say, for a more regular structure; and thus, while they profess an extension of freedom, their first step is always to abridge it.

Although the surrender of Santoña closed the campaign in Biscay, the north of Spain was exposed to further aggressions both from the French and English. The French troops entered Catalonia, where they took some small forts, and attempted Rosas. A British squadron sailed from Spithead on the 21st of September with 4000 troops on board, who were commanded by Lord Cobham, and intended to attack Coruña; but on approaching the Spanish coast and obtaining further information, this project was abandoned as too hazardous, and Cobham resolved to turn his arms against Vigo, where he heard that many of Ormond's stores still remained. Vigo had few regular troops to defend it; and when the British landed at three miles from the town they found only some armed peasants, who showed their zeal rather than their judgment in keeping up a heavy fire of musketry from the distant mountains. Of course not a single shot from thence could reach its destination; and in this exertion either the ammunition or the courage of the Gallicians appears to have become exhausted, since they did not show themselves in arms again (1). I may observe, that a similar story is told of the Spanish army in the night before the battle of Talavera (2).

The garrison of Vigo having first spiked the cannon in the town, left it open to the English, and retired into the citadel; this also yielded on the 21st of October after a few days' siege. The English found 43 pieces of ordnance, 2000 barrels of powder, and chests of arms containing about 8000 muskets; all these, relics of Ormond's

and not from Biscay and Alava, as stated by Coxe. (House of Bourbon, vol. II. p. 354.) He is also mistaken in saying that the French took Urgel (it was not taken at all), and that the British squadron which had co-operated with their army took Vigo; other ships performed that service.

(1) There was no want of a favourable opportunity for the Spaniards. We learn from the Journals of an officer present, that on the very next day "most of the soldiers abused themselves so

"much with wine, that a small body of men might have given us a great deal of uneasiness." (Boyer's Polit. State, 1719, vol. II. p. 401.)

(2) "About twelve o'clock, the Spaniards on the right being alarmed at some horse in their front, opened a prodigious peal of musketry and artillery, which continued for twenty minutes without any object." (Napier's Peninsular War, vol. II. p. 394.)

armament, and seven sloops, were seized in the harbour. The neighbouring towns of Redondella and Pontevedra were also sacked by the troops, who were then re-embarked for England; and thus ended an attack by no means unattended either with honour or advantage, but hardly equal to the vaunts with which the "Important and Secret Expedition" had been ushered in to public notice. The Court of Madrid, however, showed great consternation at the news; the number of the English and their object were unknown; both appeared magnified through the mist of uncertainty, and it was feared that they might be only the vanguard of a large invading army. Such repeated alarms and reverses could not fail to rouse even the sluggish nature of Philip, and to shake his confidence in his baffled minister.

If from Biscay or Galicia the eye of the King of Spain turned to Sicily and his main army, it could not even there be gladdened by any very cheering prospect. After the reduction of Messina, the Marquis de Lede had with a part of his forces undertaken the siege of Melazzo; a place well fortified and of great natural strength, built upon a narrow headland which juts out a long way into the sea (1). It had withstood the Duke de Vivonne in 1675 (2); but it would probably have yielded to the persevering attack of the Spaniards, had not General Caraffa, with about 8000 Germans, come to reinforce the garrison from Naples, and, sallying forth, fought a sharp action with the enemy. Both armies then drew entrenchments opposite one another on the plain, and remained encamped all the winter without coming to any further engagement, and both suffering alike from the MALARIA of that marshy soil, and from that inaction which, as Spinola used to say, is sufficient to kill any General (3). But very different were the prospects of the Germans and Spaniards for the future. The former, masters of the sea by the assistance of the British squadron, were assured of constant supplies in the winter, and of large reinforcements in the spring; while the Spaniards, since the destruction of their fleet cooped up within the limits of the island, durst hope for no other succours than such as a few light ships and feluccas escaping the vigilance of the enemy occasionally brought them, and could neither improve a victory nor repair a defeat.

In the month of May the Austrian reinforcements, 10,000 foot and 3000 horse, were mustered at Naples, and Count Mercy arrived from Vienna to take the command of the whole army. The troops sailed on the 22d from the Bay of Baïæ, and landed on the 28th in the Bay of Patti. At the news of their landing the Spaniards im-

(1) The present state of Melazzo is well described by Capt. Smyth (Sicily, p. 103.); but he need hardly have told us that "the garrison is always commanded by a military officer."

(2) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* vol. xi. p. 330. Boljeau prudently glides over this reverse in his ingenious letters to the Duke de Vivonne, and does

not blush to make Vulture exclaim from the dead, "Nous avons ici César, Pompée et Alexandre. Ils trouvent tous que vous avez assez attrapé leur air dans votre manière de combattre! Surtout César vous trouve très-César."

(3) See the Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, p. 163. ed. 1809.

mediately decamped from before Melazzo, with so much precipitation as to leave behind them their sick, two thousand sacks of flour, and some pieces of cannon, and retreated to the inland post of Franca Villa, about thirty-two miles distant. Count Mercy, having relieved Melazzo, determined to march against them, but nearly three weeks elapsed before his preparations were completed. In that age the Austrian troops were always slow of motion, and strangely ill-supplied. Their army surgeons, for instance, were very few and unskilled; and it is observed by a contemporary, that with their soldiers there was little difference between being wounded and killed in action, except that of a lingering or a sudden death.

At length on the 27th of June Count Mercy left Melazzo at the head of 21,000 men. They had a most toilsome march for three days over rugged and dreary mountains and under a burning sun, led by unwilling guides, and harassed by the armed peasants of the country. Arriving at length on the heights of Tre Fontane they discovered the Spaniards encamped below in the plain of Franca Villa, and a shout of joy ran through the whole army at the prospect of a speedy and decisive action. The Spaniards, though in a plain, held a strong position; their front protected by the steep banks of the river Alcantara (1), their wings by intrenchments, their rear by rocky ground and by the little town of Franca Villa. In advance of them, and on the other side of the stream, was a convent of Capuchins, crowning a single hill, and this De Lede had occupied with his best troops, the Royal Guards, headed by the brave Villadarias. Next morning the battle was begun by the Germans in three different places, and soon became general. The brunt of it was at the Capuchin convent, which was attacked in succession by the flower of the German forces, but which Villadarias most gallantly defended. At length Count Mercy himself, hoping to animate his troops by his presence and example, put himself at the head of another charge, but with no better success; his soldiers were repulsed, his horse killed under him, and himself severely wounded. At the close of day the victory had every where declared in favour of De Lede, and the Germans, though still in good order, withdrew from their attacks. They had upwards of 3000 men killed and wounded, the Spaniards not half so many; and it must, I think, be owned that the steadiness of the latter under the forlorn and disheartening prospects of their arms in Sicily, was highly honourable to the national character, and another proof how little it can ever be daunted by reverses.

But this victory produced only barren laurels. De Lede could not or would not pursue his advantages; and the enemy, recovering from their discomfiture, were soon enabled to undertake

(1) The river must have been nearly dry at the month of November, and found very little that season. I crossed it much lower down in water.

the siege of Messina. The citadel made a most resolute defence, but not being relieved by the Spaniards, was compelled to surrender on the 18th of October. A further body of 6000 Germans, intended for the conquest of Sardinia, were diverted from their destination until Sicily should be quite subdued, and they sailed from Genoa to join the forces of Mercy (1). A part of the army was then transported by sea to the fortress of Trapani, from whence it spread itself abroad, and reduced the cities of Mazzara and Marsala; so that at the close of 1719, De Lede, who had fixed his head-quarters at Castel Vetrano, trembled for the capital itself.

Cardinal Alberoni, on receiving intelligence of the victory of Franca Villa, availed himself of the transient gleam which it cast upon the Spanish arms to signify his consent to a peace. He was far, however, from yet yielding to the terms required by the Allies, and giving his unqualified adhesion to the Quadruple Treaty. His plan was, that the States-General should be mediators, and that Spain should not relinquish Sicily and Sardinia, unless the French were prepared to restore their conquests, and the English to yield Gibraltar and Port Mahon. With these proposals he sent his countryman, Marquis Scotti, the Envoy from Parma, directing him to travel to Paris, lay his mission before the Regent, and then proceed to the Hague. The Regent, however, on receiving the communication of Scotti, positively refused him passports to continue his journey, declaring that he must previously consult the Emperor and the King of England. Dubois wrote accordingly to Stanhope at Hanover. But the British Minister, knowing the restless temper and ambitious views of Alberoni, and how little reliance could be placed on his professions and promises, thought that the time for negotiation with him had gone by, and said in his answer to Dubois (2), We shall act wrong if we do not consolidate the peace by the removal of the minister who has kindled the war; and as he will never consent to peace till he finds his ruin inevitable, from the continuance of the war, we must make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace. For, as his unbounded ambition has been the sole cause of the war which he undertook, in defiance of the most solemn engagements, and in breach of the most solemn promises, if he is compelled to accept peace he will only yield to necessity, with the resolution to seize the first opportunity of vengeance. It is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may flatter him with the hopes of better success. He is skilled in procuring all

(1) It appears that the English ministers during all the summer strongly remonstrated with the Austrian on their employing such insufficient forces. "Je n'ai cessé de le représenter à M. de Pentierrieder," writes Stanhope to St. Saphorin,

July 31. 1719. (Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxix.)

(2) Stanhope to Dubois, Hanover, August 22. 1719. Hardwicke Papers, and Coxe's Copies. Original in French.

“ the connections necessary for the accomplishment of his schemes.
 “ He will be careful to cultivate those connections, and in due
 “ time he will employ them so much the more dangerously for your
 “ nation and ours, inasmuch as his past imprudences will render
 “ him more circumspect, and his past failures more ardent. He
 “ himself has warned us against the dangers of a deceitful peace;
 “ he is incapable of consenting to any other; he thinks it no re-
 “ proach to do any thing to which his strength is equal; and we
 “ ought to thank God that he did not more exactly calculate his
 “ power, and his undertakings. He acknowledges no other peace but
 “ exhaustion and weakness; and when, therefore, he is reduced to
 “ these, let us not allow him to recover. Let us exact from Philip
 “ his dismissal from Spain. We cannot propose to his Majesty any
 “ condition which will be more advantageous both for himself and
 “ his people. Let us hold forth this example to Europe, as a
 “ means of intimidating any turbulent minister who breaks the
 “ most solemn treaties, and attacks the persons of princes in the
 “ most scandalous manner. When Cardinal Alberoni is once dri-
 “ ven from Spain, the Spaniards will never consent to his again
 “ coming into administration; even their Catholic Majesties will
 “ have suffered too much from his pernicious counsels to desire his
 “ return. In a word, any peace made by the Cardinal will be only
 “ an armistice of uncertain duration; nor can we depend upon
 “ any treaty till we make it with a Spanish minister whose sys-
 “ tem is directly opposite to that of Alberoni, as well in regard to
 “ France in particular, as to Europe in general.

This determination, backed by that of France, produced, as might be expected, a powerful effect at Madrid. However great the genius of the Prime Minister, men felt that it might be purchased too dearly by the prolongation of an unequal and disastrous war. His old friends began to drop from him; his enemies to renew and redouble their attacks. The confessor of Philip, finding that Alberoni wished to supplant him and appoint another to his office, immediately discovered that the Cardinal was a very dangerous Minister. The ASSA FETA, moved by some womanish resentments (1), began to shake his influence with her Royal mistress. The grandees looked down with ignorant pride on the son of a gardener, and could neither forgive his origin below nor his elevation above them. Several of their order even went so far as to enter into a concert of measures with the Regent, who on his part well knew that though it might be unsafe to trust their friendships, he could rely on their sincerity of hatred (2). But the finishing

(1) Alberoni, during the last few months of his power, had grown more and more imperious. “ Muchos hombres,” says san Phelipe. “ dignos de la mayor atencion, salian ajados de su presencia.... Decian algunos que menores trabajos habian padecido en tan dilatada guerra que en

“ estas violencias de un Estrangero.” (Coment., vol. ii. p. 234.)

(2) “ Sensit (Arrianus) vetus regnandi, falso in amore, odia uoa fingere.” (Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. c. 44.)

stroke to the power of the mighty minister came from an English hand—from one of the most singular and striking characters of that or of any age.

Charles Lord Mordaunt, born in 1658, became in 1689 Earl of Monmouth by creation, and in 1697 Earl of Peterborough by descent. As a military man his character stands deservedly high, as a diplomatist also he possessed great merit; but as a politician it seems scarcely possible to award him any praise. In that department, his splendid genius, was utterly obscured and eclipsed by his wayward temper. Vain, selfish, and ungovernable—always in a quarrel, and on a journey—he was never thoroughly trusted by any party, nor perseveringly active at any place. His conduct in Fenwick's conspiracy appears to have been most unjustifiable, and provoked even the mild and cautious Somers into expressions of undisguised contempt:—"As to my Lord Monmouth, his courses are so various, and if those were of the same tenor, his resolutions are so changeable, that what he will do must be left to chance. His main business is to get out of the Tower, and in order to that he is ready to do any thing (1)."—But it might not be difficult to confirm the least favourable features of his portrait from the words not of his enemies, but of his personal and political friends:—"I can assure you," writes Bolingbroke to the Ambassador at the Hague, "that all I found by the letters sent by the courier from Lord Peterborough, was that his head was extremely hot, and confused with various indigested schemes." And again, "I may tell your Excellency in confidence, that I have a letter of twenty sheets from Lord Peterborough, wherein the whole world is parcelled out, as if with a fiat and the breath of his mouth it could be accomplished (2)." In the same correspondence we find Prior sneering at Lord Peterborough's fondness for Quixotic enterprises:—"I do not question but he will take Bender on his way home from Vienna (3)." Pope observes "He has too much wit as well as courage to make a solid general (4)." "I love the hang-dog dearly," is the dubious praise of Swift (5). His friends suffered from his weaknesses and his servants profited by them. On one occasion, when he was abroad, his steward pulled down without his knowledge, a wing of his country house; sold the materials for his own profit; and, not satisfied with this, actually sent my Lord a bill for repairs (6)! Yet sometimes Lord Peterborough showed economy, like every thing else by fits and in extremes. "It is a comical sight," writes a lady from Bath in 1725, to see him with his blue riband and star, and a cabbage

(1) Lord Somers to the Duke of Shrewsbury, January 26. 1696, printed in the Shrewsbury correspondence.

(2) Letters to Lord Raby, May 8. and May 18. 1711.

(3) Prior to Lord Bolingbroke, Paris. Sept. 9. 1712.

(4) Pope to Swift, January 12. 1723.

(5) Journal to Stella, January 10. 1713.

(6) See Swift's Directions to Servants. (Works, vol. xii. p. 444.)

“ under each arm, or a chicken in his hand, which, after he himself has purchased at market, he carries home for his dinner (1).”

This last of the knights-errant, while wandering in Italy, in 1717, met with an adventure as unpleasant as any of Don Quixote's. He was suddenly arrested at Bologna, by order of the Papal Legate, and conveyed to Fort Urbino, where he was closely imprisoned for a month, and no person allowed to speak with him. It appears that he was suspected of some design against the Pretender's life—a charge of which it is hardly necessary to assert the absolute falsehood (2); and he was set at liberty with every possible civility and reparation. The English Government, however, warmly resented this insult to an English subject, and it was for some time doubtful whether the squadron of Admiral Byng should not be directed to avenge it.

In the summer of 1719 Lord Peterborough was at Paris; and though neither employed nor trusted by his government, resolved to play some part in their affairs. He contrived to enter into confidential correspondence with the Duke of Parma, whom it was of great importance to detach from the cause of Alberoni, in order to prevail through the Duke upon his niece, the Queen of Spain. To prevent suspicion, Peterborough refused to proceed in person to the Duke's Court, but undertook to meet an accredited agent from Parma at Novi, in the Piedmontese States (3). There a conference was accordingly held; and there Peterborough, exerting his usual skill and meeting his usual success, obtained that letters should be immediately despatched to Queen Elizabeth Farnese, earnestly pressing for Alberoni's removal. At nearly the same time, Marquis Scotti having been gained by a present of fifty thousand crowns from the Regent, returned to Madrid to counterwork his late employer, and to use his personal influence over the mind of the Queen.

All these little rills of intrigue, when they flowed together, produced an irresistible torrent. On the evening of the 4th of December, Alberoni had transacted business as usual with the King, and seen no change in his Majesty; but next morning there was

(1) Lady Hervey to Mrs. Howard, June 7. 1725. Suffolk Letters.

(2) The conduct of King George's Government, as regards the Pretender's life, was not only above suspicion, but most laudably active. I find, for example, in Boyer's Political State. 1719, vol. II. p. 344., that “ Paul Miller, a private trooper in the Horse Grenadiers, having made a proposal to Mr. Secretary Craggs to go and assassinate the Pretender, was by Mr. Secretary's warrant presently taken into custody of Mr. Bill, the Messenger; and the matter being laid before the Lords Justices, their Excellencies ordered that he should immediately be discharged out of his Majesty's service, and proceeded against with the utmost severity.”

(3) Earl of Peterborough to Earl Stanhope, Nov. 20. 1719. Appendix, vol. II. According to San Philippe, Lord Peterborough had been requested by the Regent to begin this negotiation, but it seems, on the contrary, to have proceeded solely from himself. Dubois writes to Stanhope (October 20. 1719, Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxviii.), “ My Lord Peterborough est en liaison avec toute sorte de gens.... Il peut faire peu de bien et beaucoup plus de mal. J'y prendrai garde sans l'effaroucher. Je rends très-humbles grâces à V. Exc. de la bonté qu'elle a eu de m'avertir de ses indiscretions.”

put into his hands a Royal Decree dismissing him from all his employments, and commanding him to leave Madrid in eight days and the Spanish territories in twenty-one. All his endeavours to obtain an audience of the King or Queen were in vain; and, though permitted to write, he found his letter unheeded. He was compelled to set out within the time appointed, and had the further mortification of being overtaken at Lerida by an officer sent to search for papers which were missing from the public offices, and which were discovered in the Cardinal's baggage. It was, however, some consolation to him before his departure, to receive the visits and hear the condolences of larger and more splendid levees than had ever flocked around him in the meridian of his power. Many who had hitherto stood aloof, or even opposed him, now forgot his errors, and hastened to acknowledge his services. Such conduct the Cardinal himself calls a riddle (1); but it is familiar to the Spaniards: their noble character seldom bends before the mighty, and never turns aside from the fallen!

Cardinal Alberoni pursued his journey to Italy, where he passed the remainder of his long and checkered life; at first in exile and concealment, at length in Papal confidence and favour. He survived till 1752, and I shall hereafter have occasion to mention him again as fomenting the discords in the Pretender's family. His attempt against the little republic of San Marino was still more unworthy; and even had it been successful, would have brought no advantage commensurate to its disgrace. But Alberoni could never remain tranquil. It would seem, in fact, as if superior talents were often conjoined by nature with a certain restlessness which compels them to seek out for themselves some employment. Few men who could be useful in action are happy in retirement.

It was hoped by the Court of Madrid that the dismissal of Alberoni would appease the Allied Powers, and obtain more favourable terms of peace. In reply to the States-General, Philip still continued to insist on the proposals lately made by his minister, and to refuse his accession to the Quadruple Treaty. Under these circumstances both Stanhope and Dubois saw the necessity of renewed exertions. Stanhope undertook another journey to Paris, and concerted his measures with the French and the Imperial ministers; and on the 19th of January, 1720, was signed by these three statesmen a declaration, binding themselves not to admit any conditions contrary to the Quadruple Alliance. Immediately afterwards Stanhope despatched Schaub, his confidential secretary, to carry a duplicate of this declaration to Madrid (2), while Dubois, on his part, sent directions to Marquis Scotti, Father d'Aubenton, and others in the French interest, to unite their exertions with

(1) See his Apology, Hist. Register, 1722. p. 209.

(2) This duplicate, with the original signatures, is preserved in the Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxvii.

Schaub's, and use their influence over Elizabeth. The struggle was arduous, from the difficulty of prevailing with the Queen; but that point once gained, it was more easy for her to prevail with her husband. Some difficulties that could not then be overcome were eluded by referring them to be discussed at a future congress, to be held at Cambray. But on the 26th of January Philip issued a decree, announcing his accession to the Quadruple Alliance, and declaring that he gave peace to Europe at the expence of his rights and possessions. He also renewed his renunciations of the French Crown, and promised to evacuate Sicily and Sardinia within six months—a condition which he punctually performed. It is remarkable that the orders to the Marquis De Lede arrived just as the two armies, drawn out in front of Palermo, were in motion against each other, and on the point of engaging in a great and decisive battle. Thus was that unnecessary bloodshed successfully averted; and thus, by the firmness, skill, and union of the French and English Governments, and especially of Stanhope and Dubois, were laid the foundations of a solid and happy peace for Europe, which endured for upwards of twelve years.

In the affairs of the North the union of England and France was no less salutary. On the death of the King of Sweden, the new Queen had been glad to conclude a peace with George the First, and to yield to him the duchies of Bremen and Verden. Poland was satisfied with the acknowledgment of King Augustus. Prussia also, after much negotiation, agreed to a suspension of arms, accepting Stettin and some other Swedish territory. But the Czar and the King of Denmark, seeing Sweden drained of men and money, and even of provisions (1), and deprived of her military ruler, were not to be appeased with moderate concessions, and sought for the total ruin of that monarchy. In this state of things, the Cabinet of St. James's combined with that of the Palais-Royal to offer, and if necessary to enforce, their mediation between the warring powers. Lord Carteret, a young statesman of the highest promise, was sent ambassador to Stockholm; and Sir John Norris, with eleven men-of-war, sailed for the Baltic. Neither the Ambassador nor the Admiral could, at first, prevail. The Russian fleet ravaged the coasts of Sweden with dreadful havoc, burning above a thousand villages, and the town of Nykoping, which, next to Stockholm and Gothenburg, was reckoned the most considerable in the kingdom. Remonstrances and threats were used in vain; and at length Stanhope, then at Hanover, sent orders to Norris to treat the Russian fleet as Byng had the Spanish (2).

(1) " Outre l'épuisement d'argent où les Suédois se trouvent, ils manquent aussi de vivres, et l'on nous mande qu'ils n'en ont que pour trois ou quatre mois pour tout le royaume." (Stanhope to Dubois, Hanover, July 31, 1719. Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxix.)

(2) " La Suède n'a donc plus d'autre ressource que notre escadre et elle en convient. Avec les quatre vaisseaux qui doivent incessamment joindre notre Amiral, il en aura quinze, et pourvu que la Suède en fait 6 ou 8, nous hasarderons un combat, quoique nous ne soyons pas sans es-

The Admiral consequently effected his junction with the Swedish men-of-war at Carlsroon, and was proceeding in search of their enemy, when the Czar, alarmed at this combination, and finding the intention serious, hastily recalled his fleet. Still, however, he brooded over future victories, and entertained no thoughts of peace. The Danes, being weaker, appeared more reasonable. They had already taken Marstrand, and threatened Gothenburg, when the interference of England forced them to desist, and to conclude a treaty, accepting a sum of money as an equivalent for their conquests (1). And thus, in 1720, of the five Powers leagued against Sweden, none except the Czar remained in arms.

It is not to be supposed that these negotiations, either with Spain or Sweden, were carried on without frequent rubs and jars from the Hanoverian faction. A letter of Craggs at this period lifts up a corner of the veil which the loyalty of the ministers hung over the frailties of the favourites. He inveighs most severely against the undue power and selfish views of Bernsdorf, and the extreme rapacity of all the Germans. "It is incredible," he adds, "what prejudice all these sales of offices do to the King's service; for, to complete our misfortunes, I have remarked that there is no distinction of persons or circumstances—Jacobites, Tories, Papists, at the Exchange or in the Church, by land or by sea, during the session or in the recess; nothing is objected to, provided there is money..... You see that at the rate we are now going on, Lord Stanhope is on the point of resigning every day. It is possible that his friends may continue in out of pure respect to the King, but without hoping to do the least good (2)." There is certainly much passion and exaggeration in this picture; but still Lord Chesterfield's bitter sarcasm was not quite without some pretext, when he said some years afterwards, "If we have a mind effectually to prevent the Pretender from ever obtaining this crown, we should make him Elector of Hanover, for the people of England will never fetch another King from thence (3)!"

King George arrived in London from his German states on the 14th of November, and opened Parliament in person nine days afterwards. The first and most important measure of the session was the celebrated Peerage Bill, which had already been brought forward in the previous winter; but which I have not noticed till now, in order to present a more clear and connected account of it.

The creation of twelve Peers to establish a majority for the Court had been justly reprobated in Lord Oxford's administration,

"préhension que les Danois ne viennent au secours des Russes." (Stanhope to Dubois, July 31. 1719.)

(1) "S. M. Danoise qui n'a pas un ducat pour défrayer ses besoins, est-il encore capable de refuser de bonnes sommes? Si on augmente la dose ne te je croirai jamais!" (Craggs to

Schaub, Oct. 13. 1719. Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxvii.)

(2) Secretary Craggs to Mr. Schaub, June 30. 1719. Appendix.

(3) H. Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann, December 9. 1712.

and had formed an article in his impeachment. The punishment of the wrongdoer might be sufficient to satisfy the multitude; but reflecting men would naturally consider whether any means existed to prevent the recurrence of the wrong, or whether the danger might not be more tolerable than the remedy. It was the remembrance of that outrage which first gave rise to the project of limiting the King's prerogative in the creation of Peers. But this, like other projects for the improvement of the constitution might perhaps have remained dormant for a considerable time, had it not been quickened by the personal difficulties and fears of Ministers. The German favourites, hungering for titles and honours, were constantly pressing to repeal the limitations of the Act of Settlement, and a restraint upon new creations of Peers would have been very useful as a further and final barrier against their selfish ambition. A still more powerful motive was supplied by the unhappy division in the Royal family. The exasperation of the Prince of Wales, and some incautious expressions ascribed to him, made Stanhope and Sunderland apprehend his measures on coming to the throne; and Sunderland did not hesitate to tell Lord Midleton, the Chancellor of Ireland, when attempting to persuade him, that "ridiculous not to say mad things would be done in case of a certain event (1)." Nor was it expected that the measure would encounter any very formidable opposition. The King was easily induced by jealousy of his son, and the total absence of any arbitrary views on his own part, to consent to relinquish this great branch of the Royal prerogative; in fact, he gave the measure not merely his cold consent, but his hearty concurrence. The Lords, it was thought, would readily pass a measure which so highly raised their individual importance. In the Commons the Tories would no doubt oppose it; but the Whigs had a vast majority; and the chief members of that party, whether in office or in opposition, had repeatedly inveighed against the unconstitutional measure of Lord Oxford, and urged that the Crown ought in future to be debarred from a prerogative which had once so seriously endangered the liberties, not only of England, but of Europe. It was therefore with no unreasonable confidence of victory, that the measure was proposed.

On the 28th of February the Duke of Somerset, the first Protestant Peer, called the attention of the House of Lords to this subject, and gave the first idea of the intended bill. He was seconded by the Duke of Argyle, and opposed by the Earl of Oxford. Two days afterwards Lord Stanhope brought down a message from the King, that "His Majesty has so much at heart the settling the Peerage of the whole kingdom upon such a foundation as may secure the freedom and constitution of Parliament in all future

(1) Lord Midleton's Minutes, Coxe's Walpole.

“ages, that he is willing his prerogative stand not in the way of so great and necessary a work.” Accordingly on the 3d of March, the Lords, in a committee of the whole House, discussed eleven resolutions, which were proposed as the groundwork of the future bill. By these it was provided, that the English Peers should not be increased beyond six of their present number, with an exception in favour of Princes of the blood; that for every extinction there might be a new creation; that no peerages should hereafter be granted for any longer tenure than to the grantee, and to the heirs male of his body; that instead of the sixteen elective Peers from Scotland, the King should name twenty-five as hereditary from that part of the kingdom; and that this number, on the failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the remaining Scotch Peers.

It is remarkable, that the debate which arose upon this plan seems to have turned exclusively upon the Scotch portion of it. Lord Cowper forcibly argued that “what was intended to be done with relation to the Scottish Peerage was a manifest violation of the Treaty of Union, and the highest piece of injustice; and that the Scottish Peers who should be excluded from the number of the twenty-five hereditary would be in a worse condition than any other subject, since they would be neither representing nor represented.” On the other part, it was maintained by the Dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose, “that the settling the Peerage in the manner proposed was rather a benefit than a disadvantage to the Scottish peerage, whose representatives were thereby increased by nine; and as for those Peers who, for the present, would be excluded, they would afterwards have a chance to come in upon failure of any of the twenty-five.” Lord Townshend, the leader of the Whigs in opposition, and Lord Nottingham, who guided a small section of the Tories, both declared that they were not against limiting the Peerage, but only against the doing it in a manner which, in their opinion, was unjust; and in fact, it may be observed, that the Scotch clauses were by no means required for the general object of the bill. On a division, however, the entire resolutions were carried by 83 votes against 30.

A bill on these principles was accordingly brought in, and it passed through most of its stages without further opposition. But a considerable ferment had meanwhile arisen out of doors; and on the 14th of April, the day appointed for the third reading, Stanhope declared, “that this bill had made a great noise and raised strange apprehensions; and since the design of it had been so misrepresented, and so misunderstood that it was likely to meet with great opposition in the other House, he thought it advisable to let that matter lie still till a more proper opportunity.” The bill was accordingly dropped for that Session, with the declared purpose of reviving it in the next.

During this interval it may well be supposed that neither the friends nor the adversaries of the bill were idle. An eager war of pens had already begun. One of the pamphlets against the measure was written by Walpole; but the palms of this political controversy were undoubtedly borne away by Addison on the one side, and by Steele on the other. Addison supported the bill in a paper called "The Old Whig;" a powerful argument, and his last dying effort, for he expired not many weeks afterwards. He was ably answered by Steele, under the name of the "Plebeian;" Addison rejoined; and it is painful to find that these two accomplished friends, after such long and cordial intimacy, should be not merely estranged in sentiment, but indulge in personal reflections on each other. It was the object of the Old Whig to show that in ancient times no such unlimited prerogative of creating Peers had been vested in the Crown—that the abuse of that prerogative in the late reign called aloud for its limitation—and that the Commons would be more truly independent, and less liable to corrupt influence, when the Crown could no longer hold out to their chief members a prospect of hereditary honours. On the other hand, the Plebeian proved that the bill tended to establish an unmitigated aristocracy, and pointed out the evils attendant on that form of government. The subject appears of so much constitutional importance, that the reader will perhaps forgive me for offering some thoughts both on the question itself, and on the true principle and object of the Peerage.

Even in very early stages of society, the evils of pure despotism and of pure democracy were severely felt, and found to be nearly akin. The same violent bursts of passion, the same sudden changes of purpose, and the same blind fondness for favourites, which are the vices of a single tyrant, were seen no less to prevail in the assemblies of the sovereign people. "When once democracy," says Thucydides, "became unrestrained at Athens, rival statesmen applied themselves only to please the multitude, and let go the care of the commonwealth (1)." In absolute monarchies, likewise, men looked rather to the favour of the sovereign than to the service of the state. In both cases, therefore, was felt the necessity of some check, and in both cases was soon established an assembly of chief men to take some part of the sovereign power, and to give moderation and steadiness to the government.

It is remarkable, however, that this institution has in different states proceeded on quite opposite principles. In free cities the original intention has been to give increased authority to old age. This idea will be found to run throughout, and the titles Gerontes, Senators, Patricians, Presbyters, Signory, Aldermen, have all the same primitive meaning. In early stages of society, when all men

(1) Hist. lib. ii. c. 68.

are equally uneducated, age and experience would of course possess much more value than when mental cultivation may sometimes raise a schoolboy of sixteen above a ploughman of sixty.

In conquered countries, on the other hand, the principal followers of the conqueror, dividing the lands amongst themselves or holding military fiefs for life, have commonly formed an assembly as a check upon absolute power. This assembly was composed, not on the principle of seniority or superior wisdom, but on the principle either of military courage or of a large stake in the commonwealth. Such was the case with most of the kingdoms that arose from the ruins of the Roman Empire; such was the case also with the Norman rulers of England.

But though these institutions have sprung from such opposite origins, it is very remarkable that they all have tended to the same result. Though neither the wisdom of age nor courage in the field have ever been thought hereditary qualities, yet the hereditary principle has nearly every where prevailed over the elective. The modes have indeed been very various. In many cases where the hereditary principle was not established by law, it has been adopted in practice. In many others it was favoured by the law of allowing the Senators to fill up their vacancies by officers (and such were the Roman Censors (1) of their own body. Sometimes a right of primogeniture has been acknowledged, sometimes there has been an equal enjoyment but a perpetual inalienability of the family estates. In England the elder son is usually expected to marry, in Venice it was the younger (2). These, however, are only different means to a common end—the hereditary transmission of power.

The reason why this should be is apparent even from so slight a sketch as I have given. If a Senate be intended as a check on Kings or on multitudes, it follows that to have all its members appointed either by the prerogative of the King or by the election of the multitude, is to recur to that very power which it was wished to control. It is to change the operation but not to diminish the force of a single or a many-headed tyranny. Thus therefore he who desires to see an Upper House chosen by the people or appointed by the Crown for life, seems to me utterly to mistake the true origin and object of the institution itself.

Of the practical value of this hereditary principle there was never, perhaps, a higher testimony nor a more striking illustration than that which was given, in his later days, by one of the great

(1) "Les sénats républicains constitués avec la pensée toujours dominante de la perpétuité, ont en général été autorisés à se recruter eux-mêmes, tantôt par un scrutin entre tous les membres, tantôt par l'élection de quelques officiers tirés de leurs corps, tels que les Censeurs." (Bismond, de l'Élément Aristocratique.) Without plunging into that difficult and much debated subject, the admission into the Roman Senate, it is,

however, quite certain, that the heads of the ancient families in every generation, always became members of that assembly.

(2) "On a remarqué que rarement les Vénitiens élevaient à la dignité ducale un homme ayant encore sa femme..... De là l'usage de ne marier ordinairement que les cadets dans les grandes maisons." (Daru, Hist. de Venise, ch. xxxix. vol. II, p. 267.)

masters over mankind. "I have heard Napoleon," says M. de Sismondi, "observe during the Hundred Days, that government might be compared to sailing. It is necessary to have two elements before your ship can sail. You must, in like manner, have two elements before you can direct the vessel of the State, so that you may have a stay in the one against the other. You can never direct a balloon, because floating as it does in a single element you have no POINT D'APPUI to withstand the storms which agitate that element. Thus also there can be no POINT D'APPUI, no possibility of direction, in pure democracy; but when combined with aristocracy, you may work the one element against the other, and steer the vessel by their different powers (1)."

Inheritance is therefore a fundamental and necessary principle of the Peerage. But it has, I conceive, another principle not less fundamental,—that this assembly should always be recruited by the most eminent warriors, statesmen, and lawyers of every age. It is this constant influx that keeps the current clear, and prevents it from degenerating into a torpid and stagnant pool. Without such accessions, I do not hesitate to say that the House of Lords neither could nor should exist. The limitations proposed by Stanhope and Sunderland would, indeed, have increased the power and importance of the Lords for a season; but would, most surely, by impairing their utility, have undermined their foundation and produced their downfall. The Peers, shut up in inaccessible dignity, would have learnt to look down on him whom even the highest services could not raise to an equality with themselves, unless by the previous extinction of one of their own number. The aspiring soldier or statesman would have lost one great motive for exertion. Even a Nelson could no longer have expected the same honours which had formerly rewarded an Anson or a Hawke. In many minds a sense of emulation would be altogether deadened. Many others (for such will always be the case with men of genius), finding that they could not rise to dignity by the institutions of the State, would attempt to rise over those institutions, and become noisy agitators instead of useful citizens. What has been the cause of the continued usefulness and authority of the British Peerage?—what has kept it firm and unshaken while so many neighbouring aristocracies have tottered to decay, or fallen before political convulsions? It is because their families are constantly coming from the people and returning to the people?—they have been an institution, not a caste—not a separate and jealous oligarchy, like that of Venice, asserting for themselves and for all their descendants an inborn superiority over their brother men. With us, how many sons of ploughmen or of weavers, ennobled for their services, sit

(1) See a masterly essay by M. de Sismondi, *De Prince dans les Pays Libres*, published in his *Essay sur l'Élément Aristocratique*, in the same periodical, July and August, 1834. I have also read with great pleasure and instruction the *Revue Mens. d'Écon. Polit.* October, 1836.

side by side with the loftiest of the Somersets and Howards! With us the younger children of the Peer return to the rank of Commons, and his grandchildren merge again completely in the great body of the people. Such is the true principle of usefulness and vitality in the British Peerage; and he who would limit its number, is as much its enemy and the country's, as he who endeavours to sap its hereditary honours.

It is true that the King's power of increasing the Peerage might be stretched to an unlimited extent, and for a factious purpose, so as utterly to overthrow the Constitution. But many other branches of the Royal prerogative are, in like manner, liable to abuse and encroachment. Yet, we look upon the responsibility of Ministers as in almost every case a sufficient barrier; and in the opinion of one of our greatest Judges, "such public oppressions as tend to dissolve the Constitution are cases which the law will not, out of decency, suppose, being incapable of distrusting those whom it has invested with any part of the supreme power, since such distrust would render the exercise of that power precarious and impracticable (1)." I may add, that while the advantages of the King's prerogative to create Peers are constant and unceasing, the danger of its abuse is extremely rare. During the peaceful reigns of the four Georges such an idea was never at any moment entertained by any statesman. It was reserved for the tumultuous times which preceded and which followed them. And on the whole, I would no more forego the benefits of the Royal prerogative from the possibility of its misuse than I would prohibit navigation to prevent the danger of shipwrecks!

For these reasons I believe that the Peerage Bill of 1719 was a narrow-minded, violent, and baneful measure, founded on mistaken principles, and tending to dangerous results. If it be asked on whom the blame of having planned it should mainly rest, it will be found stated by most of the later writers, such as Coxe (2), that the measure was projected by Lord Sunderland. That statesman certainly pressed the bill with great warmth, and had a stronger interest in it, since the animosity of the Prince of Wales was especially and personally levelled at himself amongst the Ministers. But on the other hand, I am bound not to omit that, in the debates of the House of Commons at the time, Lord Stanhope was attacked as the projector of the measure; and that amidst the unpopularity of the Bill, the charge was never denied by himself or by his friends.

If we next inquire to whom the praise of defeating this measure is most due, there can I think be no doubt that it belongs almost solely and exclusively to Walpole. We learn from Speaker Onslow, that when the Whigs in opposition held a meeting at Devonshire

(1) Blackstone's Comment., book i. ch. ii. See also book iv. ch. ii. sect. 7.

(2) Memoirs of Walpole, vol. i. p. 116.

House during the recess to consider the course they should pursue upon this subject, the whole body appeared either favourable to the bill or despairing of any successful opposition to it. Very many considered it as a sound Whig measure to restrain a prerogative against which they themselves had repeatedly inveighed, and protested that they could not with any show of decency oppose it. Lord Townshend himself had already in the House of Lords approved its principle, and several other Peers were not averse to the increased importance which it would confer upon themselves. On the whole, it was the general opinion of the meeting that the bill should be permitted to pass without opposition. Walpole alone stood firm. He declared that this was the only point on which they could harass the Government with effect, and that he saw a spirit rising against it amongst the usual supporters of the administration, and especially the independent country gentlemen. One of these, he said, a member of the House of Commons, he had overheard declaring to another with many oaths, that though his estate was no more than 800*l.* a year, and though he had no pretension to the Peerage for himself, yet he would never consent to the injustice of a perpetual exclusion to his family. "Such a sentiment," added Walpole with his usual sagacity and foresight, "cannot fail to make its way. It will have a strong effect upon the whole body of country gentlemen; and for my part I am determined that if deserted by my party on this question, I will singly stand forth and oppose it." Walpole's declaration produced much altercation and resentment, and many attempts were made to shake his purpose; but finding him firm, his friends gradually came round to his opinion, and at length agreed to act with him as a body—to take no division on the ministerial project in the Lords, but to resist it in the Commons.

At the opening of the Session on the 23d of November, the Peerage Bill was announced by the following expressions of the King's Speech:—"As I can truly affirm that no prince was ever more zealous to increase his own authority than I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper methods to establish and transmit to your posterity the freedom of our happy Constitution, and particularly to secure that part which is most liable to abuse. I value myself upon being the first who hath given you an opportunity of doing it; and I must recommend to you to complete those measures which remained imperfect the last Session." Two days afterwards the bill was brought forward in the Lords by the Duke of Buckingham, to whom it had been intrusted by the Government, probably because the Duke being a vehement Tory, his support might be expected to gain some votes from that party in the House of Commons. The measure was the same as that proposed last Session; but in order to conciliate the Commons, the Ministers engaged to their

friends that in case of the bill passing the Lords would consent to part with their privilege of *SCANDALUM MAGNATUM*, and permit the Commons to administer an oath, and that the King would give up the prerogative of pardoning after an impeachment—"mere trifles," observes Mr. Hallam, "in comparison with the innovation projected (1)."

According to previous arrangement, the Peerage Bill appears to have encountered no opposition in the Lords (except a speech from Earl Cowper), and it passed through all its stages in a very few days. But far different was its reception in the Commons. On the 8th of December, it having been read a second time, the debate was taken on the question, "That this bill be committed." The fate of the British Constitution seemed to hang suspended in the balance. On the ministerial side, the chief speeches were those of Craggs, Lechmere, and Aislabie; and though scarcely any particulars are preserved of them, we find them called by high authority "very able performances (2)." Amongst the adversaries of the bill, the ingenuity and talent of Steele were as powerfully shown, and more fully reported. But by far the most splendid speech on that occasion was that of Walpole; and it may, in fact, be doubted if any harangue of so much eloquence and effect had ever yet been delivered in the House of Commons; whether we judge of it by the impression which we are told it produced, or by that which the records of it make upon ourselves (3). He began with great spirit: "That the usual path to the temple of honour had been through the temple of virtue; but, by this bill, it was now to be only through the sepulchre of a dead ancestor." He inveighed against Stanhope, "who," he said, "having got into the House of Peers, is now desirous to shut the door after him;" he touched with infinite caution and address on the unhappy breach in the Royal family; he drew a striking picture of the evils and injustice of the Scotch clauses of the bill. In his skillful hands an argument was derived even from his own party tactics, that no division should be taken in the other House; "for surely," he urged, "the great unanimity with which this bill has passed the Lords ought to inspire some jealousy in the Commons." On the dangers to the constitution and to freedom he enlarged with all the eloquence of truth: "That this bill will secure the liberty of Parliament I totally deny; it will only secure a great preponderance to the Peers, and form them into a compact impenetrable phalanx."—"In this strain," says Speaker Onslow, "he bore down every thing before him." The effect was apparent in the triumphant result of the division, when the Mi-

(1) *Constit. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 322. For the inducement held out by Ministers, see Lord Midleton's Minutes, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 172.

(2) Speaker Onslow's Remarks.

(3) Walpole's reported speech was in great measure compiled from his own memoranda (Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 125.) The same, I suspect, was also the case with Steele's.

nisters had only 177 votes and the Opposition 269. I ought not to omit that very many of those whose personal interest was supposed to be promoted by this bill did not hesitate to vote against it, and that the majority comprised the heirs of not a few such families as Compton, Devereux, and Willoughby. To signalise their victory, the prevailing party immediately moved "That this bill be rejected," which they carried without resistance.

It is very remarkable that so signal and thorough a defeat of Ministers does not appear to have loosened their hold of office, nor lost them a general majority in the House of Commons. I cannot discover that their parliamentary power afterwards was at all less sure and steady than before. So hopeless, indeed, seemed the prospect of overthrowing them that, as we shall find, Walpole, a few months afterwards, consented to accept a subordinate office under them, and became Paymaster of the Forces, while he prevailed upon Townshend to be named President of the Council. The Ministers, on their part, were of course no less rejoiced than strengthened by the accession of a statesman so far superior to any member of the House of Commons previously amongst them. But it appears that Stanhope and Sunderland had by no means relinquished their darling project of the Peerage Bill; that they intended to revive it at a more favourable opportunity; and that Walpole, on accepting office, was induced to relax his opposition to it. This is shown by the following passage in a letter from Craggs to Stanhope at Hanover:—"Mr. Walpole goes into Norfolk next week for the summer. He was very explicit to me two days ago about the Scotch part of the Peerage Bill, which he will be for (1)." It seems then that the Scotch clauses, against which Walpole had inveighed so eloquently in December, 1719, were secure of his support in July, 1720, and that he had unworthily bartered his principles for power. He might perhaps have continued more steady in opposing the other parts of the measure; but still I am of opinion, that had not the South Sea disaster intervened, and the deaths of Stanhope and Sunderland so speedily followed in succession, the Peerage Bill, no doubt with some changes and modifications, but still with the same pernicious tendency, would have been again brought forward by the Government. In such a case I hope, however, that it would have been again rejected by the independent spirit of the House of Commons.

(1) Cockpit, July 22. 1720. Stanhope Papers, and Coxe's MSS.

CHAPTER XI.

In the spring of 1720, the administration of Lord Stanhope had attained a high pitch of success and renown. By negotiation, he had driven Alberoni from Madrid; by force, the Spaniards from Sicily. The authority of the Regent had been secured in France, and his friendship with England confirmed; and some fresh difficulties which arose after Stanhope had left Paris in January, were adjusted by another journey of that Minister in March. At the same time the Cabinet of Vienna had been brought into a concert of measures, and the ancient alliance renewed with the Dutch. In the North, the confederacy against Sweden had been successfully broken; Prussians, Danes, and Poles were disarmed; and the languid hostilities which the Czar still continued from his want of temper, must, it was evident, speedily terminate from his want of support (1). The Jacobites could no longer fix their station, or conduct their intrigues, on the neighbouring coasts; an edict for their total banishment from France had been granted to Stanhope at Paris (2). The Pretender had not left him a single great power to afford him aid or countenance, and was reduced to vague hopes and empty promises—to the prophecies of monks or the dreams of exiles! Thus, therefore, the exertions of Stanhope had happily restored peace throughout Europe; and it was by pursuing his policy, and treading in his footsteps, that Walpole afterwards preserved this blessing for so many years.

At home, the prospect for Stanhope was not less cheering. He had risen to much the highest place in the Royal confidence; a fact so well understood, that we find it publicly mentioned in some foreign State Papers of this period (3). The defeat on the Peerage Bill had not shaken him or Sunderland; they were not less strong with Parliament; they were not less trusted by the King; and the party of Walpole, hopeless of overthrowing, consented to join them. This junction was on far from equal terms. It made no change at all in the measures, and but little in the men. Walpole received no higher place than Paymaster of the Forces (out of the Cabinet), nor Townshend than President of the Council; while Methuen was satisfied with an office in the Royal Household (4).

(1) The Peace of Nystad between Russia and Sweden was signed August, 1721. (Dumont, Suppl. Corps Diplom. vol. viii. part. 2. p. 36.)

(2) In March, 1720. See St. Simon, Mem. vol. xviii. p. 153. ed. 1829.

(3) Abbé Dubois to M. Landi, Jan. 19. 1720. (Hist. Regist. p. 76, etc.)

(4) The vacancies were made by the Duke of Kent, the Earl of Lincoln, and Mr. Boscawen. The latter was rewarded with the title of Viscount Falmouth. Lord Lincoln was a personal friend of Stanhope, had taken office only at his solicitation, and readily relinquished it.

Their support, accordingly, was by no means warm and willing; they were treated as inferiors, and, of course, behaved as malecontents; but at all events their opposition was disarmed, and their connection with the Tories broken. Another great advantage attending their accession was, healing the breach in the Royal family. Walpole, who had lately ingratiated himself with the Prince of Wales, induced him to write a submissive letter to the King; Stanhope induced His Majesty to receive it favourably: a meeting ensued, and a reconciliation was effected. This union, both of Statesmen and of Princes, dashed the best hopes of Jacobitism. Bishop Atterbury writes to James, that, though the reconciliation is far from sincere, it will by degrees become so, or that at least the appearances and consequences of it will be the same as if it really were. "I think myself obliged," he adds, "to represent this melancholy truth, that there may be no expectation of any thing from hence, which will certainly not happen (1)."

Such, then, was the prosperous aspect of affairs, when in June the King, attended by Stanhope, set out for his German dominions. But the happy calm was not of long continuance. It is now for me to relate how that glittering and hollow bubble, the South Sea Scheme, rising to the surface, broke the tranquillity and troubled the clearness of the waters.

The South Sea Company was first formed by Harley in 1711, his object being to improve public credit, and to provide for the floating debts, which at that period amounted to nearly 10,000,000*l*. The Lord Treasurer, therefore, established a fund for that sum. He secured the interest by making permanent the duties on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and several others; he allured the creditors by promising them the monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts in America; and the project was sanctioned both by Royal Charter and by Act of Parliament. Nor were the merchants slow in swallowing this gilded bait; and the fancied Eldorado which shone before them dazzled even their discerning eyes. The exploits of Drake were quoted, and the dreams of Raleigh renewed. This spirit spread throughout the whole nation, and many, who scarcely knew whereabouts America lies, felt nevertheless quite certain of its being strewed with gold and gems. Meanwhile the partisans of Harley zealously forwarded this illusion, as tending to raise the reputation and secure the power of their chief; and they loudly vaunted the South Sea Scheme as the Earl of Oxford's masterpiece, and as not unworthy of Sully or of Colbert.

The negotiations of Utrecht, however, in this as in other matters, fell far short of the ministerial promises and of the public expectation. Instead of a free trade, or any approach to a free trade, with the American colonies, the Court of Madrid granted

(1) Bishop Atterbury to James, May 6, 1720, Appendix. See also the Marchmont Papers, vol. II. p. 409.

only, besides the shameful Asiento for negro slaves, the privilege of settling some factories, and sending one annual ship; and even this single ship was not unrestricted: it was to be under 500 tons burthen, and a considerable share of its profits to revert to the King of Spain. This shadow of a trade was bestowed by the British Government on the South Sea Company, but it was very soon disturbed. Their first annual ship, the Royal Prince, did not sail till 1717, and next year broke out the war with Spain; when, as I have already had occasion to relate, Alberoni, in defiance of the treaty, seized all the British goods and vessels in the Spanish ports. Still, however, the South Sea Company continued, from its other resources, a flourishing and wealthy corporation: its funds were high, its influence considerable, and it was considered on every occasion the rival and competitor of the Bank of England.

At the close of 1719, when the King returned from Hanover, this aspiring Company availed itself of the wish of Ministers to lessen the public debts by consolidating all the funds into one. Sir John Blunt, once a scrivener, and then a leading South Sea Director, laid before Stanhope, as chief minister, a proposal for this object. He was referred by Stanhope to Sunderland, as First Lord of the Treasury, and to Aislabie, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Several conferences ensued with the latter; several alterations were made in the scheme; and it was at length so far adjusted to the satisfaction of Ministers, that the subject was recommended to Parliament in the King's Speech (1). The great object was to buy up and diminish the burthen of the irredeemable Annuities granted in the two last reigns, for the term, mostly, of 99 years, and amounting at this time to nearly 800,000*l.* a year. But when the question came on in the House of Commons, a wish was expressed by Mr. Brodrick and many more, that every other company should be at liberty to make offers. This, exclaims the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was like setting the national to auction; and the only point on which all parties concurred was one which experience has proved to be totally wrong. "I quite agreed with Ministers," says Mr. Brodrick, "that till the national debt was discharged, or "at least in a fair way of being so, we were not to expect to make "the figure we formerly had! Nay, further, I said, till this was "done, we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation!" At length, after some violent wrangling between Lechmere and Walpole (2), the House divided, and the question of competition was carried by a very large majority.

(1) Our best authorities for this negotiation, and the subsequent debate in the House of Commons, are, Mr. Brodrick's Letter to Lord Middleton, Jan. 24. 1720; and Mr. Aislabie's Second Speech before the House of Lords, July, 1721. The latter seems to be overlooked by Coxe. Both, however, re-

quire to be read with much suspicion; Aislabie being then on his defence, and Brodrick a violent partisan on the other side.

(2) There seems to have been great uproar. When Lechmere attempted to speak a second time in Committee, the Opposition rose from their

New proposals were accordingly sent in, both from the South Sea Company and the Bank of England. According to Aislabie, this was a sudden resolution of the Bank, "who before had shown "great backwardness in undertaking any thing to reduce the public debts, [and had treated this scheme with much contempt (1)."

Be this as it may, the two bodies now displayed the utmost eagerness to outbid one another, each seeming almost ready to ruin itself, so that it could but disappoint its rival. They both went on enhancing their terms, until at length the South Sea Company rose to the enormous offer of seven millions and a half, which was accepted. Yet the benefit of this competition to the public was any thing but real; for such high terms almost of necessity drew the South Sea Directors into rash means for improving their rash bargain, into daring speculation, and into final ruin.

The last proposals of the Bank had been little less extravagant. It is urged by Aislabie, in his defence next year before the Peers, "I will be bold to say, my Lords, and the gentlemen of the Bank, "I believe, will own, that if they had carried the scheme upon "their last proposals, they could not have succeeded; and I will "show your Lordships, from what they have done since, that they "would have acted in the same manner as the South Sea Company."

Even at the time Aislabie had some glimmerings of the future danger, and proposed to Sir John Blunt that the two Corporations should undertake the compact jointly, and therefore with double resources. But Sir John, who was, or pretended to be, a most austere Puritan, and who brought forward Scripture on all occasions, immediately quoted Solomon's judgment, and added, "No, "Sir, we will never divide the child!"

Thus then the South Sea Bill proceeded through the House of Commons without any further competition from the Bank (2). An attempt was made to introduce a clause fixing how many years' purchase should be granted to the annuitants by the South Sea Company. To this it was objected, that as it was the interest of the Company to take in the annuities, and as the annuitants had the power of coming in or not as they pleased, there was no doubt that the Company would offer advantageous terms, and that therefore the affair might safely be left to private adjustment. "Nor," says Aislabie, "would the South Sea Company submit to be controlled "in an undertaking they were to pay so dear for." On these grounds was the clause rejected, though only by a majority of four. But these grounds, though specious and indeed well-founded,

places; and on the Chairman exclaiming, "Hear "your Member," they answered, "We have heard "him long enough!" Brodrick to Lord Middleton, Jan. 24. 1720.

(1) Second Speech, July, 1721. See also Sinclair's Public Revenue, part II. p. 104.

(2) I must observe, that the observations ascribed to Walpole by Coxe (vol. I. p. 130.) seem to have

been drawn up on Coxe's own ideas of probability. He makes Walpole point out "the ruin and misery "which then prevailed in France from similar "measures." Now this is quite an anachronism: the speech of Walpole was delivered Feb. 1. 1730; and at that time the system of Law was still in its glory.

were not the only ones, and we shall see hereafter that several persons in Government had probably other reasons as weighty, though not quite so honourable, for supporting the Directors.

The South Sea Bill finally passed the Commons by a division of 172 against 55. In the Lords, on the 4th of April, the minority was only 17, notwithstanding an able speech from Lord Cowper, who compared the project to the Trojan horse, ushered in with great pomp and acclamation, but contrived for treachery and destruction. But, like every other statesman at this time, he did not foresee the real point or extent of danger; and nothing could be more erroneous than his prediction, that "the main public intention of this bill, the repurchase of annuities, would meet with insuperable difficulties." Such, on the contrary, was the rising rage for speculation, that on the passing of the bill very many of the annuitants hastened to carry their orders to the South Sea House, before they had even received any offer, or knew what terms would be allowed them!—ready to yield a fixed and certain income for even the smallest share in vast but visionary schemes!

The offer which was made to them on the 29th of May (eight years and a quarter's purchase) was much less favourable than they had hoped; yet nevertheless, six days afterwards, it was computed that nearly two thirds of the whole number of annuitants had already agreed (1).

In fact, it seems clear, that during this time, and throughout the summer, the whole nation, with extremely few exceptions, looked upon the South Sea Scheme as promising and prosperous. Its funds rapidly rose from 130 to above 300. Walpole, although one of its opponents, readily, as we have seen, joined the Ministry at this period under very mortifying circumstances, which he would certainly not have done, had he foreseen the impending crash, and the necessity that would arise for his high financial talents. Lord Townshend concurred in the same view. Atterbury thought it a great blow to Jacobitism. He charitably hints to James, in his letters, that some attempt from the Duke of Ormond might "disorder our finances, and throw us into a good deal of confusion." But if the advice of this minister of peace and good will toward men cannot be taken in this respect, he then anticipates that "the grand money schemes will settle and fix themselves in such a manner that it will not be easy to shake them (2)." Such being the feeling, not merely of the Ministerial party, but of most of their opponents, it seems scarcely just to cast the blame of the general delusion on the Ministers alone, and to speak of them as deaf to warning and precipitate to ruin.

The example of these vast schemes for public wealth was set us from Paris. John Law, a Scotch adventurer, had some years before

(1) Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xix. p. 518.

(2) Letters to James and to General Dillon, May, 6: 1720. See Appendix. L.A.S.

been allowed to establish a public bank in that city; and his project succeeding, he engrafted another upon it of an "Indian Company," to have the sole privilege of trade with the Mississippi. The rage for this speculation soon became general: it rose to its greatest height about December, 1719; and the "actions," or shares, of the new Company sold for more than twenty times their original value. The Rue Quincampoix, the chief scene of this traffic, was thronged from daybreak by a busy and expecting crowd, which disregarded the hours of meals, and seemed to feel no hunger or thirst but that of gold, nor could they be dispersed until a bell at night gave them the signal to withdraw. The smallest room in that street was let for exorbitant sums; the clerks were unable to register the growing multitude of claimants; and it is even said that a little hunchback in the street gained no less than 50,000 francs by allowing eager speculators to use his hump for their desk (1). Law, the projector of this System, as it was called, at once became the greatest subject in Europe. "I have seen him "come to Court," says Voltaire, "followed humbly by Dukes, by "Marshals, and by Bishops;" and even Dubois, the Prime Minister, and Orleans, the Regent, might be said to tremble at his nod. Arrogance and presumption, the usual faults of upstarts, daily grew upon him: he said publicly, before some English, that there was but one great kingdom in Europe, and one great town, and that was France and Paris (2). And at length he so far galled the pride or raised the jealousy of his countryman, Lord Stair, as to draw him into personal wrangling, and consequently interrupt the friendly correspondence between the French and British Governments. It was one main object of Stanhope's journey in January to re-establish harmony; but finding the two Scotsmen irreconcilable, and one of them supreme in France, he, in concert with Dubois, recalled Lord Stair to England, and appointed Sir Robert Sutton his successor (3). Thus ended Stair's celebrated embassy, which Lord Hardwicke truly calls most important in its objects, most brilliant and spirited in its execution (4). But this last great error kept him under disgrace, or at least out of employment, for twenty years. In 1733, we find Horace Walpole write of him as one "whose haughty intriguing character has "drawn upon him the displeasure of the King (5).

The connection of Law with the French Government was very profitable to the latter, who contrived to throw off 1500 millions of public debts from their shoulders upon his; but this very circumstance, and the natural revulsion of high-wrought hopes, soon began to shake his air-built edifice. Two or three arbitrary Royal

(1) *Mém. de la Régence*, tom. iv. p. 53. ed. 1740.

(2) Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs, Sept. 9. 1719.

(3) Lord Stanhope to Abbé Dubois, Dec. 13. 1719.

(4) *Appendix*; and Lord Stair's apologetic letters in

the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 606—618.

(5) Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 831.

(6) To Baron Cædæ, 1725. This, however, was after the Excise Scheme.

Decrees to support him served only to prove that credit is not to be commanded. The more the public was bid to trust, the more they were inclined to fear, and the more eager they became to realise their imaginary profits. No sooner was the bubble touched, than it burst. Before the end of 1720, Law was compelled not only to resign his employments, but to fly the kingdom for his life; a few speculators were enriched, but many thousand innocent families ruined (1). Still, however, in the early part of that year the crash had not yet begun, and the rage of speculation spread over from France to England. In fact, from that time downward, it may be noticed that each of the two countries has been more or less moved by the internal movements of the other; and there has been scarcely any impulse at Paris which has failed to thrill and vibrate through every member of the British Empire.

As soon as the South Sea Bill had received the Royal Assent in April, the Directors proposed a subscription of one million, which was so eagerly taken, that the sum subscribed exceeded two. A second subscription was quickly opened, and no less quickly filled. The most exaggerated hopes were raised, and the most groundless rumours set afloat; such as that Stanhope had received overtures at Paris to exchange Gibraltar and Port Mahon for some places in Peru! The South Sea trade was again vaunted as the best avenue to wealth; objections were unheard or over-ruled; and the friends of Lord Oxford might exult to see his visions adopted by his opponents (2). In August, the stocks, which had been 130 in the winter, rose to 1000! Such general infatuation would have been happy for the Directors, had they not themselves partaken of it. They opened a third, and even a fourth subscription, larger than the former; they passed a resolution, that from Christmas next their yearly dividend should not be less than fifty per cent.; they assumed an arrogant and overbearing tone. "We have made 'them Kings,'" says a Member of Parliament, "and they deal with 'every body as such (3)!" But the public delusion was not confined to the South Sea Scheme; a thousand other mushroom projects sprung up in that teeming soil. This evil had been foreseen, and, as they hoped, guarded against by Ministers. On the very day Parliament rose they had issued a Royal Proclamation against "such mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the 'presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares 'without legal authority.'" But how difficult to enforce that

(1) In 1723, Walpole wished to promote the restoration of Law in France, since the power might fall into much worse hands for England. (To Sir Luke Schaub, April 19. 1723.) But the public resentment was far too violent to admit of such a scheme. It is very remarkable as the strongest proof of the ascendancy of Lord Stanhope over Dubois and the French Government, that it was he who, from Hanover, planned and counselled all the steps for the expulsion of Law and the res-

toration of public credit in France. (M. Destouches to Dubois, Sept. 8. 1720. See Appendix.)

(2) "You remember when the South Sea was said to be Lord Oxford's brat. Now the King has adopted it, and calls it his beloved child: though perhaps you may say, if he loves it no better than his son, it may not be saying 'much!' (Duchess of Ormond to Swift, April, 18. 1720.)

(3) Mr. Brodrick to Lord Middleton, Sept. 12. 1720.

prohibition in a free country ! How impossible, when almost immediately on the King's departure, the Heir Apparent was induced to publish his name as a Governor of the Welsh Copper Company ! In vain did the Speaker and Walpole endeavour to dissuade him, representing that he would be attacked in Parliament, and that "The Prince of Wales's Bubble" would be cried in Change Alley (1). It was not till the Company was threatened with prosecution, and exposed to risk, that His Royal Highness prudently withdrew, with a profit of 40,000*l*.

Such an example was tempting to follow ; the Duke of Chandos and the Earl of Westmoreland appeared likewise at the head of bubbles ; and the people at large soon discovered that to speculate is easier than to work. Change Alley became a new edition of the Rue Quincampoix. The crowds were so great within doors, that tables with clerks were set in the streets. In this motley throng were blended all ranks, all professions, and all parties ; Churchmen and Dissenters, Whigs and Tories, country gentlemen and brokers. An eager strife of tongues prevailed in this second Babel ; new reports, new subscriptions, new transfers, flew from mouth to mouth ; and the voice of ladies (for even many ladies had turned gamblers) rose loud and incessant, above the general din. A foreigner would no longer have complained of the English taciturnity (2). Some of the companies hawked about were for the most extravagant objects ; we find amongst the number, "Wrecks to be fished for on the Irish Coast—Insurance of Horses, and other Cattle (two millions)—Insurance of Losses by Servants—To make Salt Water Fresh—For building of Hospitals for Bastard Children—For building of Ships against Pirates—For making of Oil from Sun-flower Seeds—For improving of Malt Liquors—For recovering of Seamen's Wages—For extracting of Silver from Lead—For the transmuting of Quicksilver into a malleable and fine Metal—For making of Iron with Pit-coal—For importing a Number of large Jack Asses from Spain—For trading in Human Hair—For fattening of Hogs—For a Wheel for a Perpetual Motion (3)." But the most strange of all, perhaps, was "For an Undertaking which shall in due time be revealed." Each subscriber was to pay down two guineas, and hereafter to receive a share of one hundred with a disclosure of the object ; and so tempting was the offer, that 1000 of these subscriptions were paid the same morning, with which the projector went off in the afternoon.

(1) Secretary Craggs to Earl Stanhope, July 12. 1720.

(2) A French traveller, a few years afterwards, declares that the "Actions du Sud et les Gallons d'Espagne" were almost the only subjects on which Englishmen would talk. In general, he says, we are quite silent. "L'on bolt et fume sans parler. Je connais un Anglais, qui, toutes les fois qu'on veut le forcer à rompre le silence, a coutume de répondre, que parler c'est gêner

"la conversation !" (Lettres d'un Français, tom. ii. p. 108. ed. 1745.)

(3) Macpherson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 90. ed. 1805. Mr. Hutcheson observes, "I speak in a gaming style, the South Sea stock must be allowed the honour of being the Gold Table; the better sort of bubbles, the Silver Tables; and the lower sort of these, the Farthing Tables for the footmen !" (Treatises, p. 87.)

Amidst these real follies, I can scarcely see any difference or exaggeration in a mock proposal which was circulated at the time in ridicule of the rest,—“ For the Invention of melting down Saw-dust and Chips, and casting them into clean Deal Boards without Cracks or Knots !”

Such extravagances might well provoke laughter ; but, unhappily, though the farce came first, there was a tragedy behind. When the sums intended to be raised had grown altogether, it is said, to the enormous amount of three hundred millions (1), the first check to the public infatuation was given by the same body whence it had first sprung. The South Sea Directors, craving for fresh gains, and jealous of other speculators, obtained an order from the Lords Justices, and writs of *SCIRE FACIAS*, against several of the new bubble companies. These fell, but in falling drew down the whole fabric with them. As soon as distrust was excited, all men became anxious to convert their bonds into money ; and then at once appeared the fearful disproportion between the paper promises and the coin to pay. Early in September, the South Sea Stock began to decline : its fall became more rapid from day to day, and in less than a month it had sunk below 300. In vain was money drained from all the distant counties and brought up to London. In vain were the goldsmiths applied to, with whom large quantities of stock were pawned : most of them broke or fled. In vain was Walpole summoned from Houghton to use his influence with the Bank ; for that body, though it entered into negotiations, would not proceed in them, and refused to ratify a contract drawn up and proposed by the Minister (2). Once lost, the public confidence could not be restored : the decline progressively continued, and the news of the crash in France completed ours. Thousands of families were reduced to beggary ; thousands more were threatened with the same fate ; and the large fortunes made, or supposed to be made, by a few individuals, served only by comparison to aggravate the common ruin. Those who had sported most proudly on the surface of the swollen waters were left stranded and bare by the ebbing of that mighty tide. The resentment and rage were universal. “ I perceive,” says a contemporary, “ the very name of a South Sea man grows abominable in every county (3) ;” and a cry was raised not merely against the South Sea Directors, not merely against the Ministry, but against the Royal Family, against the King himself. Most of the statesmen of the time had more or less dabbled in these funds. Lord Sunderland lost considerably (4) ; Walpole, with more sagacity, was a great gainer (5) ; the Duke of

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. vii. p. 387.

(2) Hutcheson's Second Postscript, Sept. 24. 1720. Treatises, p. 89. See also in my Appendix a letter from Lord Hervey to H. Walpole, Sept. 12. 1735.

(3) Mr. Brodrick to Lord Middleton, Sept. 27. 1720.

(4) Mr. Brodrick to Lord Middleton, Sept. 13. 1720.

(5) Coxe's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 730. Walpole sold out at the highest price (1000), saying, as he well might, “ I am fully satisfied.” His wife continued to speculate a little longer on her own account.

Portland, Lord Lonsdale, and Lord Irwin, were reduced to solicit West India governments; and it is mentioned as an exception, that “neither Lords Stanhope, Argyle, nor Roxburgh, have been “in the Stocks (1).” Townshend, I believe, might also be excepted. But the public indignation was pointed chiefly against Sir John Blunt as projector, and against Sunderland and Aislabe as heads of the Treasury; and it was suspected, how truly will afterwards appear, that the King’s mistresses and several of his ministers, both English and German, had received large sums in stock to recommend the project. In short, as England had never yet undergone such great disappointment and confusion, so it never had so loudly called for confiscation and blood.

That there was some knavery to punish, I do not deny, and I shall presently show. It seems to me, however, that the nation had suffered infinitely more by their own self-willed infatuation than by any fraud that was or could be practised upon them. This should not have been forgotten when the day of disappointment came. But when a people is suffering severely, from whatever cause, it always looks round for a victim, and too often strikes the first it finds. It seeks for no proof; it will listen to no defence; it considers an acquittal as only a collusion. Of this fatal tendency our own times may afford a striking instance. Whilst the cholera prevailed at Paris and Madrid, it was seen that the mob, instead of lamenting a natural and unavoidable calamity, were persuaded that the springs had been poisoned, and ran to arms for their revenge.

During this time, express after express was sent to the King at Hanover, announcing the dismal news, and pressing his speedy return. George had intended to make a longer stay in Germany; but seeing the urgency of the case he hastened homewards, attended by Stanhope, and landed at Margate on the 9th of November. It had been hoped that his Majesty’s presence would have revived the drooping credit of the South Sea Funds, but it had not that effect; on the contrary, they fell to 135 at the tidings that Parliament was further prorogued for a fortnight. That delay was necessary to frame some scheme for meeting the public difficulties, and this task, by universal assent, and even acclamation, was assigned to Walpole. Fortunately for that Minister he had been out of office when the South Sea Act was passed; he had opposed it as he had opposed all the measures, right or wrong, of Stanhope’s and Sunderland’s government, and its unpopularity, therefore, turned to his reputation with the country. Every eye was directed towards him; every tongue invoked him, as the only man whose financial abilities, and public favour, could avert the country’s ruin. Nor did he shrink from this alarming crisis. Had he stood aloof, or

(1) Mr. Drummond to Mr. D. Pulteney, November 24. 1720. (Coxe’s Walpole.)

joined the opposition, he would probably have had the power to crush the South Sea Directors and their abettors, and especially to wreak his vengeance upon Sunderland; and he is highly extolled by a modern writer for magnanimity in resisting the temptation (1). But though Walpole undoubtedly deserves great praise through all his administration for placability and personal forbearance, yet I can scarcely think the present case an instance of it. In this case the line of interest exactly coincided with the line of duty. Would not the King have shut out Walpole for ever from his confidence had Walpole headed this attack on his colleagues? Would not a large section, at least, of the Whigs, have adhered to their other chiefs? Was it not his evident policy, instead of hurling down the objects of popular outcry, to befriend them in their inevitable fall, and then quietly to step into their places, with the consent, perhaps even with the thanks, of their personal adherents?

Meanwhile the German ministers and mistresses, full of fear for themselves, and in utter ignorance of England, were whispering, it is said, the wildest schemes. One spoke of a pretended resignation to the Prince of Wales; another wished to sound the officers of the army, and try to proclaim absolute power; another again advised to apply to the Emperor for troops. But such mad proposals, if, indeed, they were ever seriously made, were counteracted by the English ministers, and still more, no doubt, by the King's own good sense and right feeling.

On the 8th of December Parliament met in a mood like the people's, terror-stricken, bewildered, and thirsting for vengeance. In the House of Commons parties were strangely mixed; some men, who had dipped in dishonest practices, hoped by an affected severity to disarm suspicion; others, smarting under their personal losses, were estranged from their political attachments. Whigs and Tories crossed over, while the Jacobites, enjoying and augmenting the general confusion, hoped to turn it in their own behalf. The King's opening speech lamented the unhappy turn of affairs, and urged the seeking a remedy. This passed quietly in the Lords; but when Pulteney moved the Address in the Commons, Shippen proposed an angry amendment, and produced a violent debate. "Miscreants"—"scum of the people"—"enemies of their country;" such were the names given to the South Sea Directors. One member complained that the Ministry had put a stop to all the little bubbles, only in order to deepen the water for the great one. Lord Molesworth admitted that the Directors could not be reached by any known laws; "but extraordinary crimes," he exclaimed, "call for extraordinary remedies. The Roman lawgivers had not foreseen the possible existence of a parricide; but as soon as the first monster appeared, he was sewn in a sack, and cast headlong

(1) Coxe's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 138. A letter in a friend of Walpole, confirms the view I have his second volume (p. 194.) from Pulteney, then taken.

“ into the Tiber ; and as I think the contrivers of the South Sea Scheme to be the parricides of their country, I shall willingly see them undergo the same punishment ! ” Such was the temper of the times ! On this occasion, Walpole spoke with his usual judgment, and with unwonted ascendancy. He said that if the city of London were on fire, wise men would be for extinguishing the flames before they inquired after the incendiaries, and that he had already bestowed his thoughts on a proposal to restore Public Credit, which, at a proper season, he would submit to the wisdom of the House. Through his influence, chiefly, the amendment of Shippen was rejected by 261 against 103 ; but next day on the Report no one ventured to oppose the insertion of words “ to punish the authors of our present misfortunes.” Three days afterwards it was carried that the Directors should forthwith lay before the House an account of all their proceedings (1), and a Bill was introduced against “ the infamous practice of Stock-Jobbing.”

It was amidst this general storm that Walpole, on the 21st of December, brought forward his remedy. He had first desired the House to decide whether or not the public contracts with the South Sea Company should be preserved inviolate. This being carried by a large majority, Walpole then unfolded his scheme ; it was in substance to engraft nine millions of Stock into the Bank of England, and the same sum into the East India Company, on certain conditions, leaving twenty millions to the South Sea. This measure, framed with great financial ability, and supported by consummate powers of debate, met with no small opposition, especially from all the three Companies, not one of which would gain by it ; and though it passed both Houses, it was never carried into execution, being only permissive, and not found necessary, in consequence, as will be seen hereafter, of another law.

A short Christmas recess had no effect in allaying animosities. Immediately afterwards, a Bill was brought in by Sir Joseph Jekyll, restraining the South Sea Directors from going out of the kingdom, obliging them to deliver upon oath the strict value of their estates, and offering rewards to discoverers or informers against them (2). The Directors petitioned to be heard by counsel in their defence, the common right, they said, of British subjects—as if a South Sea man had been still entitled to justice ! Their request was rejected, and the Bill was hurried through both Houses. A Secret Committee of Inquiry was next appointed by the Commons, consisting chiefly of the most vehement opponents of the South Sea Scheme, such as Molesworth,

1721.

(1) “ Governor Pitt moved that the Directors should attend on Thursday with their *Myrmidons*, the secretary, the treasurer, and, if they pleased, with their great *Scanderberg* : who he meant by that I know not but the epithet

“ denotes somebody of consideration ! ” Mr. Brodrick to Lord Middleton, December 10, 1720. Compare with this letter the *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 680.

(2) This last clause is mentioned by Brodrick to Lord Middleton, Jan. 19, 1721.

Jekyll, and Brodrick, the latter of whom they selected for their Chairman.

This Committee proceeded to examine Mr. Knight, the cashier of the Company, and the agent of its most secret transactions. But this person, dreading the consequences, soon after his first examination escaped to France, connived at, as was suspected, by some persons in power, and carrying with him the register of the Company. His escape was reported to the House on the 23d of January, when a strange scene of violence ensued. The Commons ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys to be laid on the table. General Ross then stated that the Committee, of which he was a member, had "discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud " that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation." No proof beyond this vague assertion was required : four of the Directors, members of the Parliament, were immediately expelled the House, taken into custody, and their papers seized (1)!

Meanwhile the Lords had been examining other Directors at their Bar, and on the 24th they also ordered five to be taken into custody. Some of the answers indicated that large sums in South Sea Stock had been given to procure the passing of the Act last year ; upon which Lord Stanhopé immediately rose, and expressing his indignation at such practices, moved a resolution, that any transfer of Stock, without a valuable consideration, for the use of any person in the administration, during the pendency of the South Sea Act, was a notorious and dangerous corruption. He was seconded by Lord Townshend, and the Resolution passed unanimously. On the 4th of February, the House, continuing their examinations, had before them Sir John Blunt, who, however, refused to answer, on the ground that he had already given his evidence before the Secret Committee of the Commons. How to proceed in this matter was a serious difficulty ; and a debate which arose upon it soon branched into more general topics. A vehement philippic was delivered by the Duke of Wharton, the son of the late Minister, who had recently come of age, and who even previously had received the honour of a dukedom, his father having died while the patent was in preparation. This young nobleman was endowed with splendid talents, but had early plunged into the wildest excesses, and professed the most godless doctrines ; and his declamations against the "villanous scheme," or on public virtue, came a little strangely from the President of the Hell-fire Club (2)! On this occasion he launched forth into a general attack upon the whole conduct of administration, and

(1) "Several of the Directors were so far innocent as to be found poorer at the breaking up of the scheme than when it began." (Macpherson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 112.)

(2) On the 29th of April, this year, the King issued a Proclamation against the Hell-fire Club.

Wharton hereupon played a strange farce : he went to the House of Lords, declared that he was not, as was thought, a "patron of blasphemy," and pulling out an old family Bible, proceeded with a sanctified air to quote several texts ! But he soon reverted to his former courses.

more than hinted that Stanhope had fomented the late dissension between the King and Prince of Wales. Look to his parallel, he cried, in Sejanus, that evil and too powerful minister, who made a division in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Tiberius hateful to the Romans! Stanhope rose with much passion to reply; he vindicated his own conduct and that of the administration; and in conclusion, after complimenting the Noble Duke on his studies in Roman history, hoped that he had not overlooked the example of the patriot Brutus, who, in order to assert the liberty of Rome, and free it from tyrants, sacrificed his own degenerate and worthless son! But his transport of anger, however just, was fatal to his health; the blood rushed to his head; he was supported home much indisposed, and relieved by cupping, but next day was seized with a suffocation, and instantly expired. Thus died James Earl Stanhope, leaving behind him at that time few equals in integrity, and none in knowledge of foreign affairs. His disinterestedness in money matters was so well known, that in the South Sea transactions, and even during the highest popular fury, he stood clear, not merely of any charge, but even of any suspicion with the public; and the King, on learning the news, was so much affected, that he retired for several hours alone into his closet to lament his loss.

In the room of Stanhope, Townshend became Secretary of State; while Aislabie, finding it impossible to stem the popular torrent, resigned his office, which was conferred upon Walpole. But this resignation was far from contenting the public, or abating their eagerness for the report of the Secret Committee. That Committee certainly displayed no want of activity: it sat every day from 9 in the morning till 11 at night, being resolved, as the Chairman expresses it, "to show how the horse was curried (1)!" At length, on the 16th of February, their first Report was presented to the House. It appeared that they had experienced obstacles from the escape of Knight, from the taking away of some books, and from the defacing of others; but that the cross-examination of the Directors and Accountants had supplied the deficiency. A scene of infamous corruption was then disclosed. It was found that last year above half a million of fictitious South Sea Stock had been created, in order that the profit upon that sum might be disposed of by the Directors to facilitate the passing of the Bill. The Duchess of Kendal had 10,000*l.*; another of the King's favourites, Madame de Platen, with laudable impartiality, had the same sum; nor were the two nieces of the latter forgotten. Against these ladies no steps were, nor, perhaps, could be taken. But those persons in the administration accused of similar peculation were Secretary Craggs, his father the Postmaster-General, Mr. Charles

(1) Mr. Brodrick to Lord Midleton, Feb. 4. 1721.

Stanhope, Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Aislabie, and the Earl of Sunderland; and the Report added the various evidence in the case of each.

On the very day when this Report was reading in the Commons died one of the statesmen accused in it, James Craggs, Secretary of State. His illness was the small-pox, which was then very prevalent (1), joined no doubt to anxiety of mind. Whatever may have been his conduct in the South Sea affairs (for his death arrested the inquiry), he undoubtedly combined great talents for business, with a love of learning and of literature; and his name, were it even to drop from the page of History, would live enshrined for ever in the verse of Pope. But the fate of his father was still more lamentable;—a few weeks afterwards, when the accusation was pressing upon him, he swallowed poison and expired. If we may trust Horace Walpole, Sir Robert subsequently declared that the unhappy man had hinted his intention to him (2).

The other cases were prosecuted by the House with proper vigour, and singly, as standing each on separate grounds. The first that came on was that of Mr. Charles Stanhope, Secretary to the Treasury; he was a kinsman of the late Minister, and brother of Colonel William Stanhope, afterwards Lord Harrington. It was proved that a large sum of stock had been entered for him in the bank of Sir George Caswall and Co., and that his name had been partly erased from their books, and altered to STANGAPE. On his behalf it was contended that the transfer had been made without his knowledge or consent: but I am bound to acknowledge that I think the change of his name in the ledger a most suspicious circumstance. On a division he was declared innocent, but only by a majority of three. On this occasion, according to Mr. Brodrick, “ Lord Stanhope, son to Lord Chesterfield, carried off a pretty many, by mentioning in the strongest terms the memory of the late Lord of that name (3).” This respect to a living Minister would not surprise us, but it surely was no small testimony to the merits of a dead one.

The next case was Aislabie’s. It was so flagrant, that scarce any member ventured to defend him, and none to divide the House: he was unanimously expelled and sent to the Tower, and afterwards great part of his property seized. Many had been the murmurs at Stanhope’s acquittal; and so great was the rejoicing on Aislabie’s conviction, that there were bonfires that night in the City.

Lord Sunderland now remained. He was charged with having received, through Knight, 50,000*l.* stock, without payment; and the public outcry against him was fierce and loud, but, as I believe, unfounded. The charge rested entirely on hearsay testimony, on

(1) See a list of its victims in that month in Boyer’s Political State, vol. xxi. p. 196, etc. vol. iv. p. 228. ed. 1798, and Brodrick’s Letter to Lord Middleton, March 16. 1721.

2) Compare Walpole’s Reminiscences (Works, 3) To Lord Middleton, March 7. 1721.

words which Sir John Blunt said that Knight had said to him : there was collateral evidence to shake it ; and the character of Blunt himself was that of a dishonest, and now ruined and desperate man. It is also remarkable that Sunderland had in fact lost considerably by the South Sea Scheme, and that one of his bitterest enemies then accused him, not of having confederated with the Directors, but of being their dupe and victim (1). So strong seemed these considerations, that a large majority (233 against 172) declared the Minister innocent. But, notwithstanding this acquittal, the popular ferment was too strong for Sunderland to continue at the head of the Treasury : he resigned, and was succeeded by Walpole. His influence at Court, however, still continued ; and he obtained the appointment of Lord Carteret in the room of Secretary Craggs.

The South Sea Directors, on the other hand, were treated as a body, and with no measured severity. Amongst them was Mr. Gibbon, grandfather of the great historian, who has raised his eloquent voice against the oppressions of that period (2). They were disabled from ever holding any place or sitting in Parliament ; and their estates, amounting altogether to above two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the South Sea sufferers. Even the small allowance voted to each Director was often embittered by insult, or diminished by enmity. Sometimes an allowance of one shilling, or of twenty pounds, was jestingly moved. A rough answer of one Director at the Treasury many months before was rancorously quoted against him. Another it seems had been foolish enough to boast that his horses should feed on gold : a facetious member observed that he might now feed on it himself, and should have just as much gold as he could eat, and no more !

If we blame the conduct of Parliament towards these unhappy men, we shall find that their contemporaries also complained of it. But it was for the exactly opposite reason ! We may think such proceedings harsh and cruel ; they thought them shamefully lenient. Petitions had been pouring in from all parts of the country praying for “ condign punishment ” on these “ Monsters of pride “ and covetousness ”—“ the Cannibals of Change Alley ”—“ the “ infamous betrayers of their country ! ” One worthy representative laments the sad grievance that after all there will be nobody’s blood shed (1) ! And in pamphlets of the day I read such expressions as—“ If you ask what, monsters as they are, should be done “ with them ? the answer is short and easy—Hang them ! for what “ ever they deserve I would have no new tortures invented, nor “ any new deaths devised. In this, I think, I show moderation. “ Let them only be hanged, but hanged speedily (4) ! ”

(1) Mr. Brodrick to Lord Middleton, Sept. 27. 1720.

(3) Mr. St. John Brodrick to Lord Middleton,

(2) Gibbon, *Memoirs* (Miscell. Works, vol. 1. p. 16. ed. 1814.)

May 26. 1721.

(4) Letter of Britannicus, *London Journal*, Nov. 19. 1720.

This general exasperation and disappointment made the House of Commons more chary than had been usual with them in voting the Supplies. When a King's message was sent down asking for a subsidy of 72,000*l.* to Sweden, it was warmly opposed by many members, especially Lord Molesworth, who went into the whole state of Northern politics. He said that obtaining naval stores was the main advantage we reaped from our trade in the Baltic; that he owned hemp was a very necessary commodity, especially at this juncture (a remark which produced a general laugh), but that in his opinion we might be supplied more cheaply from our plantations in America. Nevertheless the subsidy was carried.

The great object of Walpole was now the restoration of Public Credit. In addition to the measure formerly mentioned, and in fact as superseding it, he now proposed a fresh Bill, which met with the concurrence of both Houses. Of the seven millions and a half, which the South Sea Directors had agreed to pay the public, he remitted more than five, and on their incessant complaints the other two also were afterwards yielded. The forfeited estates served partly to clear their encumbrances; the credit of their bonds was maintained; and 33 per cent. of the capital was paid to the proprietors; and thus as far as possible was justice done to all parties, and the ill effects of the late calamity retrieved. Many proprietors, however, of the redeemable annuities were highly dissatisfied; on one occasion they thronged into the lobby, tumultuously calling on each member as he passed, and holding out a paper with the words—"Pray do justice to the Annuitants who lent their money "on Parliamentary security!" It was found necessary to read the Riot Act, and difficult to disperse the crowd, many of them exclaiming as they went, "You first pick our pockets, and then "send us to gaol for complaining!"

Nor did the motives and conduct of Walpole escape censure; he was long afterwards accused in the Craftsman of having made a collusive bargain with the Bank, and concerted his public measures with a view to his personal enrichment. Coxe frankly owns that he will not attempt to justify Sir Robert in every particular of these transactions (1); but as to the main facts his defence seems quite satisfactory, and the Minister quite innocent; nor should it ever be forgotten, to the honour of Walpole, that he stepped forward at a most perilous and perplexing crisis, and that it was he who stood between the people and bankruptcy, between the King and sedition.

Throughout all these transactions there is nothing more remarkable than the national despondency and common forebodings of disasters for the future. For forty years after the accession of the House of Hanover our liberties were constantly pronounced on the

(1) *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 158.

very brink of extinction. After the South Sea year the country no less resounded with prophecies of “a sinking state” and “irretrievable ruin.” Yet how little in either case has the event tallied with the expectation! If our Constitution has changed, it has certainly not been from any diminution of popular control. If our Commerce has changed, it has only been by swelling to a size and extent such as our forefathers, in their wildest speculations, never dreamed. Were it not beneath the dignity of History, I might indulge a conjecture, what would have been the feelings of Walpole or of Stanhope, had he some morning,—at breakfast perhaps—been thus addressed by a projector or a prophet: “With that vapour which you see rising from the tea-urn will I do the work of hundreds of thousands of men.—I will ride without horses,—I will sail against wind and tide.—I will carry heavier burthens than the camel, and yet my speed shall be swifter than the bird’s! With another such vapour will I fill vast globes, which you shall see arise from the earth, and bear men up into the bosom of the clouds! With these and other such discoveries, shall you attain a new era of wealth, prosperity, and knowledge. Cultivation shall spread beyond the fruitful valleys, up into the chalk or clay, and drive sterility to the very summits of the bleakest fells! The single towns of Liverpool and Manchester shall engross more trade and business than now the whole of England. You shall have a hundred millions of Indians for your subjects. Your yearly revenue shall be greater than the whole principal of your present, which you call enormous and intolerable debt.” Had any seer thus spoken, would the Minister have withheld his indignation from the audacious impostor, or would not Bedlam have received the poor deluded wretch? Yet have all these things been fulfilled to the letter, and the widest prospect of national wealth, which the South Sea Directors ever held out in the very hey-day of their hopes, has been far—very far—oustripped by the reality!

But should these mighty changes afford us unmixed exultation? Have not the tares grown up quickly with the corn? The frightful abuses of the Factory System—perhaps also the necessary evils of that system under any regulation, have raised up gaunt poverty side by side with overgrown wealth—a race of men bound to their superiors by no other tie than wages and hire—with no mutual and hereditary feelings of kindness—too rarely either provident in prosperity or patient in distress. Instead of the healthy and invigorating pursuits of agriculture, their unwholesome labours often tend only to dwarf the body and depress the mind. Behold in the pale and blear-eyed mechanic, in the feverish and stunted factory child, the descendants of the hardy and joyous English yeomen! No longer dwelling on the free hillside, but cooped up in noisome dens and wrapt in the smoke of a thousand manufactories, the sun

and air that come to all, come not to them. Ready to sell their skill to the highest bidder, they are transferred without care and reflection from master to master, and from mill to mill. To their ever-growing numbers the religious provision of the Church has proved utterly inadequate, and in some places their want of spiritual food has been supplied by the rankest poison. Through the kind exertions of agitators they have sometimes been made to read just enough to see objections against all religion and all government, and not enough to see those objections triumphantly refuted. God forbid that this description should apply to all? But does it not apply to more than a few? And is such a state of things free from grievous misery? Is it free from appalling danger?

The South Sea Scheme, and the consequent exasperation throughout the country, seemed to render a Dissolution of Parliament a most perilous venture, and yet its septennial period was near at hand. Hence was suggested a remedy far worse than the danger—an idea of obtaining another special prolongation of the term; and it is said that of the King's chief advisers, this idea was opposed by Sunderland, but advised by Walpole. This is reported by Mr. St. John Brodrick (1), nephew to Lord Middleton, who had just, as he tells us, carried his election at Beralston through Walpole's influence, and was not therefore likely to misrepresent his opinions; yet it seems difficult to believe that so cool and cautious a statesman should have supported this violent and unconstitutional scheme. Be this as it may, the scheme, if ever entertained, was soon relinquished; the Parliament met again for a very short and unimportant Session, in the winter of 1724, and was dissolved in the March following. The country was then restored to quiet, and the new elections, like the last, gave a large and overwhelming majority to the party in power.

In less than three weeks after the elections, on the 19th of April, died the Earl of Sunderland, so suddenly that poison was rumoured, but his body being opened the surgeons discovered a disease in the heart (2). His character I have elsewhere endeavoured to portray, and it only remains for me to touch upon a charge connected with the last year of his life. He is suspected by a contemporary of having "entered into such correspondence and designs "as would have been fatal to himself or to the public (3)"—in plain words, intrigues with the Pretender. Certain it is that at the time the Jacobites had strong hopes of gaining him; but their most secret correspondence, so far as I have seen it, in the Stuart Papers, does not go beyond hopes, rumours, and loose expressions (4):

(1) To Lord Middleton, June 10. 1721. Lord Orrery repeats a report to just the contrary effect, Oct. 28. 1721. See Appendix.

(2) See the medical certificate in Boyer's Pollit. State, vol. xxiii. p. 485.

(3) Tindal's Hist. vol. vii. p. 460.

(4) James to Mr. Menzies, July 20. 1721. Lord Orrery to James, October 28. 1721. See Appendix.

and finally, when Mr. Lockhart, a leader of their party in Scotland, distinctly applied to James, at the eve of the new elections, to know how far their support should be given to any friend of Sunderland, the Chevalier answers, January 31. 1722, “It is very true that Sunderland has to some people made of late a show of wishing me well; but I have never heard directly from him myself, and have been far from having any particular proof of his sincerity (1).” This, in fact, appears the upshot of the whole affair: and it is far from improbable that the overtures of Sunderland may have been to win over some leading Tories to his party, and not to attach himself to theirs. The hopes of his support were, perhaps just as groundless as when Atterbury, four years afterwards, drew up an elaborate argument to prove that Walpole intended to restore the Stuarts whenever George the First should die (2)!

But further still, there seems great reason to believe that however Sunderland may have tampered with the Jacobites for the object of obtaining their support, he did not take a single step without the knowledge and approval of his sovereign. After his death the Regent of France, speaking to the English Minister at Paris, expressed his suspicion that Sunderland had intrigued with the Pretender’s party, and stated some facts in corroboration of the charge. This was accordingly communicated to Lord Carteret as Secretary of State; but Carteret’s answer was as follows:—“A thousand thanks for your private letter, which affords me the means of obviating any calumny against the memory of a person who will be always dear to me. I have shown it to the King, who is entirely satisfied with it (3).”

Lord Sunderland, as I have stated, died on the 19th of April. The father very speedily followed the son-in-law; and England lost one of her noblest worthies in John, Duke of Marlborough. A paralytic attack in 1716 had impaired his commanding mind, and he expired on the 16th of June in this year. His achievements do not fall within my limits, and his character seems rather to belong to the historians of another period. Let them endeavour to delineate his vast and various abilities—that genius which saw humbled before it the proudest Mareschals of France—that serenity of temper which enabled him patiently to bear, and bearing to overcome, all the obstinacy of the Dutch Deputies, all the slowness of the German Generals—those powers of combination so provident of failure, and so careful of details that it might almost be said of him that before he gave any battle he had already won it! Let them describe him great in council as in arms, not always righteous in his ends, but ever mighty in his means!

The Duke left his widow in possession of enormous wealth,

(1) Lockhart’s Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 74.

(2) See this paper in Cox’s Walpole, vol. ii. p. 226.

(3) Sir Luke Schaub to Lord Carteret, June 1.

1722. Lord Carteret’s answer, June 21. 1722. Cox’s Collections, vol. iii. This volume contains several other proofs to the same effect; but the one I have given above seems decisive.

insomuch that she was able in some degree to control the public loans and affect the rate of interest (1). This wealth—or, as they declared, her personal charms even at the mature age of sixty-two—soon attracted several suitors around her, especially the Duke of Somerset and Lord Coningsby. Their letters are still preserved at Blenheim. Coningsby writes like a man bewildered with the most passionate love:—“To my dearest, dearest Lady Marlborough alone I could open the inmost thoughts of my loaded heart, and by her exalted wisdom find relief! Whither to go or how to dispose of a life entirely devoted to you, I know not till I receive your orders and commands. . . . I live in hopes that the great and glorious Creator of the world, who does and must direct all things, will direct you to make me the happiest man upon the face of the earth, and enable me to make my dearest, dearest Lady Marlborough, as she is the wisest and best, the happiest of all women (2)!” This effusion, be it observed, was written only six months after her husband’s decease. But both to Coningsby and Somerset the Duchess replied with a noble and becoming spirit. She declared that if she were only thirty instead of sixty she would not allow even the Emperor of the world to succeed in that heart which had been devoted to John, Duke of Marlborough.

The deaths in such rapid succession of Stanhope, Craggs, and Sunderland, and the expulsion of Aislabie, left Walpole entirely master of the field. The late schism between rival statesmen was closed up, as it were, with coffins; and although, as will be seen, there were still some dissensions in the Cabinet, these found no echo either in Parliament or in the country. No longer was the Whig party divided, no longer the House of Commons nearly balanced. The late elections had confirmed the Ministerial majority, and the Jacobites and Tories despairing of victories in Parliament rather turned their minds to projects of conspiracy or hopes of invasion. In the session of 1724, for example, there was only one single public division in the House of Commons. From this time forward, therefore, and during a considerable period, the proceedings of Parliament seem no longer to require or admit the same minute detail as I have hitherto given them, nor shall I have to record either rebellion at home or great wars abroad. The twenty years of Walpole’s administration (to their high honour be it spoken) afford comparatively few incidents to History. Of these years I shall therefore have much less to say than of the tumultuous periods both before and after them, nor let the reader imagine that my flow of narrative is altered because it glides more swiftly on smooth ground.

(1) Robert Walpole to Lord Townshend, August 30, 1723. See also Coxe’s *Life of Marlborough*, 1722. *Blenheim Papers and Coxe’s Copies*, vol. xiii. vol. vi. p. 387.

(2) To the Duchess of Marlborough, November 20.

CHAPTER XII.

The confusion and disaffection which followed the South Sea Scheme were of course highly favourable to the views of the Jacobites, and revived their drooping hopes, and still more were they cheered at the birth of an heir, even though at a time when there was nothing to inherit. The prospect of this event was first communicated to them in the spring of 1720 :—“ It is the most acceptable news,” writes Bishop Atterbury, “ which can reach the ears of a good Englishman (1).” Lord Oxford also was consulted as to the number and rank of the persons who should be invited as witnesses on this solemn occasion (2). At length on the last day of the year the titular Queen of England, then residing at Rome, was delivered of a Prince, who received the names of Charles Edward Lewis Casimir, and became the hero of the enterprise of 1745. According to the fond fancy of the Jacobites, there appeared a star in the heavens at the moment of his birth (3); and, what is rather more certain, seven Cardinals were present by order of the Pope (4). The Pretender’s second son, Henry Benedict, Duke of York, and afterwards Cardinal, was not born till 1725.

At this period the Jacobites seem really to have deluded themselves so far as to believe that the hearts of nearly the whole nation, even down to the rabble, were with them. Thus James is told by Lord Lansdowne :—“ There were great rejoicings in London upon the Lord Mayor’s day, whose name happening to be Stuart, the people made the streets ring with no other cry but A Stuart! A Stuart! High Church and Stuart! Every day produces some new evidence of their inclination (5).” To promote the favour of the multitude the Jacobites often made use of reasonings suited only to its capacity. Thus when the King’s German mistresses were inveighed against, as they might justly be, it is gravely stated, amongst other grounds of complaint, that they are not sufficiently young and handsome! For instance, the letter of Decius in *Mist’s Journal*, May 27. 1721, laments, that “ we are ruined by trulls, nay, what is more vexatious, by old ugly trulls, such as could not find entertainment in the most hospitable hundreds of Old

(1) Letter to James, May 6. 1720. Appendix.

(2) James to Lord Oxford, May 26. 1720. Appendix.

(3) See the Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 588.; and the Medals of the Stuarts in Exile, No. 53., in Sir H. Ellis’s Catalogue.

(4) St. Simon, Mem. vol. xviii. p. 338. A Te Deum was afterwards sung in the Pope’s chapel, and in his presence.

(5) Lord Lansdowne to James, Nov. 17. 1721. Stuart Papers.

“Drury!” This letter was warmly resented by the House of Commons on the motion of Lechmere, and Mr. Mist the printer was sentenced to fine and imprisonment; but his journal continued many years afterwards under the new and punning title of *Fog's*.

The affairs of James in England were at this time managed by a Junta, or Council of five persons, namely, as it would seem, the Earls of Arran and Orrery, Lords North and Gower, and the Bishop of Rochester. Between them and James an active correspondence was carried on, for the most part in cipher or with cant names, and generally by the hands of non-jurors, Roman Catholic priests, and other trusty persons that were constantly passing to and fro. There were also communications with Lord Oxford, probably through Erasmus Lewis, his former Secretary, a man of fidelity and talent, but not much courage; at least I find his excessive caution a subject of good-humoured jest among his friends (1). It appears that the Council of Five was often discordant and wrangling in its deliberations, and this in the opinion of James showed the necessity of a single head, by which means, he says, his business would certainly be done with much more harmony and secrecy. He wrote to suggest that Lord Oxford should act as the chief (2); but that nobleman had retired to the country, his irresolution had (if possible) increased, and his health was declining, and in fact he died in two years from this time. The old management therefore appears to have continued. Of the Five, Lord Arran had all the mediocrity of his brother, Ormond, without any of his reputation. Lord Gower was a man of sense and spirit, and great local influence:—“no man within my memory,” writes Dr. King, “was more esteemed and revered (3).” Orrery was one of a family where genius had hitherto been a sort of heirloom, and he had not degenerated. Parliamentary talents and military knowledge were centered in Lord North; he had served under Marlborough, and lost an arm at the battle of Blenheim, and, in the absence of Ormond, was acknowledged as the Jacobite General.

But by far the ablest of this Junta, and indeed not inferior in talent to any one of his contemporaries, was Francis Atterbury. Born in 1662, and educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, he distinguished himself at a very early age by a powerful defence of Luther, and on taking orders commanded universal attention by his eloquence and active temper. It was by him that the Lower House of Convocation was mainly guided and governed; he was high in the confidence of Queen Anne's

(1) “Lewis is in the country with Lord Bathurst, and has writ me a most dreadful story of a mad dog that bit their huntsman; since which accident, I am told he has shortened his stirrups three bores; they were not long before!” Dr. Arbuthnot to Swift, December 11, 1718.

(2) James to Lord Lansdowne, April 13, 1722. Lansdowne about this time withdrew into France, where he remained for ten years.

(3) Anecdotes of his own Time, p. xlv.

last ministers, and in 1713 was promoted by them to the Deanery of Westminster and Bishoprick of Rochester. Few men have attained a more complete mastery of the English language; and all his compositions are marked with peculiar force, elegance, and dignity of style. A fine person and a graceful delivery added lustre to his eloquence, both in the pulpit and in the House of Lords. His haughty and aspiring mind constantly impelled him into violent measures, which were well supported by his abilities, but which seemed in some degree alien from his sphere. It is well observed by Mirabeau, in speaking of the Duke of Brunswick, that one great sign of a well regulated character is not merely to be equal to its daily task, but to be satisfied with it, and not to step beyond it in search of fresh employment (1). Atterbury, on the contrary, could never remain tranquil. He might be compared to the chivalrous Peterborough exclaiming to the Minister,—“ You must find me work in “ the Old World or the New (2)! ” His devotion to the Protestant faith was warm and pure; his labours for the Established Church no less praiseworthy; but his defence was of somewhat too fierce and turbulent a character; he thought less of personal worth than of party principles in others; and he was one of those of whom it has been wittily said, that out of their zeal for religion they have never time to say their prayers! Yet in private life no trace of his vehemence and bitterness appeared; his “ softer hour ” is affectionately remembered by Pope; and his own devoted love to his daughter, Mrs. Morice, sheds a milder light around his character. On the whole, he would have made an admirable Bishop had he been a less good partisan.

The political views of Atterbury were always steadily directed against the accession of the House of Hanover. When the Rebellion broke forth in 1715, a Declaration of Abhorrence of it was published by the other Prelates; but Atterbury refused to sign it on the pretext of some reflections it contained against the High Church party. At no distant period from that time we find him in frequent correspondence with James, writing for the most part in a borrowed hand, and under counterfeit names, such as Jones, or Illington. Were we inclined to seek some excuse for his adherence to that cause, we might, perhaps, find it in his close study of Lord Clarendon's History, which had been edited by himself conjointly with Aldrich and Smalridge. I have always considered the publication of that noble work (it first appeared under Queen Anne) as one of the main causes of the second growth of Jacobitism. How great seems the character of the author! How worthy the principles he supports, and the actions he details! Who could read

(1) “ Une marque d'un très-bon esprit, ce me semble, et d'un caractère supérieur, c'est moins encore qu'il suffit au travail de chaque jour que “ le travail de chaque jour lui suffit.” *Histoire Secrète de Berlin*, etc. vol. i. p. 30, ed. 1789.

(2) See his letter to Swift, April 18. 1711. On the style of this striking letter Swift remarks in his *Journal*, “ He writes so well, I have no mind to “ answer him; and so kind, that I must answer “ him ! ”

those volumes and not first be touched, and at last be won, by his unconquerable spirit of loyalty—by his firm attachment to the fallen—by his enduring and well-founded trust in God when there seemed to be none left in man ! Whose heart could fail to relent to that unhappy Monarch more sinned against than sinning—to that “gray discrowned head” which lay upon a pillow of thorns at Carisbrook, or rolled upon a block at Whitehall ! Or whose mind would not brighten at the thought of his exiled son—in difficulty and distress, with every successive attempt disappointed—every rising hope dashed down—yet suddenly restored against all probable chances, and with one universal shout of joy ! How spirit-stirring must that History have been to all, but above all to those (and there were many at that time) whose own ancestors and kinsmen are honourably commemorated in its pages—the soldiers of Rupert—or the friends of Falkland ! Can we wonder then, or severely blame, if their thoughts sometimes descended one step lower, and turned to the grandson—also exiled for no fault of his own, and pining in a distant land, under circumstances not far unlike to those of Charles Stuart in France ! I know the difference of the cases—and most of all in what Atterbury ought least to have forgotten—in religion ; I am not pleading for Jacobitism ; but I do plead for the honest delusion and pardonable frailty of many who espoused that cause ; I am anxious to show that the large section of our countrymen which sighed for the restoration of James, were not all the base and besotted wretches we have been accustomed to consider them.

The great object of Atterbury, and of the other Jacobite leaders, was to obtain a foreign force of 5000 foreign troops to land under Ormond. Failing in this, from the engagements of the English Government with almost every Continental Court, they determined, nevertheless, to proceed with only such assistance in arms, money, and disbanded officers or soldiers, as could be privately procured abroad. For this purpose their manager in Spain was Ormond ; in France, General Dillon, an Irish Roman Catholic, who had left Ireland after the capitulation of Limerick, and had since risen in the French service. The project was to have made themselves masters of the Tower ; to have seized the Bank, the Exchequer, and other places where the public money was lodged, and to have proclaimed the Pretender at the same time in different parts of the kingdom. The best time for this explosion was thought to be during the tumults and confusion of the General Election ; but the chiefs not being able to agree among themselves, it was deferred till the King’s journey to Hanover, which was expected to take place in the summer. James himself was to embark at Porte Longone, where three vessels were ready for him, and to sail secretly to Spain, and from thence to England, as soon as he should hear of the King’s departure. Already had he left Rome for a villa,

the better to cover his absence when it should take place; and with a similar view had Ormond also gone from Madrid to a country seat half way to Bilbao (1).

But the eye of the Government was already upon them. One of their applications for 5000 troops had been made to the Regent of France, who, as they might have foreseen, so far from granting their request, immediately revealed it to Sir Luke Schaub, the English Minister (2); on the condition, it is said, that no one should die for it (3). Other intelligence and discoveries completed the information of the Government, and they became apprised, not merely of the intended schemes and of the contriving heads, but also of the subaltern agents, especially Thomas Carte and Kelly, two nonjuring clergymen; Plunkett, the same Jesuit whose active intrigues in 1713 have been mentioned at that period; Neynoe, another Irish priest; and Layer, a young barrister of the Temple. So many of their letters were intercepted abroad, that at length some conspirators perceiving it, wrote letters on purpose to be opened, and with false news, to mislead and distract the Government; but this artifice could not impose on the sagacity of Walpole (4). Prudent measures were now adopted with prudent speed. The King was persuaded to relinquish his journey to Hanover for this year; and troops were immediately drawn to London, and a camp formed in Hyde Park. An order was also obtained from the Court of Madrid to restrain Ormond from embarking. This would no doubt have been sufficient to make the conspirators postpone their scheme, but the object was to crush it altogether; and with this view warrants were issued for the apprehension of all the subaltern agents above named, and of several others.

On the 21st of May, accordingly, Mr. Kelly was seized at his lodgings in Bury Street by two messengers. They came upon him by surprise, and took his sword and papers, which they placed in a window while they proceeded with their search. But their negligence gave Kelly an opportunity of recovering his weapon, and of threatening to run through the first man that came near him; and so saying he burnt his papers in a candle with his left hand, while he held his drawn sword in the other. When the papers were burnt, and not till then, he surrendered. Neynoe, on his arrest, showed equal spirit, but he did not meet with the same success. He escaped from a window two stories high by tying the blankets and sheets together, and came down upon a garden-wall near the

(1) Robert Walpole to Horace, May 29. 1722. Reports of Select Committee, 1723. W. Stanhope to Lord Carteret, June 8. 1722. Appendix.

(2) Schaub had been knighted at Stanhope's recommendation in October, 1720; and next year was appointed Minister at Paris. (Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xx. p. 379, etc.)

(3) Speaker Onslow's Remarks. Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 554.

(4) Letter to Horace Walpole, May 29. 1722. Even where no trap was intended, the Report of the Select Committee observes of their cant names and allegories, that "several of these disguises are so gross and obvious, that they only serve to betray themselves" This I have remarked in many of the Stuart M.S. Papers.

Thames, from whence he leaped into the water, but as he could not swim was drowned. An attempt to escape was also made by Layer; but being brought back, he was examined at great length, and with some success. Much information was also gained from the papers, none from the answers, of Plunkett. As for Carte, the same whose historical writings have since gained him a high and deserved reputation, he fled betimes to France.

At the news of the arrest of Layer, Lord North, who had been principally in communication with that person, fearing the consequences, passed over under a feigned name to the Isle of Wight, intending from thence to make his way to the Continent; but he was discovered, seized, and brought back to London. Some time afterwards Lord Orrery was sent to the Tower; at a later period still, the Duke of Norfolk. But the evidence against these noblemen being insufficient, or the Government less eager to press it, they were, after some confinement, released. The Bishop of Rochester was less fortunate. The proofs against him might also have been thought too scanty, had it not been for a very trifling and ridiculous but most convincing incident. The case was as follows:—There was no doubt that the letters to and from Jones and Illington were of a treasonable nature; the point was to prove that these names were designed for the Bishop. Now it so happened that Mrs. Atterbury, who died early this year, had a little before received a present from Lord Mar in France of a small spotted dog called Harlequin; and this animal having broken its leg, and being left with one Mrs. Barnes to be cured, was more than once mentioned in the correspondence of Jones and Illington. Mrs. Barnes and some other persons were examined before the Council on this subject, and they, supposing that at all events there could be no treason in a lap-dog, readily owned that Harlequin was intended for the Bishop of Rochester. There were many other collateral proofs; but it was the throwing up of this little straw which decisively showed from what quarter blew the wind.

Had the proofs against Atterbury been less strong, or his abilities less dangerous, the Ministers would probably have shrunk from the unpopularity of touching him. As it was, they hesitated during three months; but at length, on the 24th of August, a warrant being issued, the Bishop was arrested at the Deanery, and brought before the Council. Though taken by surprise, his answers to their questions showed his usual coolness and self-possession; and he is said to have concluded with the words of the Saviour:—"If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go (1)." After three quarters of an hour's examination he was sent to the Tower privately in his own coach, without any public notice or disturbance.

(1) St. Luke, xxii. 67, 58.

The arrest of a Bishop, for the first time since the ill-omened precedent of James the Second, was, however, no sooner known than it produced a general clamour. The High Churchmen had always inveighed against the Government as neglecting the Establishment and favouring the Dissenters, and this new incident was of course urged in confirmation of the charge. They called it an outrage upon the Church and the Episcopal Order; and they boldly affirmed that the plot had no real existence, and was a mere ministerial device for the ruin of a political opponent. Atterbury had also great influence among the parochial clergy, not only from the weight of his abilities, but from his having so long stood at the head of their party in Convocation. Under the pretence of his being afflicted with the gout, he was publicly prayed for in most of the churches of London and Westminster; and there was spread among the people a pathetic print of the Bishop looking through the bars of a prison, and holding in his hand a portrait of Archbishop Laud. The public ferment was still further increased by rumours (I fear too truly founded) of the great harshness with which Atterbury was treated in the Tower. "Such usage, such hardships, such insults as I have undergone," said the Bishop himself on his trial, "might have broke a more resolute spirit, and a much stronger constitution than fall to my share. I have been treated with such severity, and so great indignity, as I believe no prisoner in the Tower of my age, infirmities, function, and rank ever underwent (1)." He was encouraged, or permitted, to write private letters which were afterwards pried into, and made use of to support the accusation against him. He was restricted in his only consolation—the visits of his beloved daughter (2); nor was he at first allowed to prepare freely for his defence with his son-in-law, Mr. Morice (3). Every thing sent to him was narrowly searched; even some pigeon-pies were opened: "it is the first time," says Pope, "dead pigeons have been suspected of carrying intelligence (4)!"

It was amidst great and general excitement that the new Parliament met on the 9th of October. The King's Speech gave a short account of the conspiracy:—"I should less wonder at it," he said, "had I, in any one instance since my accession to the throne, invaded the liberty or property of my subjects." With equal justice he observed on the infatuation of some Jacobites and the malice of others,—“By forming plots they depreciate all property that is vested in the Public Funds, and then complain of the low state of credit; they make an increase of the national expences

(1) Speech, May 11. 1723.

(2) He writes to Lord Townshend, April 10. 1723,—"I am thankful for the favour of seeing my daughter any way; but was in hopes the restraint of an officer's presence in respect to her might have been judged needless."

(3) Preface to his Correspondence, p. vi. Mr. Morice used to stand in an open area, and the Bishop to look out of a two-pair of stairs window, and thus only were they allowed to converse!

(4) Pope to Gay, Sept. 11. 1722.

“ necessary, and then clamour at the burthen of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my government, as grievances, the mischiefs and calamities which they alone create and occasion.” The first business of the Commons, after again placing Mr. Compton in the Chair, was to hurry through a bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for one year. Mr. Spencer Cowper, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, observed that the Act had never yet been suspended for so long a period, and proposed six months, declaring, that at the end of that period they would, if necessary, readily agree to a further suspension. Yet notwithstanding the popularity and plausibility of this amendment, it was rejected by 246 votes against 193.

The next subject with both Houses was the Pretender's declaration. It appears that James had been so far deluded by the sanguine hopes of his agents, or by his own, as to believe that the British people were groaning under a state of bondage and oppression, and that the King himself was ready to cast off an uneasy and precarious Crown. Under these impressions, he issued from Lucca, on the 22d of September, a strange manifesto, proposing, that if George will quietly deliver to him the throne of his fathers, he will, in return, bestow upon George the title of King in his native dominions, and invite all other States to confirm it; with a promise to leave his succession to the British dominions secure, if ever, in due course, his natural right should take place. This declaration was printed and distributed in England. Both Houses expressed their astonishment at its “ surprising insolence :” it was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman; and a joint address was presented to His Majesty, assuring him that the designs of the public enemy shall be found “ impracticable against a Prince relying on and supported by the vigour and duty of a British Parliament, and the affections of his people.”

Walpole, availing himself of the general resentment, next proposed to raise 100,000*l.* by a tax upon the estates of Roman Catholics. The project of Stanhope to relieve them from the Penal Laws, which was still on foot at the beginning of the South Sea Scheme (1), had been arrested, first by the crash, and then by his death. Moderation to the Roman Catholics had always been one of his leading principles of government. Other maxims now prevailed; a system of general and indiscriminate punishment, which was, at least, nearly allied to persecution, and which, if it did not find every Roman Catholic a Jacobite, was quite sure to make him so. Many, said Walpole, had been guilty—an excellent reason for punishing all! With a better feeling did Onslow (afterwards Speaker) declare his abhorrence of persecuting any others on account of their opinions in religion. Sir Joseph Jekyll, after praising the moderation and wisdom of the King, wished he could say

(1) Mr. Brodrick to Lord Middleton, January 24. 1720. Refer to p. 236.

the same of those who had the honour to serve him. But the proposal of Walpole was quite in accordance with the temper of the times; it was not only carried by 217 against 168, but, on a subsequent motion, was even extended to all nonjurors (1). The House, however, favourably entertained a singular petition from the family of the Pendrills, praying to be exempted from the tax on account of the services of their ancestors in preserving Charles the Second after the battle of Worcester (2).

Amongst the foremost evils (and they were many) of this persecuting spirit, was the frightful degree of perjury which it produced. For as the estates of nonjurors were to be taxed, it became necessary to determine precisely who were nonjurors or not; in other words, almost the whole nation was to be summoned to swear allegiance to the Government. Nor was it explicitly stated what would be the consequence of this refusal, but a sort of vague threat was hung over them; and it seemed a trap in which, when once caught, men might hereafter be subjected not only to the largest fines, but even to forfeiture and confiscation. "I saw a great deal of it," says Speaker Onslow, "and it was a strange, as well as "ridiculous, sight to see people crowding at the Quarter Sessions "to give a testimony of their allegiance to a Government, and "cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so "doing, and for the fright they were put into by it; and I am satisfied more real disaffection to the King and his family arose "from it than from any thing which happened in that time." Some of the Jacobites consulted their Prince as to the course which they should pursue in this emergency, but he prudently avoided any positive answer (3). It was thought very desirable that they should act together as a body, in one course or the other, but no such general arrangement could be compassed. The greater number were inclined to swear, and did so, saying that they had rather venture themselves in the hand of God than of such men as they had to do with (4). Yet they still retained all their first principles; and the oath, however it might torture their consciences, did not influence their conduct. Such is, I fear, the inevitable result of any oath imposed by any government for its security. Examples of that kind are too common in all countries. Swearing allegiance to King George did not shut out all the Jacobites from Parliament; swearing allegiance to King Louis Philippe does not shut out all the Carlists from the Chambers. Nay more, so far may right principle be distorted by faction, that such breach of faith is not only excused but even praised by the party which it

(1) I am sorry to find Coxe assert, in a blind panegyric spirit, that "though scarcely conformable to justice, the policy of this measure was unquestionable." How far more correct and enlightened were the views which he himself has published of Speaker Onslow! See Coxe's Walpole vol. i. p. 175., and vol. ii. p. 533.

(2) Commons' Journals, vol. xx. p. 210.

(3) Mr. Lockhart to James, Sept. 10. 1723, James's answer, Nov. 24. 1723.

(4) Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 108.

aids. The Jacobites, beyond all doubt, applauded their leader, Mr. Shippen—that worthy, public-spirited man, they probably said, who has had the courage to swear against his conscience on purpose to serve the good cause! There were, of course, numerous exceptions; but I am speaking of the general effect. And though we might reasonably infer from theory that men whom we find honourable and high-minded in private life, and in far more trifling transactions, would be scrupulously bound by the solemn and public obligation of an oath, yet experience, I apprehend, would teach the very reverse.

It was not till after these preliminaries, that a
 1725. Select Committee was appointed to examine Laver and others, in relation to the plot. The report of this Committee, drawn up by Pulteney, their chairman, and read to the House on the 1st of March, is a very long and circumstantial document. The evidence which it gives touching Atterbury, though founded on many trifling incidents, such as the dog Harlequin, and dark hints in intercepted letters, was yet, by their combination, as I think, more than sufficient to satisfy any candid minds. The Opposition, however, did not belong to that class; they not only asserted the innocence of Atterbury, and of the rest, but maintained that the plot itself was a chimera, devised by Ministers for the basest purposes of faction. The incident of Harlequin especially was held up to ridicule. Swift, who during the last nine years had prudently kept aloof, at Dublin, from party warfare, could not resist this tempting opportunity to resume it, and poured forth one of his happiest strains of satire on the “horrid conspiracy” discovered by a French dog, who “confessed, as plain as he could “bark, then with his forefoot set his mark (1)!” To this conspiracy he afterwards alluded in Gulliver’s Travels, as “the work-
 “manship of persons who desire to raise their own character of
 “profound politicians; to restore new vigour to a crazy adminis-
 “tration; to stifle or divert general discontents; and to fill their
 “coffers with forfeitures (2).” Such is party justice!

From the Report of the Committee, or the Evidence appended, it appeared that several other peers had been named in the depositions: Lords Scarsdale, Strafford, Craven, Gower, Bathurst, Bingley, and Cowper. They all took an early occasion to repel the imputation in the House of Lords. Cowper, especially, said that after having on so many occasions, and in the most difficult times, given undoubted proofs of his zeal for the Protestant succession, he had just reason to be offended to see his name bandied about in a list of a chimerical club. It was replied by Townsend, that his Lordship’s name being part of an examination, there was an absolute necessity for inserting it; but that the Com-

(1) Swift’s Works, vol. x. p. 462. Scott’s ed.

(2) *ib.* vol. xii. p. 244.

mittee were entirely satisfied of his innocence, and that it was only surprising that a peer of so much ability and merit should thence proceed to ridicule as a fiction a well-proved conspiracy, and from one false circumstance infer that no part of it was true. It is certain that the Jacobites had some vague hopes of Lord Cowper. I have seen, in the Stuart Papers, a letter of solicitation to him from Lord Mar, and another apparently addressed by James himself (1). But I found nothing whatever to show that he had accepted or even answered these overtures, and it would require strong proofs indeed to outweigh those afforded to the contrary by the whole course and tenour of his life. This is almost the last public transaction in which that eminent man took part : he died the same year, on the 10th of October, of a strangury. On his death-bed, he ordered that his son should never travel (2). His memory deserves high respect : in him a profound knowledge of law was supported by a ready eloquence, and adorned by elegant accomplishments ; and, unlike most advocates, the light which had shone at the bar was not quenched in the closer atmosphere of the senate. And though it seems that a by-word was current of “ Cowper-law— “ to hang a man first, and then judge him (3).”—I believe that it proceeded from party resentment rather than from any real fault.

After the close of the Commons' committee, one was also appointed by the Lords ; but its report did not add materially to the proofs already known. Layer had been already tried at the King's Bench, and condemned to death ; he was reprieved for examination before these committees ; but not disclosing as much as was hoped, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head affixed at Temple Bar. In a more lenient spirit, bills of pains and penalties were introduced against Plunkett and Kelly, subjecting them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to confiscation of their property. These bills passed both Houses by large majorities. With respect to the head of these subalterns, the Bishop of Rochester, a bill was brought in by Yonge (afterwards Sir William) enacting his banishment and deprivation, but without forfeiture of goods ; that it should be felony to correspond with him without the King's licence ; and that the King should have no power to pardon him without consent of Parliament.

The Bishop, on receiving a copy of this bill, wrote to the Speaker, requesting to have Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne as his counsel and Mr. Morice as his solicitor, and that they might have free access to him in private. This was granted. He next applied to the Lords, stating that as, by a standing order of their House of January 20. 1673, no Lord might appear by counsel be-

(1) Lord Mar's letter is dated Sept. 17. 1717. The Pretender's is endorsed “ To Mr. C—r,” and might be designed for Mr. Cæsar, though the contents render it less likely.

(2) Spence's Anecdotes, p. 233.

(3) See *suprà*, p. 143., for the evidence at Lord Wintoun's trial.

fore the other House, he was at a loss how to act, and humbly requested their direction. The Lords determined that leave should be given him to be heard by counsel or otherwise, as he might think proper; but, Atterbury who had probably only taken these steps with the view of raising difficulties, or creating a grievance to complain of, wrote a letter to the Speaker, on the very day he was expected to make his defence, to the effect that he should decline giving that House any trouble, and content himself with the opportunity, if the bill went on, of making his defence before another house, of which he had the honour to be a member.

Accordingly, the bill having passed the Commons without a division, the Bishop was brought to the bar of the House of Lords on the 6th of May. The evidence against him being first gone through, some was produced on his side. Amongst his witnesses were Erasmus Lewis, to prove, from his official experience, how easily hand-writing may be counterfeited; and Pope, to depose to the Bishop's domestic habits and literary employments. Pope had but few words to speak, and in those few we are told that he made several blunders. But those on whom Atterbury most relied were three persons who invalidated the confessions of Mr. Neynoe, as taken before his escape and death, and who alleged that Walpole had tampered with that witness. One of them (Mr. Skeene) stated that having asked Neynoe, whether, in real truth, he knew any thing of a plot, Neynoe answered, that he knew of two; one of Mr. Walpole's against some great men, the other of his own, which was only to get eighteen or twenty thousand pounds from Mr. Walpole! It should be observed, however, that of these three witnesses, one at least was of very suspicious character, having been convicted, whipt, and pilloried, at Dublin, for a treasonable libel. Their charges made it necessary for Walpole himself to appear as a witness, and disavow them. On this occasion, the Bishop used all his art to perplex the Minister, and make him contradict himself, but did not succeed; "a greater trial of skill," observes Speaker Onslow, "than scarce ever happened between two such combatants; the one fighting for his reputation, the other for his acquittal (4)."

Whatever vindication there may be for Jacobite principles in general, it is shocking to find a clergyman, and a prelate, swear allegiance to the King whom he was plotting to dethrone, and solemnly protest his innocence while labouring under a consciousness of guilt. The Bishop's own defence, which was spoken on the

(1) Atterbury always looked upon Walpole as the prime author of his ruin. The epitaph which he wrote for himself in his exile thus concludes:—

HOC FACINORIS
CONSCIVIT, AGGRESSUS EST, PERPETRAVIT

(EPISCOPORUM PRÆCIPUE SUFFRAGIIS ADJUTUS)
ROBERTUS ISTE WALPOLE
QUEM NULLA HÆSICIT POSTERITAS:

See his Correspondence, vol. i. p. 302.

11th of May (1), begins with a touching recital of the hardships he had suffered in captivity. "By which means," he adds, "what little strength and use of my limbs I had when committed, in August last, is now so far impaired, that I am very unfit to appear before your Lordships on any occasion, especially when I am to make my defence against a bill of so extraordinary a nature." Atterbury next enters into a masterly review, and, so far as was possible, refutation, of the evidence against him; and proceeds, in a high strain of eloquence, to ask what motives could have driven him into a conspiracy. "What could tempt me, my Lords, thus to step out of my way? Was it ambition, and a desire of climbing into a higher station in the Church? There is not a man of my order further removed from views of this kind than I am..... Was money my aim? I always despised it, too much, perhaps, considering the occasion I may now have for it. Out of a poor bishoprick of 500*l.* a year, I did in eight years' time lay out 2000*l.* upon the House and the appurtenances; and because I knew the circumstances in which my predecessor left his family, I took not one shilling for dilapidations; and the rest of my income has all been spent as that of a Bishop should be, in hospitality and charity..... Was I influenced by any dislike of the Established Religion, any secret inclination towards Popery, a church of greater pomp and power? Malice has ventured even thus far to asperse me. I have, my Lords, ever since I knew what Popery was, disliked it; and the better I knew it, the more I opposed it. . . . Thirty-seven years ago I wrote in defence of Martin Luther. . . . And whatever happens to me, I will suffer any thing, and would by God's grace, burn at the stake, rather than, in any material point, depart from the Protestant Religion, as professed in the Church of England. . . . Once more, can I be supposed to favour arbitrary power? The whole tenour of my life speaks otherwise. I was always a friend to the liberty of the subject, and, to the best of my power, a constant maintainer of it. I may have been mistaken, perhaps, in the measures I took for its support at junctures when it was thought expedient for the state to seem to neglect public liberty, in order, I suppose, to secure it. . . . I am here, my Lords, and have been here, expecting, for eight months, an immediate trial. I have, my Lords, declined no impeachment—no due course of law that might have been taken. . . . The correspondence with the Earl of Clarendon was made treason, but with me it is only felony; yet he was allowed an intercourse with his children by the express words of the Act: mine are not so much as to write, so much as to send any message, to me, without a Sign Manual! . . . The great man I mentioned carried a great fortune

(1) This Defence, as printed in the Parl. History, given from an authentic MS. in Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 105—180. is mutilated and imperfect. But it is correctly

“ with him into a foreign country : he had the languages, and was well acquainted abroad ; he had spent the best part of his years in exile, and was therefore every way qualified to support it. The reverse of all this is my case. Indeed, I am like him in nothing but his innocence and his punishment. It is in no man’s power to make us differ in the one, but it is in your Lordships’ power to distinguish us widely in the other, and I hope your Lordships will do it. . . . Shall I, my Lords, be deprived of all that is valuable to an Englishman (for, in the circumstances to which I am to be reduced, life itself is scarce valuable) by such an evidence as this? — such an evidence as would not be admitted in any other cause, or any other court, nor allowed, I verily believe, to condemn a Jew in the Inquisition of Spain or Portugal?”

He thus concludes: “ If, after all, it shall still be thought by your Lordships that there is any seeming strength in the proofs produced against me; if by private persuasions of my guilt, founded on unseen, unknown motives; if for any reasons or necessities of state, of which I am no competent judge, your Lordships shall be induced to proceed on this bill, God’s will be done! Naked came I out of my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return; and whether He gives or takes away, blessed be the name of the Lord!”

The Bishop having ended this most eloquent and affecting defence, and one of the counsel for the bill having replied, the Lords took their debate on the question, That this Bill do pass. The ablest speeches on the Bishop’s side were the Duke of Wharton’s (1) and Lord Cowper’s; the latter not merely maintaining Atterbury’s innocence, but inveighing against any parliamentary deprivation of a Bishop. “ The old champions of our Church,” said he, “ used to argue very learnedly that to make or to degrade Bishops was not the business of the state; that there is a spiritual relation between the Bishop and his flock, derived from the church, with which the state has nothing to do. What the thoughts of our reverend prelates are upon these points does not yet fully appear; something of their conduct intimates as if our old divines were mistaken.” In fact, most of the Bishops were now taking a forward and eager part against their brother; and one of them, (Wynne, of St. Asaph,) very little to his honour, even went so far as to volunteer evidence, which, when close pressed, he was not able to maintain. Their hostility provoked a bitter sarcasm from Lord Bathurst. Turning to their bench, he exclaimed, that he could hardly account for the inveterate malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious Bishop of Rochester, unless they were

(1) “ This speech,” says Dr. King, “ was heard with universal admiration, and was, indeed, not unworthy of the oldest senator, or the most able and eloquent lawyer.” (Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 35.)

possessed with the infatuation of the wild Indians, who fondly believe they will inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities, of any great enemy they kill!

On a division, 43 Peers voted against the bill, but 83 for it; and it received the Royal Assent on the 27th of the same month.

On the whole of this transaction we may, undoubtedly, condemn the vindictive severity which oppressed Atterbury in the Tower (1), and which denounced any correspondence with him when abroad; but we can scarcely consider the main clauses of the bill as otherwise than moderate. The crime Atterbury had committed was no less than high treason; and had the Ministers been men of blood, there might, I think, have been evidence sufficient (I am sure that there were voters ready) to bring him to the scaffold. His punishment was therefore a mitigation of that which our law imposes: nor should our admiration of genius ever betray us into an apology of guilt. But the great reproach to which his punishment is liable is as setting aside those ordinary forms, and those precious safeguards, which the law of treason enjoins—a violence of which the danger is not felt, only because the precedent has, happily, not been followed.

Atterbury received the news of his fate with fortitude and composure; in fact he had foreseen it as inevitable. He took an affecting leave of his friends, who were now permitted to see him, especially of Pope. At their last interview Atterbury presented him with a Bible as his keepsake. “Perhaps,” says Pope, with much feeling, “it is not only in this world that I may have cause to remember “the Bishop of Rochester (2).” Next day, the 18th of June, the Bishop was embarked on board a man-of-war, without any of the tumults which the Ministers feared on that occasion; and conveyed to Calais. As he went on shore he was told that Lord Bolingbroke, having received the King’s pardon, was just arrived at the same place, on his return to England. “Then I am exchanged!” said Atterbury with a smile. “Surely,” exclaims their friend at Twickenham, “this nation is afraid of being over-run with too much politeness, and cannot regain one great genius but at the expense of another (3)!”

The pardon which Bolingbroke now obtained had been for a long time pending. When he was dismissed by the Pretender, in 1716, and renounced that party for ever, he found, as he says,

(1) Coxe endeavours to palliate this severity, and alleges a case where, by the connivance of the Government, Atterbury received some money from a lease of the Chapter of Westminster. But here seems some error. He quotes a document of the Chapter, dated May 31. 1723, and speaking of Atterbury as the “present Dean.” But would he be so styled at that time, the bill for his deprivation having received the Royal Assent four days before? *Memoirs of Walpole*, vol. 1. p. 171.

(2) See Johnson’s *Life of Pope*. This gift of a

Bible has given rise to a most calumnious story of something which Dr. Maty said, that Lord Chesterfield said, that Pope said, that the Bishop said! Excellent evidence to accuse of deism one of our greatest theological writers! See this story and some decisive evidence against it quoted in the *Encyclop. Brit. art. ATTERBURY*. It seems quite out of place in “*Pope’s Character* by Lord “Chesterfield;” and was, I have no doubt, a fabrication surreptitiously inserted.

(3) Pope to Swift, 1723.

Lord Stair instructed, from England, to treat with him. A negotiation was accordingly opened, Bolingbroke declaring that he would never reveal any secret, nor betray any friend; but that he was ready, in future, to serve his King and Country with zeal and affection; and that he never did any thing by halves. It was then that Bolingbroke took the measure of writing a private letter to Sir William Wyndham, pointing out the weakness of the Pretender's character, and the small hopes of his cause, and urging his friend to turn his thoughts elsewhere; which letter Bolingbroke sent, unsealed, to the Postmaster-General, to be laid before the Government, and to be forwarded or not, as they thought proper (1). In thus acting Bolingbroke did no injury to his friend, who was already more than suspected of Jacobite principles, and who was not at all legally endangered by receiving such advice, while the adviser served himself by this decided and acceptable token of his new-born zeal for the House of Hanover.

It was certain, as Lord Stair truly observed, that there was no man who could do so much injury to the Jacobite cause. The Ministers, therefore, were anxious to secure him (2), and he had a zealous advocate in the Duchess of Kendal, to whom his purse was full of irresistible arguments. The animosity of the Whig party in general was, however, at that time, so strong as to form an almost insuperable bar to his return; and a rumour of it, in 1719, was artfully turned by Walpole into a political weapon. In his pamphlet on the Peerage Bill, speaking of Lord Oxford, he remarks, with indignation, that "his rival in guilt and power even now presumes to expect an act of the legislature to indemnify him, and qualify his villany!" With such formidable opposition it seemed useless to propose so unpopular a measure; but when Walpole succeeded Stanhope and Sunderland in office, he quietly slid into this as into most of their other measures; and in May, 1723, the pardon of Bolingbroke passed the Great Seal.

This pardon, however, was only so far as the King could grant it; it secured the person of Bolingbroke, and enabled him to visit England; but it required an act of parliament to restore his forfeited estates, and his seat in the House of Peers. To obtain such an act immediately became Bolingbroke's first and most anxious object; and a large sum which he had gained in the Mississippi speculations, afforded him fresh means to convince the Duchess of Kendal of the justice of his claims. His second object, during all this time, was to persuade his friends that he was nearly indifferent to his restoration, and quite happy in exile and in literary leisure. While his life was full of nothing but intrigue, his private letters

(1) This letter is dated Sept. 13. 1716; and printed in Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 308., together with one from Townsend to Stanhope on the subject. The original was duly forwarded to Wyndham.

(2) See his letter to Lord Stanhope, November 9. 1717.—Appendix, Vol. I.; and the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii. p. 558.

are full of nothing but philosophy. "Some superfluous twigs are every day cut, and, as they lessen in number, the bough which bears the golden fruit of friendship shoots, swells, and spreads."... "Those insects, of various hues, which used to hum and buzz about me while I stood in the sunshine, have disappeared since I lived in the shade (1)." Great but ill-regulated genius! Cicero could not write better,—Clodius could not act worse!

When the fallen minister arrived in England, he found that the King had already sailed for Germany, attended by Lords Townshend and Carteret, and the Duchess of Kendal, and was not expected to return for some time; in fact, his Majesty extended his absence to six months, and his journey to Berlin, on a visit to his son-in-law, the King of Prussia (2). Bolingbroke, therefore, could only write letters of thanks to the King, to the Duchess, and to Townshend, entreating, at the same time, their further favour; but he availed himself of his stay in England to renew his political connections, especially with his tried friends, Sir William Wyndham and Lord Harcourt. The former still stood at the head of the Tories in the House of Commons; the latter, who had filled the office of Chancellor in the last years of Anne, was by no means as steady in his public course. Even at that time Swift had called him "trimming Harcourt (3); but now he had entirely left his party, and risen so high in ministerial favour, as to be created a Viscount, gratified with a pension, and appointed one of the Lords Justices at the King's departure. Thus it had been in Harcourt's power greatly to promote the pardon of his friend, in May last, and he deserved gratitude, both in the true sense of that word, and in that which Bolingbroke gives it, where he says, in one of his letters, that "what we call gratitude is generally expectation (4)."

Bolingbroke also waited on Walpole, and, alluding to Harcourt's accession, told him that Wyndham, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Gower, were beginning to be disgusted with a fruitless opposition. They had, he said, been for some time in communication with Lord Carteret; but now thought themselves deceived by him, and might probably be brought into the measures of the Court, and into a support of Townshend and Walpole. Nothing could have been more advantageous to the country than such a junction: it would have healed many wounds of faction, and broken one great lever of the Jacobites; but it might also have endangered the supremacy of Walpole, and given a strong claim to Bolingbroke. Walpole, therefore, with whom his own power was always the paramount consideration, received these overtures most coldly and ungra-

(1) Letters to Swift, 1721, 1723.

(2) Of the King's journey, Swift writes with much humour: "The next packet will bring us word of the King and Bishop of Rochester leaving England. A good journey to the one, and a speedy return to the other, is an honest Whig

wish!" (To Mr. Cope, June 1. 1723.) The King's visit to Berlin is described in the *Mém. de Barolth*, vol. i. pp. 84—87.

(3) Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 398.

(4) To Sir William Wyndham, January 5. 1736.

ciously, and met them with a positive refusal; adding, that as Bolingbroke's restoration depended on a Whig parliament, he ought, in prudence, to shun any fresh connection with Tories; and that the Ministers would not hazard the King's affairs by proposing this restoration rashly (1).

Bolingbroke, seeing that no impression was to be made in this quarter, seemed to acquiesce in the Minister's reasoning, and left England for Aix-la-Chapelle, in hopes, from thence, to pay a visit at Hanover. But not obtaining the desired permission, he returned to Paris, where a new field was opening to his ambition and abilities. Cardinal Dubois had died in August, and was followed by his patron, the Duke of Orleans, in less than four months. The young King having nominally come of age, no other Regent was appointed; but the new prime minister was the Duke de Bourbon, a weak man, chiefly governed by an aspiring mistress, Madame de Prie. Over this prince, and over this lady, Bolingbroke had great influence; "for these many years," says he, "I have been "honoured with his friendship (2);" and his own marriage with the Marquise de Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon, was another link of his close connection with the Court of France. There was no variation in the foreign policy of that Court; the scene had not shifted, though the actors were changed. But a struggle for power was now going on in the English cabinet between Lords Townshend and Carteret; and that struggle, as will presently be seen, was brought to issue on French ground, where Bolingbroke had both the means and the inclination to take an active part.

The new Secretary of State, John Lord Carteret, (afterwards, on the death of his mother, Earl Granville.) was born in 1690. No one ever combined, in a more eminent degree, the learning of a scholar with the talents of a statesman. The ancient languages he had deeply studied; of the modern, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Swedish, were equally familiar to him. Mr. Harte, in a preface to his "Gustavus Adolphus," after Granville's death, and, therefore, without any interested adulation, celebrates his knowledge of Chemnitz and other recondite writers; and observes, that "he understood the German and Swedish histories to the highest perfection." He might have lectured upon public law. He might have taken his seat in a synod, and taught the Canonists. Yet in public life no rust of pedantry ever dimmed his keen and brilliant intellect. In debate, his eloquence was always ready, always warm, and has even been blamed for the profusion of ideas which crowded from him. In council, men of letters are, in general, bewildered by too nice a balance of opposite advantages: Carteret, on the contrary, was always daring

(1) Walpole to Townshend, July 23. 1723.

(2) To Lord Harcourt, December 28. 1723.

and decisive. Most remarkable testimonies to his ability might be gathered from the writings even of his strongest political opponents. Chesterfield was his enemy; yet Chesterfield writes to his son, "They say Lord Granville is dying. When he dies, the "ablest head in England dies too, take it for all in all (1)." Horace Walpole was his enemy; yet when Walpole weighs him in the balance with his own father, with Mansfield, and with Chatham, he declares that none of them had the genius of Granville (2).

Yet, with all this, Carteret neither fills, nor deserves to fill, any very high niche in the Temple of Fame. There was a want of consistency, not in his principles, but in his efforts and exertions. He would be all fire to-day, all ice to-morrow. He was ready to attempt any thing, but frequently grew weary of his own projects, and seldom took sufficient means to secure their accomplishment. Ambition generally ruled him, but the mastery was often disputed by wine. Two daily bottles of Burgundy made him happy in himself, and independent of state affairs. Seldom granting a kindness, and as seldom resenting an injury, he was incapable both of firm friendship and settled animosity—not above revenge, but below it. At the most critical period of his life, when, on the fall of Walpole, he had become chief Minister, and was driven from office by a combination formed partly of his own pretended friends, even then, says a contemporary, he showed no anger nor resentment, nor, indeed, any feeling except thirst (3). A careless, lolling, laughing love of self; a sort of epicurean ease, roused to action by starts and bounds—such was his real character. For such a man to be esteemed really great, he must die early! He may dazzle as he passes, but cannot bear a close and continued gaze.

Carteret had come forth in public life under the guidance of Stanhope and Sunderland. The former made him Ambassador to Sweden in 1719; the latter, Secretary of State on the death of Craggs. For the memory of both these statesmen he always expressed the highest veneration and attachment, and he considered himself as representing them and their principles in the Cabinet. Like them, he thought, that as time proceeded, the basis of administration might be enlarged, and some moderate Tories brought over to join it. Like them, he maintained, that to shut out all Tories and high Churchmen from employment, had been, at the King's accession, a measure of necessity, but should not be continued ever afterwards from choice. With the King he had ingratiated himself by his German studies, being the only one of his Ministers who could converse with him in that language. It is very strange, I may observe in passing, that though under the two first Georges a knowledge of German was almost a sure road to

(1) Letter, December 13. 1762.

(2) Memoirs of George the Second, vol. ii. p. 272.

(3) Walpole to Mann, March 4. 1745.

Royal favour (1), it seems to have been much less cultivated, than it is from literary motives at the present day. In foreign affairs Carteret had succeeded to the great influence of Stanhope over the Court of the Palais Royal (2). He confirmed it by immediately appointing Sir Luke Schaub Minister at Paris, as the former and the most friendly channel of communication with Dubois. In fact it was through Dubois that England for six years drew France into a close concert of measures: in return, the Abbé, it has been said, but never shown, received a yearly pension from the English Government; and at all events it is certain, that it was partly at the application, and with the aid of George and his Ministers, that Dubois obtained first an Archbishop's mitre, and then a Cardinal's hat (3).

Carteret and Walpole could not long continue to agree. Walpole was aiming at a monopoly of power; Carteret was determined to hold fast a share of it. The one expected to find a dependent and not a colleague; the other, a superior and not a master. In this contest Carteret was backed (but very cautiously, and so as not to commit themselves) by Lord Carleton, Privy Seal, by the Duke of Roxburgh, Secretary for Scotland, and by Lord Cadogan, who had succeeded Marlborough as Commander in Chief; while, on the other hand, Townshend and all the other ministers were firmly linked to Walpole, and mainly guided by him. The Hanoverian courtiers and favourites were in like manner split in two sections. The Duchess of Kendal, who had a strong liking for the most powerful party, and a happy instinct in discerning it, sided with Walpole and Townshend, as she had before with Stanhope and Sunderland; and the brother ministers always speak of her in their letters as their firm friend, and the "good Duchess." On his part, Carteret had secured the Countess of Darlington, and her sister Madame de Platen. And thus the struggle for the Royal confidence on this occasion turned, perhaps, on the attractions of ladies, rather than on the merits of statesmen.

It has also been alleged, that at Hanover Carteret endeavoured to strengthen his interest by promoting the King's German measures, which Townshend, more patriotically, withstood. Yet this does not seem very consistent with the charge shortly afterwards made on precisely the same authority against Townshend himself, as wholly Hanoverian. "Hanover is Lord Townshend's great merit," says the Duke of Newcastle (4). "He endeavours to make all measures Electoral," says old Horace Walpole (5).

(1) "German will, I fear, always be a useful language for an Englishman to know." Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, Sept. 15. 1752.

(2) Dubois transferred his devotion to Carteret, as the minister "who was supported by Sunderland, and who boasted, that he had succeeded to the influence, as well as to the principles, of Stanhope..... The friendship of Dubois increased

"the consequence of Carteret." (Coxe's Walpole, vol. 1. p. 179.)

(3) See the Mémoires de Ducloux, vol. ii. p. 81., and the letter of Stanhope in the *Mém. secrets de Sevelinges*, vol. i. p. 275. Sevelinges throws great doubt on the story of the pension from England. (p. 16.)

(4) To Lord Harrington, April 23. 1730.

(5) To Mr. Poyntz, January 21. 1730.

Such was the state of things when the two Secretaries of State attended the King to Hanover, and when the pending contest came to an issue between them. At that time a marriage had been proposed between a daughter of Madame de Platen and the Count St. Florentin, son of La Vrillière, French secretary of state; but the Countess required, as a condition, that a dukedom should be granted to La Vrillière. This dukedom immediately became an object of eager interest with George the First, and Carteret instructed Sir Luke Schaub to make every exertion to obtain it from the Duke of Orleans. We should observe that this affair belonged to Carteret, as secretary for the southern department, in which France was comprised, and that the other secretary had no claim to interlope in his province. Nevertheless, Lord Townshend, unwilling to see an affair of so much interest in the hands of a rival, determined, if possible, to draw it from his management. With this view, and at the instigation of Walpole, he despatched his brother Horace to Paris, under the pretence of settling the accession of Portugal to the Quadruple Alliance, but in reality to watch the movements and counteract the influence of Schaub.

In the midst of these cabals, suddenly died the Duke of Orleans, and it was then that Bolingbroke came into play. He perceived that the party of Walpole and Townshend was much the stronger, and would finally prevail; and he determined to pay court to them rather than to Carteret. Accordingly he hastened to greet Horace Walpole with many friendly assurances and much useful information; and exerted his influence with the Duke de Bourbon for his service. Nay, more, he threw into his hands one or two very favourable opportunities for pushing his pretensions by himself. But Horace Walpole, who had a rooted aversion to Bolingbroke, received all his overtures very much at arm's length, and wished to accept his intelligence without either trust or requital. As he writes to his brother: "I have made a good use of my Lord Bolingbroke's information, without having given him any handle to be the negotiator of his Majesty's affairs (1)." "This," says Bolingbroke, "I freely own, I took a little unkindly, because I have acted a part which deserves confidence, not suspicion (2)." But whatever might be the resentment of Bolingbroke, he was compelled to smother it: his restoration was entirely in the power and at the mercy of the English Ministers, and to obtain it, he could only continue his painful submission and unavailing services.

With respect to the affair itself of the dukedom, neither Schaub nor Walpole could prevail. The French nobility considered the family of La Vrillière as not entitled to this distinction, and raised so loud a cry at the rumour of it, as to render its execution almost impracticable. Ultimately, Madame de Platen, being pacified by a portion of 10,000*l.* from King

(1) Horace, to Robert Walpole, Dec. 15. 1723.
Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole.

(2) To Lord Harcourt, January 12. 1724.

George, and no longer thinking a dukedom indispensable to a husband, allowed the marriage to take place without the required promotion. But a total breach had meanwhile ensued between the two English negotiators. "It is impossible," writes Horace Walpole, "for the King's interest to be carried on here, so long as Sir Luke Schaub and I are to act jointly together (1)." Thus it became necessary for the King to choose between Schaub and Horace Walpole; in other words, between their patrons—Carteret and Townshend. With little hesitation, the King decided for the latter; Schaub was recalled, and Horace Walpole received credentials as ambassador to Paris. Nay, more, Townshend obtained the dismissal of his rival with the same honours which had formerly smoothed his own. The Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was bestowed upon Carteret; his office of Secretary of State was transferred to the Duke of Newcastle, and the ascendancy of the brother ministers became wholly uncontrolled. Cadogan and Roxburgh bent down lowly before the storm, and it passed them over; and Carteret himself bore his defeat with great frankness and good humour. He owned that he considered himself very ill used, especially when Horace Walpole had been sent to interlope in his department, but declared that he should be much happier as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland than as a Secretary of State, thwarted in all his measures, and stripped of his proper authority; and at the same time he professed his intentions to promote the King's service, and still to continue on good terms with the Ministers.

CHAPTER XIII.

When Carteret was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that kingdom was by no means in a state of tranquillity. A slight spark had, by the talents of Swift, been blown into a formidable flame, and a project, beyond all doubt beneficial to the nation, was ingeniously and successfully held forth to them as the greatest of grievances.

There had for some time been felt in Ireland a great deficiency of copper coin; this had gone so far, that several gentlemen were forced to use tallies with their workmen, and give them pieces of card, sealed and signed with their names. To supply this deficiency, several proposals had been submitted to the Government in England, and one accepted from Mr. William Wood, a considerable

(1) To Lord Townshend, March 22. 1726. Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole.

proprietor and renter of iron works (1). The scheme was first designed under Sunderland, but not matured till Walpole was at the head of the Treasury. A patent was then granted to Wood for coining farthings and halfpence to the value of 108,000*l*. This patent was directed by Walpole with his usual financial skill; at every step in passing it he consulted Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint; he took the advice of the Attorney and Solicitor General, and employed the utmost care to guard against any fraud or exorbitant profit. And when, on the first apprehension of troubles on this subject, a new assay was ordered at the Mint, the principal officers, with Sir Isaac as their chief, reported, that the coins in weight, goodness, and fineness, so far from falling short, even exceeded the conditions of the contract. It was requisite, on account of the difference of exchange between the two countries, that these farthings and halfpence should be a little less in weight than those current in England, "which," says Walpole, "was considered at the time of passing the patent, and found to be necessary;" and he gives reasons that, as he truly adds, "sufficiently justify the difference of the weight of the two coins, when at the same time it is admitted on all hands, that the Irish coin in fineness of metal exceeds the English. As to the King's prerogative of granting such patents, it is one never disputed, and often exercised (2)."

So clear and well conducted a transaction seemed by no means favourable for the creation of a grievance, even with a people so expert in that kind of manufacture. Almost the only blamable part in the business does not appear to have been suspected, till the ferment against it had risen to some height; namely, a bribe which Wood had agreed to pay to the Duchess of Kendal for her influence in passing the patent. But this, however scandalous in the parties concerned, could not materially affect the quantity or quality of coin to be issued, or still less the want of such a supply for purposes of trade in Ireland.

The affair, however, from various causes, took an unprosperous turn. The Irish Privy Council had not been previously consulted, and was nettled at this neglect; nor did the Irish courtiers approve of any jobs except their own. Amongst the people the patent at first was not clearly explained, and when explained it was already unpopular. Wood was disliked, as an utter stranger to the country; he was besides a vain, imprudent man, bragging of his influence with Walpole, and threatening that "he would cram his halfpence down the throats of the Irish." To rail at all opposition, as Popery and treason, was not the way to disarm it. Nor did the Irish Government meet the first difficulties with promptness and energy. The Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant, was a person of

(1) Macpherson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 114.

(2) Letters to Lord Townshend, Oct. 1. and 18. 1722.

very moderate abilities, well described by Walpole as "a fair weather pilot, that knew not what he had to do when the first storm arose (1)." The Lord Chancellor (Alan Brodrick, Viscount Midleton) was an open enemy of Grafton, and a secret one of Walpole: he had talents, but so high an opinion of them, that he always thought himself neglected and ill used; and though he could not venture to take part himself against the Court, yet his son, his secretary, his purse-bearer, and other dependents, did so publicly and warmly.

Through these causes, an impulse was given that soon became general, and spread from low to high. The Irish Parliament met full of resentment, and decided with headlong haste. Both Houses passed addresses to the King, declaring that the execution of Wood's patent would be prejudicial to the revenue, and destructive of trade; that the terms of the patent had not been complied with, and that if even they had, there would have been a loss to the nation of 150 per cent. ! So monstrous an exaggeration has scarcely ever yet been hazarded in any public document—at least not out of Spain. These addresses were first transmitted to Walpole, and in sending them to Townshend at Hanover, he declares himself astonished that any assembly should have come into resolutions that are all false in fact; "and, indeed," he adds, "I was a good deal concerned till I saw what they did object, lest by inadvertency, or by being imposed upon, we might, out of a desire of doing the service, have let this slip through our fingers, liable to more objections than I was aware of. But most certainly it is not so. The resolution that makes the loss 150 per cent. is founded upon a computation that copper uncoined is worth 12*d.* a pound; now a pound of copper halfpence and farthings are by the patent to pass for 2*s.* 6*d.*; therefore the loss is 1*s.* 6*d.* But a pound of copper prepared for the mint in London costs there 1*s.* 6*d.*; the charge of coining a pound of copper is at the Mint 4*d.*; and I think the duty of a pound of copper coined, imported into Ireland, is a halfpenny per pound, besides the exchange, and which, with all allowances, comes to 20 per cent., and all this is laid aside, and the copper money valued at the supposed value of the rough Irish copper, which is much inferior to English copper (2)."

The King's answer to the Irish addresses was, as Walpole advised it, mild and conciliatory: he expressed his concern that his granting a patent according to the practice of his Royal Predecessors, had given so much uneasiness, and if there had been any abuses committed by the patentee, he would give orders for inquiring into and punishing them. Accordingly the affair was referred to a Committee of the Privy Council in England, which after a most searching inquiry, and the examination of numerous witnesses, published

(1) Walpole to Townshend, Oct. 26. 1735.

(2) To Lord Townshend, Oct. 1. 1736.

their Report in July, 1724. In this Report they justified, in the clearest and most unquestionable manner, both the terms of the patent and the conduct of the patentee. At the same time, however, Mr. Wood declared himself willing to yield to the clamour against his coinage, so far as to reduce it from 108,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* value; and to propose that no more than 5½*d.* of it should be a legal tender at any one payment. This the Government accepted, and sent directions to Ireland that the halfpence might be allowed currency to the reduced amount.

Such fair concessions, and such unanswerable arguments, might probably have prevailed, had not the mighty mind of Swift arrayed itself against them. For ten years had that aspiring spirit pined in obscurity and oblivion: he now seized the opportunity to exert and display his powers. From the simple transaction before him, he drew a frightful picture of fraud, oppression, and impending misery. Public ruin was foretold, and public vengeance threatened in a hundred shapes (1). Songs, ballads, and lampoons, flew about the streets. A more serious attack was made in letters, which appeared from time to time under the assumed name of M. B. a Drapier of Dublin. Of these letters Mr. Hawkins Browne used to say, that they were the most perfect pieces of oratory composed since the days of Demosthenes (2); and though far from assenting to such extravagant panegyric, we can scarcely deny them a very high degree of admiration. They are written with so much art, as entirely to conceal the appearance of art. The author speaks of himself as a “poor ignorant shopkeeper utterly unskilled in law;” he appears throughout a quiet man startled from his station by the common danger,—“as when,” he says, “a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door.” The style is plain and simple; the deductions easy and suited to the understandings of all; and the strokes of satire with which it abounds are the more pungent, as seeming not to be designed. So far from leaving any handle to be called a party man, he always refers with much respect to the Ministers, and with no less loyalty to the King, “for we never had one more gracious.” The stubborn facts against him are moulded with the highest skill; he attempts to prove, or (what is quite as effectual when a ferment is once raised) he assumes as proved, that the patent itself is iniquitous; that, moreover, its terms have been grossly violated by the patentee; that the halfpence are six parts out of seven base; that Wood will hereafter be able “to buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve under the value.” Wood himself from a proprietor of iron works becomes

(1) As for Instance:—

“The halfpence are coming, the nation's undoing;
“There's an end of your ploughing, and baking,
and brewing;
“In short, you must all go to rack and to ruin!”

Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 478. One poem proposes to scald Wood in his own melted copper; another prefers “the drop at Kilmahnam.”

(2) Sheridan's Life of Swift, p. 241. ed. 1784.

a hardware-man and tinker! His copper is turned into brass! The people are told that they will soon have no meat to feed them, unless they can eat brass as ostriches do iron! "If Mr. Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our beggars! Do you think I will sell you a yard of tenpenny stuff for twenty of Mr. Wood's halfpence? No, not under two hundred, at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump."

Even so clear a proof as the public assay at the Mint is called impudent and insupportable — "If I were to buy a hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether fat and well fleeced, by way of pattern, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, even for those that were lean, or shorn, or scabby, I would be none of his customer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of brick in his pocket, which he showed as a pattern to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with Mr. Wood's assay."

It is to be observed that the Government had not used any compulsion with respect to this coin; their orders were only to allow it currency with those who might be willing to receive it. Yet the Drapier takes care to drop an insinuation of force: "I hope the words voluntary and willing to receive it will be understood and applied in their true natural meaning, as commonly understood by Protestants: for, if a fierce Captain comes to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with a sack of Wood's coin upon his shoulders; if we are agreed upon the price, and my scarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the word of command to receive my money in Wood's coin, and calls me a disaffected Jacobite dog for refusing it (though I am as loyal a subject as himself, and without hire), and thereupon seizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy; in this case, I shall hardly be brought to think that I am left to my own will. . . . It is probable that the first willing receivers will be those who must receive it, whether they will or not, under the penalty of losing an office."

This loyal subject is also full of apprehensions lest the King's ministers should "advise him to take his revenues here, which are near 400,000*l.* a year, in Wood's brass, which will reduce their value to 50,000*l.*" How it was possible that 400,000*l.* should be sent over in copper, which was only to be coined to the value of 40,000*l.*, Swift does not explain, nor did his Irish readers inquire. All ranks caught the alarm; all distinctions of party were hushed; and the nation became united as one man. The Drapier, whose real author was soon whispered, was hailed as the public Deliverer; and, according to the advice contained in one of the Letters, a Declaration was published, signed by many persons of

station and property, denouncing Wood's coin, and warning their tenants not to take it.

It was in the midst of this storm that the new Viceroy, Lord Carteret, landed in October. He had instructions to use strong measures, if needful, to assert the authority of Government; and he wanted neither skill nor spirit to perform them. Perceiving that the Drapier's Letters were the main root of the evil, he issued a proclamation against the last; offered a reward of 300*l.* for discovering the author; and caused Harding, the printer, to be apprehended. But the grand jury who were required to find a bill against Harding, unanimously threw it out, and were discharged by Chief Justice Whitshed with much passion. A popular lampoon was immediately levelled at the Chief Justice from the same invisible and powerful hand (1). The agitation increased; and the next grand jury, so far from finding a bill against Harding, made a presentment against all persons who should, by fraud or otherwise, impose Wood's halfpence upon the people—a presentment which, it appears, had been drawn up by Swift himself.

Such a spirit as now appeared in Ireland could neither be broken by force, nor melted by persuasion. After several attempts, and many consultations, Carteret informed the Government that the affair was desperate, and that further perseverance could end only in rebellion and confusion. The Ministers, however reluctant to compromise the King's authority, had no alternative, and yielded the point by withdrawing the patent, while at the same time the resignation of Lord Midleton was accepted, and a pension of 3000*l.* granted to Wood, in compensation for his loss.

Several modern writers, astonished at the overwhelming and irrational outcry against a beneficial project, have devised another motive to explain it, and suppose that Wood's patent was only the pretext; a peg on which to hang the question of the independence and equality of Ireland. But such a supposition is by no means consistent with the contemporary records. There can be no doubt that Wood's patent was considered a real and enormous grievance in itself; and the question of equality was merely brought on to point a period or to swell a complaint, or rather was provoked by a foolish sally of Wood, implying that Ireland was only a "dependent kingdom." Thus the question came on incidentally; and, when once raised, was keenly discussed. Certainly the cause of liberty in Ireland was promoted, in after years, by the stand successfully made on this occasion; but, as it appears to me, there is no evidence to show that this cause was either the original, or at any time the principal, motive with the opponents of Wood.

The sequel is, however, highly honourable to the warm-hearted

(1) This lampoon turned upon his motto—

"*Libertas et natale solum.*"

Fine words! I wonder where you stole 'em!

"Would nothing but your chief reproach

"Serve as a motto on your coach? etc.

Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 467.

and generous Irish. Believing, however erroneously, that Swift had delivered them from a great public danger, their gratitude to him knew no bounds, nor ended even with his powers of mind. "The sun of his popularity," says a great poet, "remained unclouded, even after he was incapable of distinguishing its radiance(1)." The Drapier's Head became a favourite sign; his portrait, we are told, was engraved, woven upon handkerchiefs, and struck upon medals (not of copper I presume). His health was quaffed at every banquet, his presence every where welcomed with blessings by the people. They bore with all the infirmities of genius, all the peevishness of age. In vain did he show contempt and aversion to those who thus revered him: in vain did he deny them even the honour of his birth-place, frequently saying, "I was not dropped in this vile country, but in England." In vain did he sneer at the "savage Old Irish." No insult on his part could weaken their generous attachment. Even at this day, as I am assured, this grateful feeling still survives; and all parties in Ireland, however estranged on other questions, agree in one common veneration for the memory of SWIFT.

Scarcely were the disturbances in Ireland appeased, before others broke out among the Scots. I have elsewhere mentioned the great unwillingness of that nation to bear their proportion of the Malt Tax, and the violent motion to which they had recourse in 1713 (2). Since that time they had contrived, under various pretences, to evade payment of the duty, to the great envy and indignation of the English country gentlemen; until, in 1724, the subject was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Brodrick, who proposed that, instead of the duty on Malt in Scotland, there should be paid a duty of sixpence on every barrel of ale (3). Walpole was by no means inclined to stir this agitating question; but finding the sense of the House against him, he acquiesced, taking care, however, to reduce the duty to three-pence, or one half of what Brodrick proposed. The money, it is said, was wanted partly to defray an allowance of ten guineas weekly, which Walpole used to give to every Scotch member during the Session, in order, as was alleged, to support the charge of their residence in London. These Scotch members were now told by Walpole, when they waited upon him, that they must find or acquiesce in some mode to make up this expense from the Scotch revenue; or else, as he expressed it, they must in future "tie up their stockings with their own garters (4)!"

But though the Scottish members might have excellent reasons for yielding to this impost, the Scottish people unhappily had none; and its result was a general irritation throughout the country, and

(1) Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Swift*, p. 304.

(2) See *suprà*, p. 26.

(3) *Common's Journals*, vol. xx. pp. 389. 374.

(4) Lockhart's *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 141., and Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, third series, vol. II. p. 180.

a serious riot at Glasgow. The mob assembled in large numbers, shouting "Down with Walpole!" and "Up with Seaforth!" they broke open and plundered the house of Mr. Campbell, of Shawfield, member for the City (1); and his cellar being unfortunately well-stocked, added fresh incitement to their fury. Two companies of foot, under Captain Bushell, had been sent from Edinburgh at the first apprehension of a tumult; these were now surrounded by the mob, and fiercely assailed with stones and other missiles, until the soldiers, being compelled in self-defence to fire, killed nine persons, and wounded many more. Nevertheless, the mob seemed exasperated rather than dismayed; and Captain Bushell was compelled to retire to Dumbarton Castle, still pursued, and pelted by the rabble during a part of the way.

Under these circumstances, the Commander-in-Chief for Scotland, General Wade, seeing the necessity of prompt measures, marched to Glasgow with so large a force as to disarm all opposition. Not content with seizing some of the rioters, he apprehended the chief magistrates, and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh, under the charge, certainly well-founded, of either timidly or treacherously conniving at the riots. But, being brought before the Lords Justiciary, they were declared innocent, and set at liberty (2); and this acquittal, being considered a victory over the Government, revived the zeal of the people. A combination was formed amongst the brewers at Edinburgh, engaging not to give security for the new duty, nor to brew if the duty were demanded.

The Duke of Roxburgh was at this time Secretary of State for Scotland; he had been attached to Carteret, and was accused by Walpole of fomenting these disturbances (3). Whether this was really the case, or whether Walpole merely seized the opportunity to acquire a more supple colleague, the Minister now obtained not merely the dismissal of Roxburgh, but the abolition of the office of Secretary for Scotland. Henceforth he centred the power of that department in his own hands; deputing, however, no small share of it to his devoted follower the Earl of Isla. It was Isla who, on the fall of Roxburgh, was despatched to Edinburgh with the view of allaying the storm: he came armed with full powers from Government, and with no small prudence of his own. So firm, yet so skilful were his measures, that the threatening combination of brewers was speedily dissolved. They at first attempted to make terms; but being told that none would be accepted but an immediate return to their duty, "various opinions" (I quote the words of Walpole) "began to arise among themselves in their assembly, and at last they unanimously agreed to be determined

(1) "Had Mr. Campbell himself been in town" says Lockhart, "they had certainly *Devittet* him." (Mem. vol. ii. p. 162.) He joins this new term from the savage murder of the two De Witts

by the mob in Holland. Thank God! we have no such English word!

(2) Culloden Papers, pp. 86—88.

(3) Walpole to Townshend, August, 17. 1725.

“ by a question : — Brew or not. Which, being put by the chair-
 “ man, he began to take their votes, *SERIAM*, at the right hand ;
 “ but his right-hand man thought it a hardship upon him to be
 “ obliged to speak first, his left-hand man thought so too, and they
 “ could get nobody to give his vote first. At last, one Gray decla-
 “ red he thought they had nothing now left to do, but to return
 “ to their trades ; that he would not be bound by the majority, but
 “ began the vote, and voted *BREW* ! He was immediately followed
 “ by another, upon which two warm ones hoped they would hold
 “ out till their brethren were set at liberty ; but those not being
 “ supported, the assembly broke up, and such of them as had their
 “ things in readiness fell to brewing that night ; and next day, at
 “ noon, above forty brewhouses were hard at work in Edinburgh,
 “ and ten more at Leith (1).” It is probable that the argument
 which had most weight with the brewers, was that, after all, the
 ultimate loss must fall not on them but on the public. This hap-
 py termination is mentioned by Walpole, with much satisfaction
 and high praises of Lord Isla : he adds, “ I think we have once
 “ more got Ireland and Scotland quiet, if we take care to keep
 “ them so.”

The Session of Parliament, which began in November, 1724, was distinguished by three important transactions—the impeachment of the Lord Chancellor, — the partial restoration of Lord Bolingbroke, — and the first public breach between Walpole and Pulteney.

Enormous abuses had crept into the Court of Chancery : the offices of Masters were set up to sale ; and the buyers, in consequence, attempted to turn them to their own advantage. The price of these offices having latterly been augmented, the extor-
 tions of the holders grew in the same proportion. The suitors’ money, the estates of widows and orphans, became a source of private peculation ; and the public voice was loud against the Chancellor, Parker, Earl of Macclesfield. In January, he resigned the Great Seal, but did not thereby escape the national resentment. His impeachment was moved in the House of Commons by Sir George Oxenden ; his trial took place at the bar of the House of Lords, and continued twenty days. He was unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to a fine of 30,000*l.* ; a motion to disable him from sitting in Parliament, or holding any future office, being, moreover, very nearly carried. His Majesty struck off his name from the List of Privy Counsellors, and Sir Peter King, now created Lord King, was appointed Chancellor in his place. The unanimity of his judges might seem decisive as to his guilt ; yet it may perhaps be doubted, whether they did not unjustly heap the faults of the system on one man ; whether Parker

(1) To Lord Townshend, Sept. 3. 1726.

had not [rather, in fact, failed to check gradual and growing abuses, than introduced them by his authority or encouraged them by his example.

Lord Bolingbroke was still at Paris. "Tired," as he says, "with suspense, the only insupportable misfortune of life, and with nine years of autumnal promises and vernal excuses (1)," he had, early in 1724, another painful subject of embarrassment in the villany of a banker. His wife, Madame de Villette, had invested 50,000*l.* in the English funds through the hands of Sir Matthew Decker, who now pretended to make a discovery of it to the government as a forfeiture, upon proving her married to Lord Bolingbroke. This brought the lady to England under the name of Villette, and ready, if required, to deny her marriage; and Lord Townshend, who abhorred all dishonesty, and considered Decker's reasons "very bad ones," gave her his zealous and successful aid (2). But she also seized the opportunity to ingratiate herself at Court, and obtain Bolingbroke's long-desired restoration. The King was by no means fascinated with her; he declared that she talked too much, and without respect (3); but a well-timed present of 11,000*l.* to the Duchess of Kendal smoothed many difficulties. A complete restoration was now earnestly and positively pressed upon Walpole by the Court. Walpole, seeing the unpopularity of the measure among his own friends, and afraid of Bolingbroke's future ascendancy, for a long time refused, and made every opposition in his power; but at length, being threatened with dismissal, compromised matters by agreeing to a restoration of fortune though not in peerage. Bolingbroke, on his part, thought it best to take what he could, if not what he would; but as might be expected, he never forgot or forgave the resistance of the Minister. "Here I am, then," he writes to Swift, "two thirds restored; my person safe, and my estate, with all the other property I have acquired, or may acquire, secured to me. But the attainder is kept carefully and prudently in force, lest so corrupt a member should come again into the House of Lords, and his bad leaven should sour that sweet untainted mass (4)."

Even this partial restoration, however, could not pass Parliament without some resistance from two opposite quarters—the staunch Whigs and the decided Jacobites. When the bill was brought in by Lord Finch, seconded by Walpole, Methuen, though filling an office in the Household, warmly opposed it, declaring that the crimes of Bolingbroke were so heinous and flagrant as not

(1) To Swift, July 24. 1725.

(2) Lord Townshend to Horace Walpole, April 2. 1724.

(3) "Elle parle trop et sans respect." (Lord Lansdowne to James, July 10. 1724. Appendix.) He adds, "You can tell, Sir, whether that is a just character; she is your old acquaintance."

(4) Coxe states this erroneously in his Memoirs

of Walpole; he speaks of Bolingbroke's obligations to Walpole, his want of gratitude, etc. But in his life of Horace Lord Walpole (p. 70.), he admits his mistake, observing, that papers have since fallen under his notice, proving the vehement opposition of Walpole to the restoration, and accounting for the bitter and well-founded enmity of Bolingbroke.

to admit of any expiation or atonement. He was backed by Lord William Powlett, by Onslow (afterwards Speaker), and by several other usual friends of government. In like manner was the Tory camp divided; several, such as Lord Bathurst and Sir William Wyndham, were personal friends of Bolingbroke, and eager to promote his interests; while others, recollecting how ill the Pretender had used him, and how great must be his resentment, thought it necessary (as is too commonly the case), because one injury had been inflicted to inflict another, and to thwart his restoration as much as possible. The Duke of Wharton, who at this period frequently appears in the Stuart Papers as foremost amongst James's correspondents, relates a curious conversation which he had upon the subject with Lord Bathurst. Having pressed him to give no aid to Bolingbroke, and urged the wish of the Pretender, Bathurst demurred, and at last said that he had not yet learnt *JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI*, to which Wharton only answered *JURAVI*, and left him (1). Shippen, and some more, steered clear of the difficulty by staying away from the debate. But, as Wharton writes, "Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Thomas Sebright, and Sir Jermyn Davers, "out of their utter detestation for your Majesty's enemies, "bravely opposed the very bringing in of any bill whatsoever." Yet notwithstanding this motley combination of ardent Whigs and ardent Tories, the minority could only muster 113 votes against 231. In the Lords, a strong protest against it was signed by Lechmere and four other Peers. Lechmere had been created a Peer by Walpole, but was now indignant at not succeeding Macclesfield as Chancellor:—he votes and speaks with us," says Wharton; "but I am afraid from resentment, and not principle."

On the passing of the Act, Bolingbroke returned to England. He appears to have made one more effort to gain the friendship of Walpole, and his support in completing his restoration; but being repulsed, he plunged decisively into cabals against that minister. Still retaining his influence with the Duchess of Kendal, he endeavoured to combine a strong opposition in Parliament and in the country, under the convenient name of *PATRIOTS*, and he found an unexpected and most powerful ally in William Pulteney. This celebrated party leader was born in 1682: his family was old, his fortune immense. He early distinguished himself in Parliament; during the last years of Queen Anne, he was one of the most steady and able supporters of the Whigs, and on the accession of George, became Secretary at War. Walpole and he were especially intimate. When Walpole was sent to the Tower, for corruption, Pulteney had spoken in favour of his friend; when a schism broke out in the Government of 1717, Pulteney was one of the few who adhered to Walpole, and left office with him (2). He had, there—

(1) Duke of Wharton to James, Feb. 3. 1725. Appendix.

(2) It appears, however, that Pulteney did not approve of the factious course which Walpole

fore, the strongest claims, political and personal, upon Walpole, when Walpole returned to power. But he had two great faults in Walpole's eyes—ability and independence. In fact, there is nothing more remarkable throughout all Walpole's administration, than his extreme jealousy of any colleague who could possibly grow his rival near the throne. Considering the very favourable circumstances under which he became Prime Minister—the deaths, in such rapid succession, of all his chief competitors—the reunion of the great Whig party—the insignificance and division of the Tories in Parliament—the readiness of the chief remaining statesmen to act under him—we can scarcely doubt, that a liberal encouragement of rising talents, and toleration of high-minded colleagues, would have secured his power through his life, without serious difficulty, and averted that fearful tempest which, during his last years, howled around his head, and at length overthrew not only him, but, in its violence, almost the monarchy itself. But such liberality did not belong to Walpole—he would be all or nothing. He could be kind to a dependant, or generous to an enemy; not fair to a colleague. He could forgive great faults, but never great talents. We have already seen his conduct to Stanhope, to Sunderland, and to Carteret; we shall hereafter see it to Townshend and to Chesterfield; and it may truly be said that the opposition under which he fell at last, was one raised and fostered by his own inordinate ambition.

With this feeling Walpole, instead of proposing any office to Pulteney, tendered him a peerage, wishing to withdraw him from a House where his talents and influence were already feared. This offer Pulteney, as might have been expected, indignantly declined. He still continued, however, to expect a junction with Walpole, and two years afterwards consented to take (no doubt as a step to a higher) the very subordinate post of Cofferer of the Household. But finding himself disappointed, he silently brooded over his wrongs, and watched a favourable opportunity to attack the Minister in Parliament. Such an opening occurred in the Session of 1725, on a motion for discharging the debts of the Civil List, when Pulteney expressed his wonder how so great a debt could be contracted in three years' time, but added, that he was not surprised some persons were so eager to have the deficiencies of the Civil List made good, since they and their friends had so great a share in it. After one or two such sallies, he was dismissed from his place as Cofferer; he then openly joined opposition, and leagued himself with Bolingbroke. In conjunction between them was planned and penned that celebrated paper, the *Craftsman*, which first appeared in the ensuing year, and which proved one of the bitterest and most formidable assailants of the minister.

took in opposition. See Lord Stair's letter to Lord Stanhope, January 23. 1718. Appendix.

The eloquence of Pulteney was of that kind most valued in English Parliaments—ready, clear, and pointed, and always adapted to the temper of the moment. He was often heard to say, that hardly any man ever became a great orator, who began by making a set speech. A most competent judge, and not his friend, Speaker Onslow, assures us, that he knew how “to animate every subject “of popularity with the spirit and fire that the orators of the ancient “commonwealths governed the people by; was as classical and as “elegant in the speeches he did not prepare, as they were in their “most studied compositions, mingling wit and pleasantry, and the “application even of little stories so properly, to affect his hearers, “that he would overset the best argumentation in the world, and “win people to his side, often against their own convictions.” The same quickness of wit sparkled in his conversation (1), and in his writings, nor only in prose, for he had a natural and happy vein for the lighter sort of poetry. But this very vivacity too often unsettled his judgment, and defeated his designs. “His parts,” says Lord Chesterfield, “were rather above business; and the “warmth of his imagination, joined to the impetuosity and rest- “lessness of his temper, made him incapable of conducting it long “together with prudence.” From the same temper, he has been accused of indiscretion; and he sometimes (as is often seen) attempted to prove that he could keep new secrets, by revealing old ones, that is, by boasting of the instances in which he had been already trusted. If we compare him to Chatham, we shall not find the same lofty and commanding spirit; if to Walpole, we shall miss a steady and sagacious application. Unlike both of these, the base passion of avarice had sprung up in his bosom, and grew so high, as sometimes to stifle that nobler plant, ambition. His private character, however, was respectable; his public uncorrupt. No stain of treachery, of ingratitude, or of intrigues against the Protestant succession, rests upon his memory. He could win popularity, but not employ it either for the benefit of those who gave it or for his own. The idol of the nation, as William Pulteney, became their scorn as Earl of Bath; he tried often, but in vain, to recover his lost ground; and he passed his old age in that greatest of all curses that can befall the human mind—to find its aspirations higher than its powers.

Another result of this Session which must not be omitted, was the passing of the “City Act.” The object was to curb the Common Council of London, and restrain that opposition which they frequently manifested against every government; the means were to vest in the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, a negative on their

(1) An accomplished acquaintance said of him, months before his death. See the Memoirs of “Whenever Lord Bath desists from Greek and Mrs. Carter, by the Rev. M. Pennington, vol. 1. “punning, I take it to be just as bad a symptom p. 394. “as if he lost his appetite.” This was only a few

proceedings. The bill was not carried without a violent outcry in London, and a strong opposition in the House of Lords; and the negative it granted was so unpopular, that it appears to have remained dormant and disused for nearly fourteen years (1).

Immediately at the close of the Session, in June 1725, the King revived the order of the Bath, which had been dropped since the coronation of Charles the Second. The number of knights was now fixed at thirty-eight, amongst whom neither Walpole nor his son were forgotten. Next year, Sir Robert had the further distinction of being installed Knight of the Garter, being the only commoner in modern times, except Admiral Montagu, or the eldest sons of peers, who ever enjoyed that honour. I have been assured that the Garter was in like manner warmly pressed upon Mr. Pitt by George the Third, but respectfully declined by the minister, and that the King then insisted on transferring it to his brother Lord Chatham.

It was with great difficulty that, in the foregoing year, the remonstrances of Townshend had withheld the King from returning to Hanover (2); but scarcely had this Session ended, than he began his journey, accompanied as usual by Townshend and the Duchess of Kendal. The state of his foreign relations was now again becoming critical, and needed his utmost attention. Philip the Fifth, at this time, was once more King of Spain; he had, early in 1724, under the influence of a hypochondriac melancholy, resigned in favour of his son, Don Luis, and retired to St. Ildefonso; but the young Prince dying after a reign of only seven months, Philip was induced, by the ambition of his Queen, to re-ascend the throne. His differences with the Emperor were not yet finally adjusted. We have seen that the treaties at the fall of Alberoni being concluded in haste for the cessation of hostilities, could not at once wholly reconcile so many jarring and complicated interests, and reserved some points (amongst others Gibraltar) for a future Congress at Cambray (3). That Congress, from various petty difficulties and delays, did not meet till January 1724, and even then its proceedings were languid and without result. In fact, the Spanish Court had begun to think that a private and separate negotiation with the Emperor would best attain its objects; and with this hope it had despatched, as ambassador to Vienna, Baron Ripperda, an intriguing Dutch adventurer, who had been a tool of Alberoni, and who now, from the want of able statesmen, was considered so himself.

It is probable, however, that these slow negotiations might have lingered on for many months, or even years, had they not received an impulse from a new and unforeseen event. One chief

(1) Duke of Wharton to James, May 1. 1725. Appendix. Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 221.

(2) Lord Townshend to the King, April, 1724. Coxe's Walpole.

(3) See *suprà*, p. 285.

inducement with Philip, in acceding to the Quadruple Alliance, had been a double marriage between the branches of the House of Bourbon. His son, Don Luis, espoused a daughter of the Regent Duke of Orleans, while his daughter, the Infanta Mary Anne, was betrothed to the young King of France. In pursuance of this compact, the Infanta, then only four years of age, had been sent to Paris to be educated according to the French manners, and was treated as the future Queen. The French nation, however, viewed with much distaste an alliance which afforded only such distant hopes of issue; and when the Duke de Bourbon came to the helm of affairs, he had a peculiar motive for aversion to it. Should Louis the Fifteenth die childless, the next heir would be the son of the late Regent, the young Duke of Orleans, between whom and Bourbon there had sprung up a personal and rancorous hatred. Bourbon had, therefore, the strongest reason to dread the accession of that Prince; an illness of Louis, about this time, quickened his apprehensions (1), and he determined, at all hazards, to dismiss the Infanta, and find the King another bride of maturer years. At one time he thought of Princess Anne of England; but King George, when sounded on this subject, declared, much to his honour, that the obstacle of religion (for the bride must have become a Roman Catholic) was insuperable. The Duke de Bourbon and Madame de Prie next turned their eyes to Mary Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, the exiled King of Poland. The cradle of Mary had been rocked amidst the storms of civil war; on one occasion, for example, when still a child in arms, she was forgotten and lost in a hurried retreat; and at length, after an anxious search, was found by her father lying in the trough of a village stable (2). She was now twenty-one years of age, and not deficient in beauty or accomplishments; while her state of exile and obscurity would, Madame de Prie expected, render her more grateful for her elevation, and more pliant to control.

This alliance being finally fixed, and the consent of Louis obtained, the Duke de Bourbon, in March, 1725, sent back the Infanta. Such an insult, which would have been painful to any temper, was intolerable to the pride of Spain. Scarcely could the mob be restrained from a general massacre of the French at Madrid. The King and Queen expressed their resentment in most passionate terms (3), declaring that they would never be reconciled till the Duke de Bourbon came to their Court and implored their pardon on his knees. To Mr. William Stanhope, the English Minister, they announced their intention to place, in future, their whole trust and confidence in his Master, and allow no mediation but his

(1) Ducloux, Mém. vol. ii. p. 298.

(2) Voltaire, Hist. de Charles XII. livre iii. He heard this anecdote from Stanislaus himself.

(3) The Queen exclaimed to the French envoy, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" then,

suddenly recollecting that her husband was of that House, she turned to him and added, "except your Majesty!"—Account of Ripperda; and Coxe's Memoirs of Spain, vol. iii. p. 141.

in their negotiations. But as soon as it appeared that King George refused on this account to break his connection with France, their Spanish Majesties turned their resentment against him also. They dissolved the Congress of Cambray by recalling their Plenipotentiaries, and instructed Ripperda to abandon all the contested points with the Court of Vienna, and form, if possible, a close alliance against France and England.

Nor was the Emperor disinclined to accept these overtures. He had thought himself wronged by the terms of the Quadruple Allies; and though he acquiesced in the first, had never forgiven the latter. Of France he was afraid; of Hanover, jealous; and he had recently embroiled himself with England and Holland by establishing at Ostend an East India Company, which was considered as contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, and which, at all events, was keenly resented by the maritime powers. Under these impressions, Ripperda found few difficulties in his negotiations, and on the last of April and first of May, signed three treaties at Vienna, confirming the articles of the Quadruple Alliance, but proceeding to form a close concert of measures. By these, the King of Spain sanctioned the Ostend Company, and allowed it the same privileges as to the most favoured nations (1). He ceased to insist on a point he had long demanded—the exclusive mastership of the Golden Fleece. He no longer claimed that Spanish troops should garrison the fortresses of Tuscany. He acknowledged the Emperor's right to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and Netherlands; and guaranteed what was termed the Pragmatic Sanction, namely, the succession of the hereditary states of Austria in the female line. This was a point for which Charles was most solicitous, having only daughters in his family, and its guarantee was a vast concession on the part of Philip, who might otherwise on the Emperor's death have put forth a just, or at least a plausible, claim on his Flemish and Italian dominions. Both Sovereigns engaged to support each other, should either be attacked; Charles to bring into the field 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse; Philip, only 20,000 troops, but 15 ships of war (2).

The world beheld, with astonishment, two princes, whose rival pretensions had for so many years distracted Europe with divisions and deluged it with blood, now suddenly bound together by the closest ties of alliance, and combining against those very powers which had hitherto befriended and aided one part or the other. But the large concessions made by Philip, ill compensated by a new renunciation of the Spanish Crown from Charles, raised an immediate suspicion, that there must be other secret articles to the ad-

(1) Only a year before (April 26, 1724), the King had made a solemn representation against this Company. See Dumont, *Suppl. Corps Diplomat.* vol. viii. part ii. p. 83.

(2) Dumont, *Suppl. Corps Diplomat.* vol. viii. part ii. p. 114. The Emperor's contingent is augmented by 20,000 in Coxe's *Waldpole*.

vantage of the Court of Madrid ; and, in fact, hopes had been held out to it of a project most dangerous to the balance of power—a marriage between the young Archduchess, the heiress of the Austrian States, and one of the Infants of Spain. These were only hopes ; but it was speedily shown, by many concurrent proofs, and afterwards confirmed by the confession of Ripperda and others, that at the same time with the public treaty, a private agreement had been concluded according to which the allies of Vienna were to demand first Gibraltar, and then Minorca, for Spain ; and, in case of refusal, to combine for the restitution of these by force, and for the enthronement of the Pretender in England. A motive of religion was also mingled in the latter project ; and either the accomplishment or the alarm of it might, as the Emperor hoped, obtain his great object at this time—the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction by the French and English nations. “ In this case,” said Walpole, many years afterwards, “ it was not His late Majesty’s “ ministers here who informed him ; it was he that informed them “ of the transaction ; he had his information at Hanover, and it “ was so good that he could not be deceived ; I know as well, and “ am as certain that there were such articles, as those very persons who drew up the articles (1).”

Russia also showed a strong inclination to engage in the same confederacy. On the death of Peter the Great, his wido, Catherine, had been acknowledged as Empress, and pursued his plans with scarcely an inferior spirit. She had inherited his rancour against England ; and having married her daughter to the Duke of Holstein, became eager to recover Sleswick, which Denmark had formerly wrested from that Duchy. “ For myself,” she said, “ I could be content with clothes to keep me warm, and with “ bread to eat ; but I am determined to see justice done to “ my son-in-law ; and, for his sake, I would not scruple to put “ myself at the head of an army (1) ; ”—and accordingly she issued orders for soldiers and ships to be equipped. Large sums were transmitted from Madrid to St. Petersburg, larger still to Vienna ; in fact, it is said, that this last Court received no less than 1,300,000 pistoles in fourteen months.

Such formidable preparations called for a counter confederacy on the part of England. Horace Walpole obtained the accession of France ; Prussia was secured by Townshend, through a guarantee of its claims on Juliers ; and, on the 3d of September, was signed a defensive alliance between these three Powers, called, from the place of its signature, the Treaty of Hanover. A separate article referred to some cruelties lately practised on the Protestants at Thorn in Polish Prussia, and engaged to obtain satisfaction for

(1) Speech, March 29, 1734. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix. (2) Mr. Poynts to Lord Townshend, May 14, 1726. p. 298.

them. The second and third undertook that, in case of any attack on one of the contracting parties, the others should furnish a certain quota in troops, or the value in ships or money; and, in case of need, should agree concerning further succours. These were nearly all the apparent stipulations; but their real drift was, moreover, to counter-balance the treaty of Vienna,—compel the Emperor to relinquish the Ostend Company,—and withstand any attempts that might be made in behalf of the Pretender.

Such was the celebrated treaty of Hanover, against which the opposition so often thundered during the administration of Walpole. “Thus Hanover rode triumphant on the shoulders of England,” writes Chesterfield. “It was a treaty, the tendency of which is discovered in the name,” cries Chatham. But their judgment loses much of its weight, when we find it built on the assumption that there was, in fact, no secret agreement at Vienna. The proofs of that agreement, depending mainly on private and confidential disclosures, could not, at the time, be made known; and party spirit was eager to deny an injury which it would not resent. But we—who can scarcely be unconvinced that there was such an agreement—who observe that the two Courts were rapidly marching to its execution, and that Spain had just taken the first public step by a peremptory demand of Gibraltar from the British Government—can we doubt that it was necessary to provide against this alarming combination, and that a counter-alliance was likely to prove, as it did prove, the best means of averting the danger, and preserving peace to England and to Europe?

Nor can it truly be said, that the treaty of Hanover was framed to promote Hanoverian objects. I do not deny, that the interests of Hanover had, in many instances, been unduly cherished, and had given rise to some of the difficulties out of which the treaty sprung. It was the acquisition of Bremen and Verden from Denmark which produced the seizure of Sleswick and the resentment of Russia, while the Emperor was no less offended at this spirit of aggrandisement, and at the refusal of George to pay the large fines required for investitures. Had it not been for Hanover, there might have been no confederacy at Vienna. But that confederacy once formed, and once pointed against England, from whatever cause, it was necessary for England to withstand it; and the treaty of the 3d of September was, in fact, only for the defence of England and of English objects,—Gibraltar, the Ostend Company, and the attempts of the Pretender,—in all which Hanover had not the least concern. So certain is this, that the King's German ministers were unanimous against it, complaining that the King was exposing his foreign states to the vengeance of the head of the Empire for the sake of the English trade. The King himself opposed the treaty on this ground, and it was with great difficulty that his consent was extorted by Townshend. And thus,

while the opposition at home was clamorous against the treaty as too Hanoverian, the Germans, with more reason, denounced it as too English.

The treaty of Hanover was, I think, the only Ministerial measure from 1721 to 1742, in which Walpole did not take the principal lead. A statesman so jealous of power, was not a little displeased to find this important transaction almost solely conducted by a colleague. He was determined, according to his own phrase, that the firm should be Walpole and Townshend, not Townshend and Walpole. To this period may probably be ascribed his first animosity against his brother minister; perhaps even the fixed intention to remove him at a fitting opportunity. He complained that Townshend had been "too precipitate;" meaning, no doubt, that there would have been sufficient time to receive his advice and directions,—and surely his talents deserved it. All his remarks on this subject display his superior sagacity. He fully approved of the main principles of the Treaty, but he remonstrated against the large sums required to gain Sweden; he would not lay an embargo on the Russian ships of war; he thought it a grievous omission not to have secured Portugal in the event of another war with Spain. Still more must he have disapproved a wild scheme which Townshend had formed and communicated to his brother Horace; to conquer the Austrian Netherlands, and divide them between England, Holland, and France (1). Walpole was far too wise a statesman to allow the French, under any pretext, a footing in the Netherlands. He knew, as was emphatically said many years afterwards by an American minister in London, that "if ever France should acquire the dominion of Flanders, having at the same time a good constitution, the consequence of this island is gone (2)."

In December, the King began his journey to England; and landed at Rye after a most violent tempest, which exposed him to considerable danger. The engagements he had lately concluded produced the principal, indeed the only important, debates of the ensuing Session; their policy was severely arraigned by Pulteney, Shippen, and Lord Lechmere; but ably defended by Townshend and the two Walpoles, and supported by large majorities in both Houses. The funds also, which, on the apprehension of war, had fallen 12 or 14 per cent. (3), gradually recovered from their depression.

(1) Lord Townshend to Horace Walpole, August 27. 1725.

(2) Gouverneur Morris's Letters to President Washington, August 30. 1790.

(3) See Mr. Barnard's Speech, Feb. 9. 1736. (Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 502.)

CHAPTER XIV.

While such engagements were concluded at Hanover, and confirmed in London, the little Court of the Pretender was full of expectation and scheming. "I have had for some time reason to "hope," writes James to one of his Scotch adherents, "that the "Emperor will soon espouse my restoration in a very particular "manner. You will allow it is no easy matter to persuade a "foreign prince of the facilities he would find in such an attempt. "Therefore I proposed to the Emperor, to send a minister privately "to England, to take information there of the good disposition "of my subjects, and I have reason to believe that he will send "one soon (1)." A secret mission of this kind would, however, have been so liable to suspicion and discovery, that the inquiry was relinquished, or rather left to be the private object of a public embassy. But James, on his own part, sent over one of his most trusty followers, Allan Cameron, to visit the Highlands, and prepare them for a rising. This agent found there a curious combination of zeal and caution; for example, among the Gordons it was already arranged, that the Duke should stay at home in the next insurrection and secure the estate, while the Earl of Aboyne, as next man of the family, should head the clan (2). The principles of the Highlanders were still unchanged, and their spirit unbroken. In vain had the Act for the encouragement of Loyalty in Scotland, brought in by Stanhope in 1715, and commonly called the Clan Act, endeavoured to dissolve their bond of feudal union, by providing, that whenever a vassal took arms in any rebellion, his property was to devolve upon his liege lord if he remained quiet; and on the other hand, that a loyal vassal was to receive the freehold of his lands from a rebellious lord. In vain, also, had there passed in the very last Session, an Act for disarming the Highlanders. There was indeed a simulated surrender of arms to General Wade; but in fact none but old rusty firelocks, and other unserviceable weapons, were yielded by the disaffected clans, while the few well-disposed gave all, so that, in 1745, the latter were found defenceless, and the first prepared (3). General Wade, who had been sent into Scotland with very full powers, seems to have been a judicious and conciliatory man, insomuch that he became person-

(1) To Mr. Lockhart, Feb. 2. 1726. Lockhart Papers.

(2) Mr. Lockhart to James, July 7. 1726.

(3) See an article ascribed to Sir Walter Scott, Quart. Rev. No. xxviii. p. 322, etc.

ally popular, even whilst faithfully obeying most distasteful orders. He employed himself more usefully in making military roads across the Highlands, but these (such is the capriciousness of fame!) are perhaps less remembered for the solid advantage, than for the silly panegyric, they produced (1).

From the North, Allan Cameron proceeded to Edinburgh, to confer with the Duke of Hamilton, Mr. Lockhart, and the other managers or "trustees" of James in the south of Scotland; for it is very remarkable how slight and casual were then the communications between the Highlands and Lowlands, and how little the Chiefs in one quarter knew what was passing in the other. Though attainted, Cameron remained for some time at Edinburgh, and ventured to frequent the most public taverns, observing only a new and convivial plan for his security. "All his caution," writes Lockhart, "consisted in outsitting all other companies at the same tavern, so that he was safe going home (2)!" Cameron was assured, that James's party had not fallen off in numbers or in zeal, and that the people at large were ripe for another attempt. But it was added, that this attempt could never promise success unless made with a foreign force; that such a force ought to land in England, and the nearer London the better; and that nothing should, or need be expected from Scotland, except a diversion, to prevent the troops stationed there from being called to England, or to intercept them if they marched. With this view a smaller division of foreign troops would be useful in Scotland; and it was recommended, that if sufficiently strong to stand against the regular forces, they should land to the south of the Forth; but if too weak, they should be set on shore in the Highlands, so as to be quickly joined by the clans. The "aversion to the Union," it was also said, "daily increases, and that is the handle by which Scots-men will be incited to make a general and zealous appearance (3)."

Almost every Court in Europe now became the scene of negotiations on the part of James. Bishop Atterbury was his ablest, and not his least active partisan: on his first landing, he had gone to Brussels; but had afterwards proceeded to Paris, where he managed the Pretender's business, although so covertly, that his friends in England were still able to deny his Jacobite connections. In his own words to James, "I obey all your commands, as far as my sad state of health, and the recluse and solitary life I am obliged to lead, have enabled me. I do my best; and what is wanting in abilities, endeavour to make up by my prayers for your prosperity and happiness (4)." There was little to be done

(1) I allude to the well-known couplet :—
 "Had you but seen these roads, before they were
 made,
 You'd have lifted up your eyes, and blessed
 General Wade!"

(2) To Lord Inverness, June 9. 1726.

(3) Mr. Lockhart to James, December 18. 1725.

(4) Bishop Atterbury to James, June 25. 1725.

Appendix.

with the ruling French ministers, but a large field for intrigue with the statesmen out of power, and the party attached to the maxims of Louis the Fourteenth. Lord Mar was also at Paris, but no longer in James's confidence. For some time after the return from Scotland, he had been James's sole favourite; all business passed through his hands, or was entrusted to his creatures; and those that would not truckle to him were represented as factious and humoursome, and opposing their Prince's just authority. Not a few faithful old servants consequently retired from James's Court in disgust. But in passing through Geneva in 1719, under a feigned name, Mar was suddenly arrested by that Republic, and detained a prisoner, out of complaisance to the English ministers; this led to some overtures with his personal friend Lord Stair, then ambassador at Paris; and finding the Jacobite cause baffled and declining, he was not unwilling to stoop for favours to the government of George. "In my humble opinion," writes Stair, "the taking him off will be the greatest blow that can be given to the Pretender's interest; and it may be made use of to show to the world, that nobody but a Papist can hope to continue in favour with him (1)." The government would not go the length that Stair desired; but Mar was allowed a pension out of his forfeited estates, and the estates, by a simulated sale, were suffered to revert to his family. Such, however, was the crooked temper of this man, that he endeavoured to seem equally a friend to each side; he has been accused of revealing the secrets of his master; and, at all events, it is certain, that, while professing his sorrow to King George, he wished still to be esteemed a Jacobite at Rome. He applied for and obtained James's permission to receive the indulgence of the English government; and when he found that he could gain no more favours from the latter, endeavoured again to conduct the business of the former. He caballed with Lord Lansdowne at Paris, and with some of his former friends from Scotland. But so far was he from recovering James's favour, that this Prince, like all weak men, ran into the opposite extreme, and looked with coldness and distrust on many of his most faithful followers, on account of their personal intimacy with Mar, even where that intimacy had been formed by his own direction, or resulted from his own partiality (2).

A feeble mind, however, can never stand alone; it requires a director as much as a creeping plant does a stake; and James immediately transferred his unbounded confidence to Colonel John Hay, brother of Lord Kinnoul, whom, in 1725, he declared his Secretary of State and Earl of Inverness. Next in favour came James Murray, son of Lord Stormont, and brother of Hay's wife;

(1) To Secretary Craggs, May 29. 1719.

201, etc. Atterbury's Letters to James. Appendix, etc.

(2) See the Hardwicke State Papers, vol. II. pp. 561—600. Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. II. pp. 178.

he was at this time likewise made Governor of the Prince, and Earl of Dunbar. This triumvirate, then—the two Hays and Murray—ruled every thing at the little Court of James, and raised much dissatisfaction amongst his partisans. Inverness, according to a most respectable authority, “was a cunning, false, avaricious creature, of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort of literature, and altogether void of experience in business; with insolence prevailing often over his little stock of prudence. The lady was a mere coquette, tolerably handsome, but withal prodigiously vain and arrogant(1).” Of Dunbar it is admitted, that the character stood far higher; he was brother of William Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, and like that brother had talents of the highest order, and well suited for public affairs, but he was injured at this time by his connection with the Hays.

The Pretender himself, though a mild, good-natured, and well-meaning man, was still a Stuart, and not free from the especial curse of that race; when once prepossessed by any favourites, however worthless, he would see and hear nothing to their discredit, and considered all remonstrances against them as insults to himself. It was not long before his titular Queen, Clementina, a Princess of high spirit and blameless character, began to complain of the intolerable insolence with which she was treated by Inverness and his wife. Finding that she could obtain no belief or redress against them, she next applied to her husband's religious scruples, by lamenting that the Prince's Governor, Dunbar, should be a Protestant! Nay, more, she urged the same objection against Inverness, as minister, and was foolish enough to use an expression which James, with still more signal folly, afterwards published to the world:—“If he have not true faith to God, can he be truly faithful to his master(2)?” She declared that she would not live with her husband unless Inverness were removed; and at length, on the 15th of November, fulfilled her threat by leaving James's palace, and retiring to the Convent of St. Cecilia, at Rome. Her principal adviser was the veteran, and now unemployed, intriguer, Alberoni; one morning that ambitious priest was six hours and a half together, at her Convent(3).

Many explanatory letters and memorials were soon handed about on the part of James or of Clementina; he complained of her temper(4), she of his obstinacy; but it is very strange, that in this

(1) Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 340.

(2) “In answer to what I say of Lord Inverness's fidelity she puts me the question, ‘S'il est infidèle à Dieu, sera-t-il fidèle à son maître?’” Circular letter of James, dated March 2. 1728.

(3) Circular letter, March 2. 1728, and to the Duke of Ripperda, December 7. 1728.

(4) “Vous ne pouvez que vous souvenir avec quelle patience j'ai souffert vos bouderies depuis plus de deux ans, et que dans le temps où vous

“vouliez à peine me parler ou me regarder, je n'ai pris autre parti que celui du silence.”—James to Clementina, November 11. 1728. Yet Montaigne might have taught him that “ceux qui ont à négocier avec des femmes testues peuvent avoir essayé à quelle rage on les jecte quand on oppose à leur agitation le silence et la froideur, et qu'on desdaigne de nourrir leur courroux.” *Essais*, livre II. ch. 31.

case the most voluminous flow of explanation and recrimination was not on the lady's side!

These mazes of conflicting statements would be difficult to pierce, and might wholly shut out the truth from us, did we not find a trusty guide in Lockhart of Carnwath. It is impossible to read the Memoirs and Letters of that gentleman without high respect and confidence in his character. A Jacobite from most conscientious principle—always pursuing what he thought the right, through good report and ill report—always telling the truth without fear or favour—he at last offended the Court of James by his frankness as much as the Court of George by his exertions. "It was," he tells us, "commonly reported and believed, that "Lady Inverness was the King's mistress, and that the Queen's "jealousy was the cause of the rupture; but I have been often "assured, by persons on whom I may depend, that whilst they "lived with the King they could observe nothing in him tending "that way, and did verily believe there was nothing of that in the "matter (1)." Nor, in fact, do Clementina's own letters seem to speak of jealousy. But, with the same equal hand, does Lockhart proceed to condemn the intriguing character of Inverness, and the weak partiality of his master. He observes, that this obstinate devotion to favourites, seeming to grow in proportion to the complaints which they provoked, did the Jacobite cause incalculable evil, both at home and abroad. At Vienna, the Emperor, whose House was allied to that of Sobieski, 1726. was highly displeas'd at the treatment of his kinswoman. At Madrid, the Queen of Spain, as appears from the Stuart Papers, considered the privileges of her sex as invaded, and resented it with the utmost indignation (2). Thus at this important crisis, did James give personal offence to the two Sovereigns on whose aid all his hopes depended. He endeavoured to blind his British partisans as to the mischief done abroad (3), but he could not so easily conceal from them the ill effects which they had before their eyes. "Your "trustees," answers Lockhart, "are glad to hear from so good an "authority as yourself (without which they would scarce have "credited it), that this affair is not likely to produce any bad consequences on your affairs abroad, but it is with the greatest concern that they see quite the contrary at home; and therefore are "obliged, by the duty they owe you, in plain words to tell you, "that, so far as their observations and intelligence reaches, they "apprehend it is the severest stroke your affairs have got these "many years, and will be such an impediment to them, that they "have much reason to think no circumstance of time, no situation "of the affairs of Europe, can make amends; which thought affects

(1) Memoirs, vol. II. p. 340.

(2) Duke of Wharton to James, Madrid, April 18. 1726. Appendix. The King of Spain withdrew his

pension from James. William Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, February 11. 1726.

(3) Letter of James, May 1. 1726.

“ them the more that they perceive you have expectations that
 “ something will soon cast up in your favour, and it is a very
 “ mortifying reflection that such an opportunity should be frus-
 “ trated. They beg leave, with the greatest respect and submis-
 “ sion, to represent that they believe this point to be of such con-
 “ sequence to you, that, in good policy and prudence, you should
 “ rather pass by some failings in, and make some condescensions
 “ to the Queen, than not repair a breach that in all appearance
 “ will prove fatal. They have seriously considered how to put
 “ such a face upon it as may be most for your service; but cannot
 “ find any expedient so probable as not to revive and bring the
 “ matter upon the carpet, for your people here, of all kinds, have
 “ got such an impression of the Queen’s great merit, and are so
 “ prepossessed with the reports of her being ill used by some
 “ about you, that it is in vain to attempt dispossessing them of that
 “ notion. . . . May God Almighty direct you in this, perhaps,
 “ the most critical step of your life (1)!”

There was also another incident, soon afterwards, that did infinite disservice to James’s cause in England. Lord North and the Duke of Wharton had lately gone abroad, and openly attached themselves to the Pretender’s party, and now, each separately, renounced the Protestant and embraced the Roman Catholic faith. This led to a general belief in England, that their motive was only to please their new master; and that there was no such sure road to his confidence as by professing his religion. The odium of such a rumour amongst a Protestant people need not be explained, and could not be exaggerated. Wharton, especially, was well known to be no Christian of any Church, nor ever in his life suspected of conscience. We may observe, however, that neither to him, nor to Lord North, did any benefit accrue from their conversion. North found himself so little trusted and regarded at the Jacobite Court, that, in disgust, he entered the Spanish service, and continued in it till his death, in 1734. Wharton, even before his change of religion, had been received with the highest favour at Rome: he obtained from the English mock-monarch the order of the Garter, and the ducal titles of Wharton and Northumberland, and was sent ambassador to Spain, to assist Ormond in pressing for an expedition, and to vindicate the late separation in the Pretender’s family. James had not yet discovered that this wayward and capricious man was always far more dangerous to his friends than to his enemies: and that his talents served only to render his frailties more conspicuous and more despised.

On arriving at Madrid, in April 1726, Wharton soon began the usual complaints of all those who negotiate with the Spaniards.

(1) Mr. Lockhart to James, July 23. 1726. He writes in the name of all James’s “ Trustees ” in Scotland.

“ I see the Duke of Ormond has been very active here ; but nobody
 “ that has not been something conversant with this Court can
 “ imagine how impracticable it is to do business (1).” He found,
 as he says, the King and Queen “ implacable” in the affair of
 James’s consort. His own behaviour at Madrid was most strange
 and indiscreet. According to Mr. Keene, then British consul,
 “ the Duke of Wharton has not been sober, or scarce had a pipe
 “ out of his mouth, since he came back from his expedition to
 “ St. Ildefonso. On Tuesday last I had some company with me
 “ that he wanted to speak with, upon which he came directly into
 “ the room, made his compliments, and placed himself by me. I
 “ did not think myself obliged to turn out his star and garter ;
 “ because, as he is an everlasting talker and tippler, in all proba-
 “ bility he might lavish out something that might be of use to
 “ know. . . . He declared himself the Pretender’s prime minister,
 “ and Duke of Wharton and Northumberland. . . . Says he,
 “ ‘ You will shortly see the event ; it is in my power to make your
 “ ‘ stocks fall as I think fit ; my dear master is now in a post-
 “ ‘ chaise, but the place he designs for I shall not tell you. . . .
 “ ‘ Hitherto my master’s interest has been managed by the Duchess
 “ ‘ of Perth, and three or four other old women, who meet under
 “ ‘ the portal of St. Germain’s ; he wanted a Whig, and a brisk
 “ ‘ one, to put them in the right train, and I am the man ! You
 “ ‘ may now look upon me, Sir Philip Wharton, Knight of the
 “ ‘ Garter, and Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the Bath, running
 “ ‘ a course, and, by Heaven, he shall be hard pressed ! He
 “ ‘ bought my family pictures, but they will not be long in his
 “ ‘ possession ; that account is still open ; neither he, nor King
 “ ‘ George, shall be six months at ease as long as I have the honour
 “ ‘ to serve in the employ I am in !’ He mentioned great things
 “ from Muscovy, and talked so much nonsense and contradictions,
 “ that it was neither worth my while to remember, nor yours to
 “ read them. I used him very cavalierly, upon which he was
 “ affronted ; sword and pistol next day ; but, before I slept, a
 “ gentleman was sent to desire every thing might be forgot. What
 “ a pleasure must it have been to have killed a prime mi-
 “ nister (2) !”

Soon after these degrading scenes a letter was delivered to Wharton, under the Privy Seal of England, commanding him, on his allegiance, to return forthwith, and threatening outlawry in case of his failure. Of this Wharton himself speaks with much unconcern. He writes to James, “ I had rather carry a musket
 “ in an odd-named Muscovite regiment, than wallow in riches by
 “ the favour of the usurper. . . . I am told, from good hands,

(1) Duke of Wharton to James, April, 13. 1726.
 Appendix.

(2) Letter to Mr. Robinson, April 5. 1726. Hard-
 wicke State Papers, vol. II. p. 696.

“ that I am to be intercepted by the enemy on my passage. I shall take the best precautions I can to obviate their malice. I set out, infallibly, on Tuesday next, and hope to be with you in three weeks, wind, weather, and Whigs permitting (1)! ”

When Wharton first arrived, he had found Ripperda, lately returned from Vienna, created a Duke, and ruling the country as prime minister. Great efforts were expected from him for the regeneration of Spain, and the restoration of the Stuarts; but in caprice, fickleness, and folly, Ripperda might be worthily compared even with Wharton himself. Though a Dutchman, he out-bragged the Spaniards themselves. He passed the day in boasting of the mighty things he meant to do. He gave the most opposite assurances in different quarters; and instead of deceiving others, only made them angry, and himself contemptible. According to William Stanhope, the British minister, “ immediately after his landing at Barcelona, all the officers of the garrison went to wait upon him, to whom he said, that the Emperor had 150,000 men ready to march at an hour’s warning, and that Prince Eugene promised, that in case of a war, he would have as many more in six months. He told them that, if the Hanoverian league should dare to oppose themselves to the designs of the Emperor and Spain, France would be pillaged on all sides, the King of Prussia, whom he was pleased always to call by the name of the grand grenadier, would be driven out of his country by the Emperor in one campaign, as His Majesty would be also in the same time out of his dominions in Germany, and out of his English ones by the Pretender; he added, that a reconciliation between France and Spain should never be, whilst he had any authority, and only wished to live till that was brought about; as being assured he should then die a very old man.”

Yet to Mr. Stanhope himself, he professed the greatest confidence and friendship. “ As to the Pretender,” he said, “ he must own his having talked both here and at Vienna in his favour, but that in his heart he was as sincerely in his Majesty’s interests, as the best subject he had; of which he would give the most essential proofs upon every occasion; that his talking in the manner he had done, proceeded from his opinion of making his court to their Catholic Majesties, but more especially to appear zealous in his religion, which was much suspected in this country, and to avoid passing for a heretic, and falling into the hands of the Inquisition, who he was very sure are very watchful over him, and look upon him as a *CRISTIANO NUEVO*. This was what he said he would not nor durst not say to his confessor; but called God to witness in the most solemn manner to the exact sincerity of what he thus affirmed.” Yet when Mr. Stanhope observed

(1) Letter, June 8. 1726. Appendix.

that all military equipments were proceeding with the utmost despatch, and at a vast expense—that the Spaniards were adding to the fortifications of Cadiz—that the artillery, tents, and magazines were all preparing—that a squadron was ordered to put to sea—when it was whispered to him by the Queen's Confessor, and other good authorities, that a war with France and England was absolutely resolved upon—he did not hesitate to assure his Government, that Ripperda's solemn protestations deserved no credit whatever. He concluded that all his speeches were designed only to gain time, and amuse the Court of St. James's until the arrival of the Galleons and Flota, that were expected at Cadiz in June, with an immense quantity of treasure (1).

Ripperda had evidently taken Alberoni for his model; but altogether wanted both the lofty genius, and the laborious application of that remarkable man. It was soon found, that no reliance could be placed in his assertions, and any folly expected from his character. Rodomontades were his only resource on every occasion. Once at his levee, he boasted that he had six very good friends, God, the Holy Virgin, the Emperor and Empress, and the King and Queen of Spain (2)! Yet whatever might be Ripperda's degree of favour in such high places, it is clear that he found none among the people. The English ambassador declares, that, "he has for inveterate enemies not only all the other ministers, but the whole Spanish nation, to whom he has rendered himself odious beyond imagination. . . . It is also certain that the King is extremely agitated and uneasy, and has daily disputes and quarrels with the Queen, who does nothing but cry from morning till night. . . . Ripperda has entirely changed his way of talking, and is now become as abjectly fearful, as he was before imperiously intrepid (3)." The Austrian ambassador, Count Königseck was still more indignant, finding how much Ripperda had bragged of the resources of the Spanish monarchy, and had promised more than he was able to perform. On the other hand, it became no less apparent that the forwardness of Austria had been greatly exaggerated by Ripperda to the Spanish Court, with the view to embolden them and recommend himself. Both parties, soon undeceived, and much disappointed, turned round upon Ripperda, and his own system of falsehood crushed him in its ruins. On the 14th of May he was informed that the King dispensed with his services, but granted him a pension of 3000 pistoles. His dismissal was hailed by the populace with loud acclamations, and muttered threats of tearing him to pieces. Ripperda,

(1) Mr. W. Stanhope to Lord Townshend, Madrid, December 27. 1725.

(2) *Comentarios de Don Joseph del Campo Raso*, vol. i. p. 17. He truly adds, "Semejantes discursos daban de su capacidad la opinion mas singular."

(3) Mr. Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, March 25, April 11. 1726. A Spanish historian admits Mr. Stanhope's accurate information, "El incentivo de sus Guineas (o doblones) le hacian penetrar en lo mas interior de las Secretarias de Estado." *Campo Raso*, vol. i. p. 69.

bewildered with his fall, and afraid either of mob violence, or of the Royal resentment, adopted the ignominious resolution of taking refuge in the house of the English minister, who had gone the day before to Aranjuez.

On returning home that evening, Mr. Stanhope was not a little surprised to find in his apartments the lately arrogant Prime Minister of Spain imploring his protection. Nay, more, so unmaned was Ripperda by his misfortune, and so grateful when Stanhope consented to shelter him, that he proceeded to disclose the highest secrets of his state. He communicated the particulars of the private agreement at Vienna, declaring that it aimed at nothing less than a total extirpation of the Protestant Religion; and that the King of Spain had said, that for such an object he would willingly sell his very shirt (1). It seems probable, however, that Ripperda may have exaggerated these designs with a view to enhance the merit of his disclosures, or to inflame the British nation against the two Courts which had wrought his downfall. All the while that he dictated the secret articles to Mr. Stanhope we are told that he "appeared to be in the greatest agonies, and frequently "burst into tears."

The Spanish Court were both offended and alarmed at Ripperda's flight, foreseeing the probability that he would discover all he knew. They made every exertion to induce Mr. Stanhope to surrender him; but Stanhope steadily refused, and bid them beware how they violated in his person the right of an ambassador and the Law of Nations. Nevertheless, after a few days of argument and altercation, an *ALCADE DE CORTE* came to Stanhope at six in the morning with a party of horse-guards, and carried away the Duke by force. Stanhope publicly protested against this act, and sent home Mr. Keene, the Consul, with an account of it, and of Ripperda's revelations. The affair led to a train of representations and counter-representations between the two Courts, serving only to embitter the quarrel between them.

Ripperda was now committed a close prisoner to the Castle of Segovia; but, after above two years' captivity, fortune again smiled upon this singular man. He seduced the maid-servant, and availed himself of an occasion, when the governor and his wife were both ill, to make his escape with her and with a corporal, whom he had also gained over. The Duke's faithful valet, meanwhile, remained behind; and for some time averted a discovery by the pretence that his master was indisposed. Ripperda, in real fact, was so, being crippled with gout, and having the greatest difficulty in descending the ladder of ropes which was lowered from his window. Nor could he afterwards travel but by very short days' journeys. Nevertheless he safely reached the frontier of Portugal, and, pro-

(1) Mr. Keene's Memoir for the Duke of Newcastle, June 15. 1728.

ceeding to Oporto, embarked for England under the name of Mendoza. His wife, and some of his children, it appears, still remained in Spain.

On landing in England, Ripperda was received by the government with great attention, but great mystery. They wished to draw full information from him on the treaty of Vienna; they wished to avoid any fresh offence with Spain on his account; they therefore avoided any public interviews with him; but sent an Under Secretary of State to meet him on his way to London, and conduct him privately to the house of Dr. Bland, Head Master of Eton. There he had more than one conference with Townshend, and from thence proceeded with the same secrecy to London. After a little time, however, he flung off the mask, took a large house in Soho Square, and lived with much magnificence. He continued a correspondence with the English ministers, and nourished a chimerical hope to become one of their principal colleagues; but though treated with regard while the differences with Spain were still pending, these were no sooner adjusted than he began to suffer neglect and to show disgust. In 1731, he passed over to Holland, and again embraced the Protestant faith, which he had forsaken when he attached himself to the Spaniards. But he had not yet reached the end of his vicissitudes. He became acquainted with one Perez, a Spanish renegado, who acted as a Moorish agent at the Hague, and, by his persuasion, was induced to enter the service of Muley Abdallah, Emperor of Morocco. He renounced, or at least dissembled, the Christian religion (1), was created a Bashaw, and rose again to the direction of councils. He led an army against the Spaniards, and obtained several successes, but being worsted near Ceuta, was compelled to relinquish his command. A civil war in Morocco was, in some degree, decided by his change of party, and at length, retiring to the protection of the Bashaw at Tetuan, he died there at an advanced age in 1737. Thus ended a man whose character will be found far less romantic than his fortunes. Among his mad and unprincipled projects was one which he termed the "Universal Religion," being a compound of the Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan, and intended to reconcile them in one common faith. According to this notable scheme, the Messiah was still to be expected, and Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, to be acknowledged as great prophets!

In less than a month after Ripperda was disgraced in Spain, France became the scene of another ministerial revolution. The Duke de Bourbon had sunk lower and lower in the public esteem, from his incapacity in business, and his absolute dependence on

(1) There is a letter preserved to his friend M. Troye, in which Ripperda protests that he had not renounced the Christian faith. (See Ortiz, *Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 388.) But this seems to deserve the less credit, since at the same time he

asserts that he never had borne, and never would bear, arms against the Spanish Monarchy.—When I was at Tetuan, in 1827, I made several inquiries respecting Ripperda, but could find no trace or collection of him.

Madame de Prie and her creature Paris Duverney. There was also gradually growing up by his side the authority destined to overshadow and supplant him—a man more than threescore and ten years old, but of skill and judgment unimpaired, and an ambition the more powerful, because able to restrain itself and to bide its time. This was no other than the Bishop of Frejus, afterwards Cardinal Fleury, the King's preceptor. "If ever," says Voltaire, "there was any one happy on earth, it was Fleury. He was considered one of the most amiable and social of men till seventy-three, and at that usual age of retirement, came to be respected as one of the wisest. From 1726 to 1742 every thing throve in his hands, and till almost a nonagenarian, his mind continued clear, discerning, and fit for business (1)." He had received the bishopric of Frejus from Louis the Fourteenth, but looked upon it as only a banishment, and even signed a jesting letter to Cardinal Quirini, as "Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, by Divine indignation." His conduct in his diocese was, however, so benevolent, regular, and exemplary, as to attract universal love and respect; and he was pointed out by public opinion, as much as by some Court cabals, to the dying monarch, as the preceptor for his infant great-grandson and successor. During the regency, Fleury behaved with so much prudence and circumspection, as not to offend either Orleans or Dubois: he never thrust himself into state or Court intrigues, and only zealously discharged the duties of his trust. Gradually he gained an absolute control over the mind of his pupil, and when Bourbon came to the helm, was desired always to assist at the conferences of the monarch and the ministers. Nor was his ascendancy weakened by his pupil's marriage; for the young Queen, of timid and shrinking temper, and zealous only in her devotions (2), took no great part in politics. Fleury would probably have found no difficulty in removing the Duke de Bourbon at an earlier period, but thought it better to let circumstances work for him, and be carried down the propitious current of events. "Time and I against any two others," was a favourite saying of the crafty Mazarin.

Fleury, therefore, allowed the attack to come from the opposite quarter. Bourbon contrived to draw the young Queen to his party, and made a joint application to his Majesty, that he might transact business without the intervention of Fleury. On learning this cabal, Fleury, sure of his ground, but affecting great meekness, took leave of the King by letter, and retired to his country house at Issy. There he remained for one day in apparent disgrace. But it was only for one day. Louis, in the utmost concern at his

(1) *Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. iii.

(2) This Queen makes no more of a dozen masses in a morning than Hotspur did of as many

"Lowland Scotsmen for his breakfast!" Mr. Robinson to Mr. Delafaye, Sept. 16. 1725. *Hardwicke State Papers*, vol. ii.

loss, gave positive orders to Bourbon to invite him back to Court, which the Minister did accordingly, with many expressions of friendship and of wonder at his sudden retirement (1). Yet in June, 1726, he was again combining an attack upon this valued friend, when Fleury discovered and crushed him, and obtained, without difficulty, his dismissal from office and banishment to Chantilly. From this period, then, begins the justly famous administration of Fleury—a new era of peace and prosperity to France. Its monument was every where seen inscribed, not on brass or marble, but on the smiling and happy faces of the people. An accomplished traveller writes from Dijon in 1739, “France is so much improved, it would not be known to be the same country we passed through twenty years ago. Every thing I see speaks in praise of Cardinal Fleury. The roads are all mended, and such good care taken against robbers, that you may cross the country with your purse in your hand.... The French are more changed than their roads; instead of pale yellow faces wrapped up in blankets, as we saw them, the villages are all filled with fresh-coloured lusty peasants, in good clothes and clean linen. It is incredible what an air [of plenty and content is over the whole country (2).” During his whole government Fleury sought no riches, and displayed no splendour; but lived in the same plain and unostentatious manner as when in a private station. In knowledge of foreign affairs he was second only to Dubois. His abilities were not, perhaps, of the highest order; had they been so, they would probably have worn out earlier in his life. The flame of genius which dazzles the beholder is almost equally certain to burn and consume its tenement. Nor was Fleury wholly free from the common defects of age; he was too fond of expedients and delays, and on many occasions carried his caution to timidity, his economy to avarice. Yet the latter was exerted in the public expenses as much as in his own; and if he was afraid of war, his predecessors for the most part had a far worse fault—they were ambitious of it.

At this time the Ambassador from England was Horace Walpole—a man who played through life a considerable part, but chiefly because he was brother to Sir Robert. His own nephew assures us, that, so far from being a support, he was “a dead-weight” to Sir Robert’s Ministry (3). According to the same affectionate relation, “he knew something of every thing, but how to hold his tongue, or how to apply his knowledge.... Whatever the subject was, he never lost sight of the Norwich manufactures, but his language and oratory were only adapted to manufacturers.” But intelligent manufacturers would surely have been disgusted

(1) Horace Walpole to Lord Townshend, Decem-
ber 24. 1726, and Duclos, *Mém.* vol. ii. p. 364.

(2) Lady Mary W. Montagu to Mr. Wortley,
August 18. 1739.

(3) *Memoirs of George the Second*, vol. i. p. 122.

at his slovenly person (1), his awkward manner, and his boisterous buffoonery. What his French may have been we can only conjecture; of his English it is admitted that he never lost a strong provincial accent. But, on the other hand, he had unwearied industry, practical knowledge, and constant readiness. As brother to so great a minister, he enjoyed more respect and confidence abroad than a far abler diplomatist might have attained. So little did he understand characters, that, soon after he came to Paris, he paints Fleury in his despatches, as "not very able in foreign affairs, but a mighty bigot, insomuch that the French themselves "think him too great a Papist (2)!" But ere long he came to perceive the great abilities and rising influence of that statesman, and cultivated his friendship with the most assiduous care. On the day when Fleury retired from Court, Horace Walpole judiciously went to call upon him at Issy, and this well-timed visit produced an inconceivable effect upon the Cardinal. He ever after looked upon the Walpoles as his intimate and personal friends. "Once," says St. Simon, "when I ventured to remonstrate with him on his blind confidence in these two brothers, Fleury immediately alleged this visit as an heroic act of attachment which must for ever remove all doubts and scruples (3)."

Thus, then, the accession of Fleury to power, far from shaking, rather confirmed the Hanover alliance; nor did the ministers of George relax in their exertions to extend it. After some struggle their party gained the ascendancy in the Swedish councils. The Dutch also, as before in the Triple and Quadruple Alliances, adopted the policy of England, though from the slowness of their forms they always came lagging in the rear. "Their distinguishing talent," once said Chesterfield, "is to wrangle tenaciously upon trifles (4)." A British squadron, under Admiral Hosier, was sent to the West Indies, and blockaded Porto Bello. Admiral Wager, with another squadron, sailed for the Baltic, to pursue the same system which, in 1719, Stanhope had formed and Norris executed, and which had been defined "to drive the Muscovites as far off as is possible (5)." In the latter case, however, as in the former, a strong resolution rendered unnecessary strong measures. The very appearance of Wager's fleet off Revel brought round the Russians to a more pacific temper, and the death of the Czarina, soon afterwards, altogether dissipated for the time their warlike schemes.

(1) He once alluded himself, strangely enough, to his dress in a Parliamentary Speech:—"If I may be allowed to use a low simile, the Members opposite treat the Ministry in the same way as I am treated by some gentlemen of my acquaintance with respect to my dress: if I am in plain clothes, they say I am a slovenly dirty fellow; and if, by chance, I have a suit of clothes with some lace upon them, they cry,

"What! shall such an awkward fellow wear fine clothes? So that no dress I appear in can possibly please them!" (Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 223.)

(2) See Coxe's Life, p. 54

(3) St. Simon, Mem. vol. xvi. p. 405. ed. 1829.

(4) To Mr. Dayrolles, May 19. 1752.

(5) Lord Stair to Secretary Craggs, June, 4. 1719. Hardwicke State Papers, vol. ii.

In Spain, as in France, the fall of the Prime Minister had produced little alteration in foreign policy, and Philip still firmly clung to his alliance with the Emperor. The latter sovereign, also, was unshaken in his purpose, and had just succeeded in drawing the king of Prussia from the Hanover alliance. But his main hope was founded on intrigues in England, through the means of Palm, his resident at London. It was easy for Palm to gain, as partisans, all the Hanoverian favorites. The Duchess of Kendal had no insurmountable objection to either Spanish or Austrian gold. To Bothmar, and to the other ministers, the Treaty of Hanover had always appeared a measure far too English, and the defection of Prussia made them tremble lest the Electorate should be overrun with Imperial troops. The King himself had a strong leaning to the same views; Hanover was always his paramount object; and it is probable that another ambassador was not far mistaken in saying that "His Majesty rather considers England as a temporary possession to be made the most of while it lasts, than as a perpetual inheritance (1)." But, besides his countrymen, Palm also paid court to the English statesmen in opposition, especially to Pulteney and Bolingbroke, and expected by this joint cabal to effect a change of ministry, and a consequent change of measures.

In this state of things, Parliament meeting in January, the King's Speech contained this remarkable passage: "I have received information on which I can entirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom is one of the articles of the secret engagements at Vienna; and if time shall evince that the giving up the trade of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Port Mahon to another, is made the price and-reward of imposing upon this kingdom a Popish Pretender, what an indignation must this raise in the breast of every Protestant Briton!" Such an indignation was, in fact, raised in the Commons; an address of thanks was voted by an immense majority (251 against 81): it was unanimously resolved to raise the army to 26,000 men, being an increase of 8000, and to vote 20,000 seamen; and the supplies granted for such objects fell little short of 3,000,000*l*.

Seeing this general ferment, Palm wrote to the Emperor advising him to disavow any such secret agreement at Vienna, and to declare publicly that the assertions in the Speech were false. Accordingly, Charles, quite ignorant of the workings of the English Constitution, sent over a most indiscreet memorial, which, by his order, Palm presented to the King and published to the country. It denied the secret articles; it used very intemperate language; and, above all, it proceeded to appeal from the throne to the people. Such an insult to the Royal authority and national honour, could

(1) Count de Broglie to the King of France, July 20. 1724.

not be defended by any party or any person in Parliament; even Shippen, Wyndham, and Pulteney, were loud against it; and readily supported an address, moved by Walpole, "to express the "highest resentment at the affront and indignity offered to His "Most Sacred Majesty by the Memorial delivered by M. de Palm, "the Emperor's resident, and at his insolence in printing and dis- "persing the same throughout the kingdom." Nay, more, Palm was commanded immediately to depart from England.

With Spain also the breach had been widening. William Stanhope had left Madrid, and orders had been sent from thence to seize the Prince Frederick, a ship belonging to the South Sea Company, at Vera Cruz, while in Europe an army of 20,000 men was assembling for the siege of Gibraltar. The command was offered by Philip to the best and bravest of his generals, the Marquis de Villadarias. That veteran had headed the first attempt to recover Gibraltar in 1704; and though not successful, he had there displayed the same spirit and capacity, which had formerly saved Ceuta from the Moors, and Cadiz from the English (1). His failure had convinced him, of what farther trials have since made clear to the world, that, difficult as the siege of Gibraltar must be under any circumstances, it is absolutely hopeless when the besiegers are not masters of the sea. Villadarias, therefore, positively refused the command, unless his master would provide a fleet as well as army; he was ready to resist attacks under any disadvantages, but would not flatter his sovereign, or hold out expectations which he was unable to fulfil; still less would he consent to sacrifice brave men for an impracticable object. Philip still persisting in his offer, Villadarias rather chose to resign all his employments, and to retire from the army (2). He withdrew accordingly from his long services, with a glorious poverty and an unblemished reputation; and his memory deserves to be ever revered by Spain, as one of the noblest of her sons; by England, as one of her most chivalrous opponents.

Philip found, however, a less scrupulous, or more sanguine General, in the Conde de Las Torres, who had formerly run before Lord Peterborough in Valencia, and who now bragged (but this was only till he saw the enemy) that in six weeks he would plant his standards on the rock of Gibraltar, and drive the heretics into the sea! His boast was, no doubt, highly admired by the Spanish Court, but was not altogether confirmed by the event. Trenches were opened before the place on the 11th of February, and all communication with it by sea or land was prohibited upon pain of death (3). Gibraltar was already well provided for defence: a squadron of six men of war rode in its harbour, and protected

(1) He defended Ceuta in 1698, and Cadiz in 1702. and attacked Gibraltar with Marshal Tessé in 1704. (Mém. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 275.)

(2) Ortiz, Compendio, vol. vii. p. 404.

(3) Mr. W. Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, February 10. 1737. Appendix.

constant supplies of fresh provisions from Tangier and Tetuan. By various reinforcements, the garrison was raised to six thousand men, and the Earl of Portmore, the Governor, though nearly fourscore years of age, resolved to conduct the defence in person, and hastened from England to his post. The besiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, but with little damage, and no result. A mine on which they had formed high hopes, served only, says their own historian, to remind them of the cave of Montesinos, in *Don Quixote* (1)! Their proceedings gave scarcely any concern or uneasiness to the garrison, while the Spanish army soon melted to half its numbers from slaughter, sickness, or desertion, and in four months was glad of the slightest pretext to raise the siege.

A general war seemed now inevitable. But the Emperor perceived that he was overmatched, and when he felt weakness, as is usual, he professed moderation. Russia had fallen away from him, and Prussia was again wavering; the Dutch and Swedes had openly joined the Hanover allies; and the Spaniards it appeared could not even conquer a fortress upon their own shores. In England, the cabals against the ministry, though still proceeding, had not yet been attended with effect, and could not any longer be safely awaited. Under these circumstances, Charles resolved to sacrifice Spain to his own security; and his new-born moderation was well seconded by the pacific temper of Walpole and of Fleury. After a short negotiation, through the mediation of France, the Austrian ambassador signed at Paris on the 31st of May the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. The Emperor consented to suspend for seven years the charter of the Ostend Company; to confirm all the treaties previous to 1725, and to refer any other discussions to a General Congress.

Spain also was treated of, though not treated with, at Paris. The fifth article provided that Admiral Hosier should raise the blockade of Porto Bello, and the galleons be permitted to return to Spain. On the other hand, it was expected that the siege of Gibraltar should be discontinued, and the Prince Frederick restored. But though these preliminaries were signed by the Spanish ambassador at Vienna, they were not ratified by Philip; and though he raised the siege of Gibraltar, he did not relinquish his pretensions, and the two nations still continued in a state between peace and war.

The satisfaction of Walpole at seeing hostilities averted was not unmixed, for, in proportion as the foreign tempest cleared, another seemed gathering at home. By large payments, and larger promises, Bolingbroke had wholly gained over the Duchess of Kendal. She did not, indeed, openly declare against the Ministers, from

(1) *Campo Raso Coment.* vol. i. p. 106.

whom she received a yearly pension of 7500*l.*, besides sundry gratifications and presents; but she endeavoured to sink them in the King's opinion, and to obtain not only the complete restoration of Bolingbroke, but his accession to power. On one occasion she gave the King a memorial from her friend, drawn up, no doubt, with his usual skill, declaring that the kingdom must be inevitably ruined should Walpole continue minister; and, in conclusion, entreating an audience, that Bolingbroke might make good his assertions. This memorial, however, the King quietly put into the hands of Walpole himself. Sir Robert, whose sagacity never forsook him, observed that the cover was not sealed, and that therefore the deliverer of it must certainly have known and sanctioned its contents. On the two Turks, the King's attendants, disclaiming all knowledge of it, he went to the Duchess of Kendal, who owned the part she had acted, adding, however, some false and frivolous excuses. "I then," says Walpole, "earnestly desired the King to admit Bolingbroke to the audience he solicited, and said, that if this was not done the clamour would be, that I kept his Majesty to myself, and would allow none to come near him to tell the truth (1)." Through this means was Bolingbroke admitted, but his representations produced no effect; and the King afterwards mentioned them slightly to his minister, and called them *BAGATELLES*! But Sir Robert was not ignorant that this attack, though now warded off, would be constantly pointed anew, and that a genius so transcendent as Bolingbroke is formidable even in its wildest schemes. The influence of the Duchess of Kendal might be once repulsed, but not very long resisted; for it is almost incredible how much even the weakest mind can control and sway even the strongest by habits of access at all hours. In Walpole's own words, "as St. John had the Duchess entirely on his side, I need not add what must, or might in time, have been the consequence." Speaker Onslow was even assured by Mr. Pelham that Walpole was so convinced of his approaching downfall, that he had determined to retire with a peerage; and was withheld by the remonstrances of the Duke of Devonshire and of the Princess of Wales (2). It is probable that this might be a sudden sally, but never a fixed resolution; and Walpole had the less reason to be very solicitous about a peerage since that honour had recently been conferred upon his son. Certain it is that Bolingbroke fully expected that, in the next session, his restoration would be completed—perhaps his administration renewed.

All these projects and hopes, however, were postponed till the King's expected return from Hanover. He had set out for that place on the 3d of June, O. S., with the Duchess of Kendal and

(1) Mr. Etough's Minutes of a Conversation with Walpole, September 13. 1737.

(2) Speaker Onslow's Remarks, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 571. See also Swift's Letter to Sheridan, May, 13. 1737.

Lord Townshend in his train. Late on the 9th he arrived at Delden, apparently in perfect health, and again resumed his journey at four o'clock the next morning. But as he was travelling that forenoon, he was seized with an apoplectic fit in his coach, and on coming to Ippenburen was observed to be quite lethargic; his hands were motionless, his eyes fixed, and his tongue hung out of his mouth. His attendants wished to stop at Ippenburen, and obtain assistance; but the King recovered his speech so far as to cry out several times, impatiently, "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" Even in that extremity these well-trained courtiers durst not disobey him, and hastened on. But when they reached Osnabruck the King was already dead. He was taken to the house of his brother the Prince-Bishop, and immediately blooded; but all attempts to recover him were useless. His interment took place at Hanover, in the vault of his ancestors. And thus suddenly closed his checkered and eventful, but, on the whole, prosperous, constitutional, and indulgent reign.

An express was sent with the fatal news to Lord Townshend, and another to the Duchess of Kendal, who were both at different places in the rear. The minister, after proceeding to Osnabruck, and finding that all was over, hastened back to England. The favourite tore her hair and beat her breast, with other signs of extreme grief, and then dismissing the English ladies who attended her, travelled onwards to Brunswick. She did not disdain, however, again to honour England with her presence, residing chiefly at Kendal House, near Twickenham, till her death, in 1743, when she left enormous wealth to be divided amongst her German relatives.

The reader, who in the reign of George the First has seen his mistresses so often mentioned and his consort not once, will be surprised to learn that the latter had died only seven months before her husband. Sophia-Dorothea of Zell was the name and lineage of this unfortunate princess. When married, in 1682, she was young, accomplished, beautiful. But with indiscretion, though probably no more than indiscretion, she received the attentions of Count Konigsmark, a Swedish nobleman who had come on a visit to Hanover. Her husband was absent at the army; her father-in-law, the old Elector, was prepossessed against her, partly by the cabals of his mistress, and partly by her own imprudence of behaviour. The details of this transaction, and of the black deed that followed it, are shrouded in mystery; thus much only is certain, that one evening as Konigsmark had come out of the apartment of the Princess, and was crossing a passage in the palace, several persons, who had been ready posted, rushed upon and despatched him. The spot of this murder is still shown, and many years afterwards, in some repairs, the bones of the unhappy man were discovered beneath the floor. The Princess was placed under arrest;

the Prince, on his return, was convinced of her guilt, and concurred in her imprisonment, and obtained from the Consistory a divorce in December, 1694. Sophia was closely confined to the solitary castle of Ahlen, where she dragged on a miserable existence for thirty-two years, till, on the 13th of November, 1726, she was released by death, when she was mentioned in the Gazette as Electress-Dowager of Hanover. During her confinement she used to receive the sacrament every week, and never failed on those occasions to make a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her son, afterwards George the Second, was fully convinced of it; once, it is said, he made a romantic attempt to see her, crossing the river opposite the castle on horseback, but was prevented by Baron Bulo to whose care she was committed. He secretly kept her picture, and had determined, in the event of her surviving his accession, to have restored her to liberty, and acknowledged her as Queen-Dowager.

If we may trust some rumours whispered at the time in Germany, the death of this ill-fated Princess hastened that of George. It is said that in her last illness she had delivered to a faithful attendant a letter to her husband, upon promise that it should be given into his own hands. It contained a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for his hard usage, and a citation or summons to appear within a year and a day at the Divine tribunal, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not with safety to the bearer be delivered in England, it was given to the King in his coach on his entering Germany. He opened it immediately, and, it is added, was so struck with the unexpected contents and fatal citation, as to fall at once into the convulsion of which he died (1).

Another rumour, not incompatible with the former, states, that Sophia having made a will, bequeathing her personal property to her son, the document was taken to her husband in England, and by him destroyed. Such a story, however, rests only on Court gossip, and seems quite at variance with the honesty of purpose, and love of justice, which eminently distinguished George the First. If it be really true, the act was very speedily retaliated upon him who wrought it. For George the First, himself, had made a will, with large legacies, as was believed, to the Duchess of Kendal, and her niece (some said her daughter) Lady Walsingham. One copy of this will he had intrusted to Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, who produced it at the very first Council attended by the new King, expecting that his Majesty would immediately open and read it. But George the Second, without saying a single word, put it in his pocket, and strode out of the apartment; the Arch-

(1) See Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 352. The letter containing this account was shown him in the same year by Count. Welling, Governor of

Luxemburg. But some people believed the whole to be a fabrication.

bishop was too courtly or too timid to complain, and the whole transaction remained buried in silence. Another copy, it is said, had been deposited with the Duke of Brunswick, but His Highness was silenced by a well-timed subsidy; and Lord Chesterfield, who married Lady Walsingham in 1733, and who threatened a suit in Chancery for her supposed legacy, received, it is reported, in lieu of it, the sum of 20,000*l.* (1).

CHAPTER XV.

GEORGE the Second was born in 1683, and had married in 1705 Princess Caroline of Anspach, by whom he had four daughters and two sons; Frederick Prince of Wales, born in 1707, and William Duke of Cumberland in 1721. His parts, I think, were not so good as his father's, but on the other hand he had much less reserve and shyness, and he possessed another inestimable advantage over him,—he could speak English fluently, though not without a foreign accent. His diminutive person, pinched features, and frequent starts of passion, were not favourable to the Royal dignity, and his mind still less. He had scarcely one kingly quality, except personal courage and justice. The former he had highly signalled at the battle of Oudenarde as a volunteer, and was destined to display again as sovereign at Dettingen; and even in peace he was so fond of the army, and of military details, that his nickname among the Jacobites was "the Captain." A love of justice was apparent in all the natural movements of his mind. But avarice, that most unprincely of all passions, sat enshrined in the inmost recesses of his bosom. Its twitches were shown on all occasions. His purse was often in his hands, not to give from it, but to feel, and count over (2). An extreme minuteness and precision in keeping his private accounts saved him a little money, and lost him a great deal of time. "He has often told me himself," says Lord Chesterfield, "that little things affected him more than great ones; and this was so true, that I have often seen him put so much out of humour at his private levee, by a mistake or blunder of a valet de chambre, that the gaping crowd admitted to his public levee have from his looks and silence concluded that he had just received some dreadful news." On the same principle, "he

(1) Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 459., and Reminiscences, Works, vol. iv. p. 295. In her later years, Lady Suffolk lived in a villa close to Horace Walpole's and this old woman (I mean the former) communicated many curious anecdotes.

(2) "Soon after his first arrival in England,

"Mrs.—one of the bed-chamber women, with whom he was in love, seeing him count his money over very often, said to him, 'Sir, I can bear it no longer; if you count your money once more I will leave the room!'" Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 153.

“troubled himself little about religion, but jogged on quietly in that in which he had been bred, without scruples, doubts, zeal, or inquiry.” Of acquired knowledge he had little, professing great contempt for literature; but he sometimes read history, and had an excellent memory for dates. His habits were very temperate, and so regular, that he scarce ever deviated from his beaten daily track: in the words of one of his courtiers, “he seems to think his having done a thing to-day an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow (1).” Business he understood well, and transacted with pleasure. Like his father, he was far too Hanoverian in his politics, nor wholly free from the influence of mistresses. But his reign of thirty-three years deserves this praise,—that it never once invaded the rights of the nation, nor harshly enforced the prerogatives of the Crown;—that its last period was illumined by the glories of Wolfe and of Chatham;—and that it left the dynasty secure, the constitution unimpaired, and the people prosperous.

Queen Caroline had been handsome in her youth, and to the last retained great expression in her countenance, and sweetness in her smile. Her character was without a blemish, and her conduct always marked by judgment and good sense. During the violent quarrels between her husband and his father, she had behaved so prudently that she equally retained the affection of the first and the esteem of the latter. With the nation also she was more popular than any other member of her family, till George the Third. Her manner most happily combined the Royal dignity with female grace, and her conversation was agreeable in all its varieties, from mimicry and repartee up to metaphysics. In fact, her only faults were those of a Philaminte or a Belise (2). She was fond of talking on all learned subjects, and understood something of a few. Her toilet was a strange medley: prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; tattle and gossip succeeded; metaphysics found a place; the head-dress was not forgotten; divines stood grouped with courtiers, and philosophers with ladies! On the table, perhaps, lay heaped together, the newest ode by Stephen Duck upon her beauty, her last letter from Leibnitz upon Free Will, and the most high-wrought panegyric of Dr. Clarke, on her “inimitable sweetness of temper,” “impartial love of truth,” and “very particular and uncommon degree of knowledge, even on matters of the most abstract speculation (3).” Her great delight was to make theologians dispute in her presence, and argue controverted points, on which it has been said, perhaps untruly, that her own faith was wavering. But no doubt can exist as to her discerning and most praiseworthy patronage of worth and learning in the

(1) Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole, October 21. 1785.

(2) See Molière—Les Femmes Savantes.

(3) See his Dedication to his own and Leibnitz's Letters, pp. iii.—xiii. ed 1717.

Church : the most able and pious men were every where sought out and preferred, and the Episcopal Bench was graced by such men as Hare, Sherlock, and Butler (1). Even to her enemies she could show favour, if they could show merit : through her intercession were Carte the historian and Lord Lansdowne the poet recalled from exile, and the former enabled to show his gratitude by renewing his intrigues for the Pretender.

In fact, so great was the influence of Queen Caroline over her husband, that neither in the Church nor in the State were any appointments made without her having at least some share in them, and during ten years she may be said to have governed England. But she was one of those " who, if she rules him, never shows she " rules." Her power was felt, not displayed. She had the art of instilling ideas into the King's mind, which after a time he found there, and believed to be his own. It was her plan always to affect to retire when the Minister came to the King, declaring that she did not understand business, and only remaining as it seemed to obey His Majesty's commands. By her management he never became jealous, nor she boastful, of authority. Nay, so ready was she to consult and comply with all his inclinations, that she lived on a friendly footing with his mistress, one of her bed-chamber women. This was Henrietta, daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, and married to Mr. Howard, who afterwards succeeded to the Earldom of Suffolk. The Queen used to call her in banter her sister Howard, and was pleased to employ her at her toilet, or in menial offices about her person (2). Lady Suffolk was placid, good-natured, and kind-hearted, but very deaf, and not remarkable for wit. Though the King passed half his time in her company, her influence was quite subordinate to that of the Queen ; she could obtain from George but little attention and less pay, and at length, weary of a post so unprofitable as that of a favourite without favour, she left him, and withdrew from Court in 1734 (3).

It seemed, however, so difficult to believe that the wife should be always preferred to the mistress, that Lady Suffolk received a large share of homage and solicitation. All the wits in Opposition courted her friendship, and celebrated her perfections. Pope, Gay, Arbuthnot, the eloquent Bolingbroke, and the chivalrous Peterborough, formed a galaxy of genius around her, and she shines in history with a lustre not her own. Even the moody

(1) Butler, author of the celebrated " Analogy," was then living obscurely in the country as rector of Stanhope. The Queen thought that he was dead, and asked the question of Archbishop Blackburne. " No, Madam," said His Grace, " but he " is buried ! " The Queen took the hint, and put down Butler in her list for a vacant bishopric, which he obtained after her death. See the Life of Secker, and Coxe's Walpole, pp. 551. and 553.

(2) Memoirs of Horace Walpole, vol. i. p. 513.

(3) Horace Walpole, and after him Archdeacon Coxe, state that Gay, Swift, and Chesterfield all

fell into disgrace at Court by supposing Lady Suffolk's influence to be greater than the Queen's, and leaning only on the former. But the falsehood of these stories and surmises is well shown by the editor of the Suffolk Letters. (See especially his note, vol. ii. p. 84.) All the stories of Horace Walpole are to be received with great caution ; but his Reminiscences, above all, written in his dotage, teem with the grossest inaccuracies and most incredible assertions.

Swift declares, "I know no person of your sex for whom I have "so great an esteem (1)," and even her deafness becomes modesty and merit in the graceful lines of Pope (2).

The despatch from Lord Townshend, announcing the King's death, reached London on the 14th of June. Walpole immediately hastened to the palace of Richmond, where he was told that the Prince, according to his usual custom, had retired to bed for an afternoon slumber. His Highness (so we may call him for the last time) being awakened, at Walpole's desire, started up and made his appearance half-dressed. Walpole knelt down and kissed his hand; but the King was at first incredulous, nor convinced of the truth, until Townshend's letter was produced. The minister then inquired whom his Majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the necessary declaration to the Privy Council, fully hoping that the choice would fall upon himself. "Compton," answered the King shortly, and Walpole withdrew in the deepest disappointment (3).

Sir Spencer Compton, the second surviving son of the Earl of Northampton, was chosen Speaker in 1715, and a Knight of the Bath, on the revival of that Order. He and Lord Scarborough had been the chief favourites of the King as Prince of Wales. He was respectable in his private, regular in his public, character. In the Speaker's chair, where form rather than substance is required, he had fulfilled his duty well, but the seals of office were too heavy for his hands. So little acquainted was he with real business, that when Walpole conveyed to him the King's commands, he avowed his ignorance, and begged Walpole to draw up the Declaration for him. Sir Robert willingly complied, and the Declaration which he wrote was carried by Compton to the King.

Seeing the weakness of his rival, Walpole, with his usual sagacity, said to his friend Sir William Yonge, "I shall certainly go "out, but let me advise you not to go into violent opposition, as "we must soon come in again." It was not easy (such was the jealousy between them) for any minister of George the First to stand well with the Prince of Wales. Pulteney, moreover, had taken care to repeat, or perhaps to exaggerate, some disrespectful expressions which Walpole had used in 1720 (4). Yet Sir Robert, on returning to office, had not neglected to found his future, as far

(1) To Lady Suffolk, November 21. 1730.

(2) After a long panegyric, he concludes —

"Has she no faults then, Envy says, Sir?"

"Yes, she has one, I must aver.—

"When all the world conspires to praise her,

"The woman's deaf, and will not hear!"

These lines have also been ascribed to Lord Peterborough.

(3) Minutes of Conversation with Mr. Scrope, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 519.

(4) According to Pulteney, this conversation

passed on the reconciliation in the Royal Family in 1720. Pulteney asked Walpole what terms he had made for the Prince. "To which you answered, with a sneer, Why he is to go Court "again, and he will have his drums and his guards "and such fine things." But said Pulteney, Is the Prince to be left Regent again, as he had been when the King left England? "Your answer was "this: He does not deserve it. We have done "too much for him, and if it was to be done "again, we would not do so much!" See Pulteney's "Answer to an infamous Libel."

as he could venture without hazarding his present favour. He had obtained from the King the Garter for Lord Scarborough, and had often gratified with places other personal adherents of the Prince (1). Above all, Walpole had now Queen Caroline on his side. He had gained her regard by his attentions, her esteem by his abilities; she perceived that no one could surpass him in financial skill, and that the late King was scarcely mistaken, when he said to her one day in chapel, that Walpole could change stones into gold (2)! At this crisis also, he fixed and secured her favour, by a well-timed offer to obtain from Parliament a jointure for Her Majesty of 100,000*l.* a year, while Compton only ventured to propose 60,000*l.* What better proof could be required that Walpole was fittest for Prime Minister?

Under these circumstances, the triumph of Compton endured but a few days. Caroline, without openly opposing the King's resolution, represented to him the rashness and danger of dismissing a prosperous and well-established government; she made him acquainted with the incapacity of Compton, in applying for assistance to the very minister whom he displaced; and she added, that Walpole had agreed to carry through the House of Commons an increase of 130,000*l.* to the Civil List. Such arguments had their due weight with George, while Horace Walpole arriving from Paris, artfully magnified to him the difficulties of foreign negotiations in new hands. Compton himself was now beginning to see the shoals and rocks before him. He could scarcely hope to contend at once with the Tories and with Walpole and his friends, in opposition; and to join the Tories at that juncture seemed a hazardous experiment. Thus his own sense of danger combining with the rising doubts of the King, he was induced to relinquish his commission, and the King to re-appoint the old ministers. No change took place in the Cabinet, except that Lord Berkeley, who had been leagued with Carteret and Roxburgh, was replaced at the Admiralty by Lord Torrington, a more devoted friend of Walpole. As for Compton, he was gratified with the title of Wilmington and the Presidency of the Council; and it might be said of him, as afterwards of Pulteney, that he shrunk at once into insignificance and an earldom.

The opposition, who had expected any thing rather than the re-appointment of Walpole, were stunned with the blow, and unfitted for resistance in Parliament. When Walpole proposed that the entire revenue of the Civil List producing, as he said, 93,000*l.*, but in fact about 130,000*l.* beyond the sum of 700,000*l.* granted to George the First, should be settled on His Majesty, no voice but Shippen's was raised against it; and to the proposal of 100,000*l.* for Her Majesty's jointure, there was no dissent at all.

(1) Count de Broglie to the King of France, July 24, 1724.

(2) Minutes of Conversation with Mr. Sewpa.

This unanimous Parliament was soon prorogued, and then, as the law requires, dissolved.

The Jacobites had always hoped that the death of George the First would be the signal of confusion, and the dawning of triumph to themselves. They were confounded at finding, on the contrary, a new spirit of loyalty displayed, a new expectation of prosperity excited, not only in the Parliament but amongst the people. The letter of the Earl of Strafford to James at that crisis is now before me (1). He observes, that "the alteration here was so sudden and surprising, that no man knew at first what would be the consequence. The people in the streets ran backwards and forwards only asking news, and inquiring of one another what was to be done. The sudden coming of the Prince and Princess to town, and calling of the Council, immediately turned the expectation of the mob, on seeing the ceremony of a proclamation that night; who are always fond of any show or new thing. They waited till midnight, and were then told it was put off till next day, when all things were performed without the least disorder. The torrent is too strong for your friends to resist, so they thought it their best way to join with the rest to hinder distinctions, that their party may be the stronger whenever dissatisfaction breaks out again, which it is generally thought will not be long. . . . I am convinced the same violent and corrupt measures taken by the father will be pursued by the son, who is passionate, proud, and peevish; and though he talks of ruling by himself, will just be governed as his father was. But his declarations that he will make no distinction of parties, and turning off the Germans, make him popular at present. . . . I find your friends already desponding and complaining that they have ruined their fortunes, and are not able to resist this last effort of the Whigs." With still more bitterness does Lord Orrery, a few weeks later, inveigh against the "incapacity, stubbornness, and haughtiness of the present King,"—"the universal corruption of our Parliament,"—"the servility, ignorance, and poor spirit of our nobility and gentry, striving who shall sell themselves at the best price to this Court, but resolved to sell themselves at any!" Yet, with all this, he is obliged to own that, "there do not yet appear many discontented people (2)!"

When the Pretender received the news of the King's death, he was residing at Bologna. He had for a long time obstinately refused to conciliate his consort, by dismissing the titular Earl of Inverness, and turned a deaf ear to the unanimous representations of his friends, both at home and abroad. But his stubbornness being at length partly vanquished, he accepted Inverness's resig-

(1) Dated June 21. 1727. See Appendix.

(2) Lord Orrery to James, August 1727. Appendix.

nation, though with such marks and declarations of high regard (1), as made it plain that his favour was fixed, and that he would ere long recall him. Nevertheless Clementina agreed to quit her convent at Rome, and to join her husband; and she was already on her road, when the tidings of the great event in Germany arrived. Perceiving the value of time, and the necessity of being near his friends at such a crisis, James the very next day set out from Bologna on pretence of meeting his Queen on her journey, and thus in concealment of his object; but turning short, at a little distance, he posted with all speed to Lorraine.

On arriving near Nancy, James despatched a messenger to Bishop Atterbury at Paris, and one also to Lord Orrery in London, while another of his most trusty servants, Allan Cameron, was sent to confer with Mr. Lockhart, who had been obliged to leave Scotland on account of some discoveries, and who was then at Liege. "Cameron told me," says Lockhart, "that the King, notwithstanding the certainty he had of no foreign aid, and that there was no scheme nor preparations at home, inclined, and seemed resolved to repair to the Highlands, and make the best stand he could with such as repaired to him; and this measure was approved by Lord Inyerness, and his other subjects attending him, with whom he advised. Upon my inquiring if that Lord was with the King, he shifted giving a direct answer; but being put to it, he said he was not actually present with him, but kept at a little distance, so as His Majesty could send often to him, and have him when he pleased (2)." When asked for his opinion in this momentous affair, Lockhart desired to consult Colonel Clephane, a zealous Jacobite, who had taken an active part in the Rebellion of 1715 (3), and was now living in exile. The answer of Cameron is another strong proof how rife were cabals and jealousies even at so small a Court as James's. He declined to send for Clephane, who he said was "of the Marrian faction;" and he did not yield till Lockhart had pledged himself for Clephane's honour and fidelity, and had inveighed against the folly of keeping up divisions at a crisis when all hands were needed. Both Clephane and Lockhart agreed, that the project of going over to Scotland, without either a settled scheme or foreign succour, was utterly hopeless, and could serve only to lose the cause and ruin its adherents altogether. It appeared that Inverness and Dunbar, who advised the scheme, meant themselves to stay abroad, the one attending the Prince, and the other managing affairs with foreign Powers; and Lockhart could not forbear remarking, that he should

(1) "You know the great and good opinion I have long had of that Lord, and it is now, with reason, augmented by the sacrifice he will make of himself for the good of my family in this conjuncture, which ought to increase his merit with all honest men, and I hope to have yet

"soon occasion to show in his person that I am incapable of abandoning my faithful servants." Circular Letter of James; Lockhart, vol. ii. p. 347.

(2) *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 339.

(3) See *suprà*, p. 113.

have had a much better opinion of these two gentlemen, if they had thought fit to run equal hazard with their King, in a project they so much approved.

The answers which James received from Paris and from London were equally discouraging, and urged him in the strongest manner to forbear so desperate an enterprise. "You will observe, Sir," writes Atterbury, "what a spirit of caution and fear possesses your friends at home, and how they dread any alarm being given to the Government, or taken by it. . . . It appears that nothing is to be expected from them, without a foreign, and a very considerable assistance. . . . It is plain that the Tories at this turn hoped to get into place, if not into power; and though they resolved to keep their principles and inclinations if they had done so, I much question whether they really would, or rather I am satisfied that the bulk of them would not; and therefore it is a happiness to you, Sir, that their aims have hitherto been and will probably continue to be defeated (1)."

Nor was the Pretender left quiet and undisturbed to mature his plans; on the contrary the French government, urged by the English, sent positive directions to the Duke of Lorraine to compel James to quit his territories. The Duke, who was little more than the vassal of France, durst not disobey, and wrote to James in his own hand, pressing him in the strongest manner to go out of his country in three days. "Thus," says James, "in my present situation, I cannot pretend to do any thing essential for my interest, so that all that remains is the world should see that I have done my part (2)." He determined however, by the advice of Atterbury, instead of crossing the Alps, to repair to the Papal State of Avignon. But even there the French influence was exerted to dislodge him. In the ensuing spring he was compelled to return to Italy, where he rejoined his consort, and seems to have become gradually reconciled with her. A German traveller who was at Rome in 1731, saw them living, to all appearance, in perfect harmony together, and speaks with high praise (as indeed all parties do) of Clementina's grace and goodness, her quick talents, and her never-failing charity (3). It is even said, but on no good authority, that she used to express her sorrow at having left her husband and retired to a convent (4). The chief object of their contention, Inverness, was sent to a kind of exile at Avignon; but Dunbar still retained the chief influence at the little Court of the Pretender.

1728.

Meanwhile events in England were proceeding very far from favourably to his cause. The new Parlia-

(1) Bishop Atterbury to James, August 30. 1727. Appendix.

(2) James to Atterbury, August 9. 1727. Appendix.

(3) Polnitz Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 60. ed. 1737.

(4) Account of the Funeral Ceremonies of the Princess Clementine Sobieski. Preface.

ment, which met in January, 1728, displayed a ministerial majority even greater than the last. "On the first day," says Horace Walpole, we had 427 members in the House, most of them sincere and hearty friends, and in perfect good humour (1)." Their choice for Speaker (Sir Spencer Compton being now a peer) fell unanimously upon Mr. Arthur Onslow, sprung from a family which had already twice filled the chair (2), and endowed with high personal qualifications for that office. During three and thirty years did this accomplished man continue to preside over the House of Commons, with thorough knowledge of forms, and perfect impartiality of judgment; and even after his retirement he still contributed to the public service, by his ready advice and guidance to younger politicians (3).

The King's speech on opening the session lamented the tedious and still unsettled negotiations with Spain, and the consequent necessity of continuing warlike preparations; but did not omit the usual professions of economy, and willingness to reduce the national expenses. Such professions, in fact, are frequently the most ardent where the supplies to be demanded are largest. To the address, in answer, Shippen moved an amendment, and inveighed against Hosier's expedition as useless and insignificant; for that we might have rifled the galleons at Carthagena, and plundered Porto Bello, and have had those riches in our hands to dispute with the Spaniards (4). He was seconded by Wyndham; but their observations were so ill received by the House, that they did not venture on a division. Almost the first occasion when the opposition made a stand was when they had reason and justice completely on their side. It was proposed by Horace Walpole that the sum of 230,000*l.* should be granted for maintaining, during this year, 12,000 Hessians in the British pay—a measure quite unworthy the King of England, but very advantageous to the Elector of Hanover. If troops were wanted, could we not raise them at home? Or, if a similar step had been taken in the rebellion of 1715, amidst pressing and fearful dangers, can it be urged that the precedent applied to orderly and settled times; and might we not quote against this motion the very words of its mover on another occasion, when he said that "little, low, partial, Electoral notions are able to stop or confound the best conducted project for the public (5)?" Nevertheless, so strong was the party in power, that 280 voted with, and only 84 against them.

(1) To Earl Waldegrave, January 24, 1728. Coxe's Walpole.

(2) See Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 703.; and vol. vi. p. 744.

(3) "It was permitted to the compiler of this work to visit that excellent man in his retirement, and to hear those observations on the law and constitution, which, particularly in the

"company of young persons, Mr. Onslow was fond of communicating." Hatsell's Precedents, vol. II. Preface, p. lx. ed. 1785.

(4) Mr. Tilson to Earl Waldegrave, February 2, 1728.

(5) Horace Walpole to Sir Robert, September 1, 1728.

Of a similar tendency was a treaty just concluded with the Duke of Brunswick, stipulating a subsidy of 25,000*l.* a year to him during four years, whilst, on his part, he was to furnish, if required, 5000 men.

In this temper of the House a discussion between Walpole and Pulteney afforded a certain triumph to the former. Pulteney asserted that, in spite of the Sinking Fund, the public burthens had increased instead of diminishing since 1716. Such statements, enforced in an able pamphlet, and in several numbers of the "Craftsman," began to pass current upon the public. On the other hand, it was maintained by Walpole, in the House of Commons, that 6,000,000*l.* had been discharged since that year; and that, allowing for new debts, the decrease was still no less than 2,500,000*l.* Pulteney defended his calculations, adding, that he should be prepared to prove them in a few days, and would stake his reputation on their accuracy. Accordingly, on the 4th of March, there ensued a sort of pitched battle between the rival statesmen, when the statement of Walpole was affirmed by a large majority, and afterwards embodied in a Report, which was laid before the King.

The opposition hoped to be more successful in calling for a specific account of so large a sum as 250,000*l.*, which was charged for Secret Service. Walpole gave the usual answer, that the public interest would suffer by the disclosure; and the debate was still proceeding when some important news arrived. The King of Spain, on learning the death of George the First, had determined not to ratify the preliminaries signed in his name, but without his authority, at Vienna. He hoped to see, not merely a change of administration but a change of dynasty follow the Royal decease in England; he expected, at least, great discord and divisions in the new Parliament: but finding the result quite otherwise, and unable to stand alone against the Hanover allies, his reluctance at length gave way. From his country palace he issued what was termed the Act of the Pardo, accepting the preliminaries with France and England, and referring further difficulties to a Congress, about to be held at Soissons. The express which brought this intelligence reached Walpole in the midst of his speech on the Secret Service; he immediately availed himself of this event, and having communicated it to the House, added, that the country would now be relieved from the burthen of its late expenses, and that he could assure the Members who clamoured for an account of the Secret Service money, that it had been expended in obtaining that peace, of which the preliminaries were just signed. So much satisfaction did this news spread through the House, that the question was instantly called for, and passed without a division. In fact, to the end of this Session (I might almost say, of this Parliament) the ministerial numbers continued steady, and even increasing; and

verified the shrewd saying, that a good majority, like a good sum of money, soon makes itself bigger (1).

At the Congress, which opened in the month of June, the English plenipotentiaries were William Stanhope, Poyntz, and Horace Walpole. The business at Paris was intrusted to Lord Waldegrave, whom Horace Walpole praises for "a good understanding:" but still more for what was most requisite under Sir Robert, "a supple and inoffensive disposition (2)." [At the Hague our interests were most ably conducted by the Earl of Chesterfield, one of the most shining characters of this age; whom Smollett, though with much party spirit, goes so far as to call the only man of genius employed under Walpole (3).

The Congress of Soissons, however, proved a worthy counterpart of the Congress of Cambray. It was a mere routine of forms—a dull accumulation of endless memorials and counter memorials, without leading to the decision of a single disputed point. A proposal for a provisional instead of a definitive treaty equally failed; and it became necessary to revert once more to separate negotiations. "It is evident to us all here," writes Townshend, "that this nation will not long bear this uncertain state of things (4)." It was lamented in the King's Speech, when Parliament met again in January, 1729, "and I am not insensible," said His Majesty, "that some may be induced to think that an actual war is preferable to such a doubtful and imperfect peace; but the exchange "is very easy to be made at any time!"

Although the Session of 1729 was almost entirely engrossed with Foreign affairs, there are two other 1729. of its transactions that seem deserving of attention. The first was, the expression of the public joy and loyal congratulations to the King at the arrival of Frederick Prince of Wales. For some reason not very clear, but probably to gratify the Hanoverian party, the young Prince had never been allowed to visit England in the lifetime of George the First. He now came over at the age of twenty-one, a pledge of the Protestant succession, and not without qualities to captivate the multitude, who are always apt to love an heir apparent better than a King. I shall have occasion to show how soon this fair prospect was clouded and darkened by faction, and how scrupulously Frederick followed his father's example in caballing against him.

Another affair this Session, in which the Court was less honourably mingled, was a motion for granting His Majesty 115,000*l.* to supply a deficiency in the Civil List. It afterwards appeared that in truth there was no such deficiency, yet the Minister persevered and carried the Bill by a large majority. The transaction was very painful to Walpole, and no less injurious to his public

(1) Walpole's Letters to Mann, December 3. 1741.

(2) Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii. p. 8.

(3) History of England, book ii. ch. 4.

(4) To Mr. Poyntz, February 11. 1729.

character; and he is said to have used every argument with the Court to dissuade it from urging the demand. We are told also that the resistance to it in the House of Lords was very strong, although (so strictly were their standing orders enforced) no report at all, however meagre, appears of their debates in this and the foregoing session.

Indeed, had it depended on the wish of the House of Commons, their debates also would have remained wholly unrecorded. A complaint being made to the House of one Raikes, a printer of Gloucester, who had published some reports of their proceedings, they passed an unanimous resolution on the 26th of February, "That it is an indignity to, and a breach of the privilege of, this House for any person to presume to give in written or printed newspapers any account or minutes of the debates or other proceedings of this House, or of any Committee thereof." And, that "upon discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers, this House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity."

The points on which it had been found most difficult to come to an understanding with the Spaniards were the possession of Gibraltar, and the claim of the English to cut log-wood in the Bay of Compeachy. The latter had, for some years, been contested by the Spaniards; in 1717 the Marquis de Monteleon had delivered a memorial against it, which was met by a representation from the Board of Trade, proving that the practice was of old standing, and of just right. This representation was now laid before the House of Commons, together with numerous petitions complaining of Spanish depredations, and every art was used to inflame the public mind, and to represent the Minister as tamely submitting to insult and careless of the national wrongs.

Gibraltar was a question nearly touching the Spanish pride. It is almost incredible what deep and deadly resentment had been raised in that haughty nation, who had extended their conquering arms so far, to see a fortress upon their own shores held and garrisoned by England. They viewed it with still more bitter feelings than the French had formerly our possession of Calais, and there was scarcely a Spanish statesman of this period who might not have applied to himself the saying of Queen Mary, and declared that when he died the word GIBRALTAR would be found engraven on his heart. They openly avowed, that until it was restored, there should be no amity with England—a truce, but no peace. Thus high is the spirit of the Spaniards, so keen are they to discern, and so fierce to resent, even the slightest approaches to an insult!

The obstacles to a friendly intercourse with Spain, so long as we retained Gibraltar, were most strongly felt by General Stanhope on his coming to power, and he was also impressed with the idea that the fortress was of small value to England. The Opposition which afterwards urged the opposite arguments was at first

not less loud in inveighing against a "barren rock" and "useless charge." The garrison was the cause of an increase in our standing army. The expense of its establishment was great and ill-regulated (1). There was no English possession to protect in the Mediterranean except Minorca, which was fully adequate to its own defence. There was yet no precedent of one nation long retaining such a strong-hold on the shores of another. Under these circumstances, Stanhope formed a decided opinion as to the policy of yielding Gibraltar on certain conditions: he made this proposal to the King and to his colleagues, and obtained their acquiescence before he proceeded with it to Madrid in 1718 (2). Yet, while allowing considerable weight to his arguments, I must maintain that our national glory demanded the preservation of this conquest; and it is evident that at a later period our national interests would have suffered by its loss.

It must be observed, however, that Stanhope never proposed an unconditional surrender; the doubt is only whether in 1718 he asked for any territorial equivalent, or whether he would have been satisfied with the accession of Spain to the Quadruple Alliance, coupled with (as was then required) large commercial advantages to our traders in South America (3). Amidst the secrecy and obscurity of the negotiation, we cannot distinguish the exact terms of the offer. We find, however, that it was rejected by the Spanish Court; but that in the subsequent negotiations the French government, though without any express authority, again held out this tempting bait, and gave Philip hopes of prevailing on easy terms. Thus the honour of the Regent became in some degree engaged, and he warmly seconded the claim of Philip at the Court of England. But no sooner had Stanhope sounded the House of Lords upon the subject than the country caught the alarm. The cession on any terms became most unpopular—which in England is but another word for impossible. As Stanhope declares, in a letter to Sir Luke Schaub, from Paris, "We have made a motion " in Parliament, relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, to pass a " bill, for the purpose of leaving to the King the power of disposing " of that fortress for the advantage of his subjects. You cannot " imagine the ferment which the proposal produced. The public " was roused with indignation, on the simple suspicion that, at the " close of a successful war, so unjustly begun by Cardinal Alberoni, we should cede that fortress. One circumstance greatly " contributed to excite the general indignation, namely, a report " insinuated by the Opposition, that the King had entered into a " formal engagement to restore Gibraltar, which was deemed a " sufficient ground to attack the ministry. Many libels have been " published to alarm the nation, and excite them rather to conti-

(1) Lord Bellingbrooke to Lord Portmore, March, 29. 1718.

(2) See *supra*, p. 228.

(3) See a note *supra*, p. 227.

"nue the war, than to cede a fortress of such importance. We
 "were accordingly compelled to yield to the torrent, and to adopt
 "the wise resolution of withdrawing the motion; because if it had
 "been pressed, it would have produced a contrary effect to what
 "is designed, and would perhaps have ended in a bill, which
 "might for ever have tied up the King's hands. Such being the
 "real state of this business, you will endeavour to explain to the
 "Court of Madrid, that if the King of Spain should ever wish at
 "some future day to treat concerning the cession of Gibraltar, the
 "only method of succeeding would be to drop the subject at pre-
 "sent. We are much concerned that France should have inter-
 "fered on this occasion; the extreme eagerness which she testified
 "was of great detriment. Some letters and memorials on that
 "subject seemed even to threaten a rupture. The alarm was
 "indeed so strong, that people began to suspect France was medi-
 "tating a change of system, and made Gibraltar a pretext to adopt
 "other measures; and this was the cause of my coming to
 "Paris (1)."

Stanhope's journey proved successful: the Regent was convin-
 ced by his statements, and promised not to join Spain in urging
 its claims prematurely. But it was not so easy for Schaub to
 prevail with the Spaniards. Their impatience grew so uncon-
 trollable, that though the question was referred to the Congress
 to be held at Cambray, Stanhope made another effort in England
 in the autumn of 1720. He wrote from Hanover to lay before
 the Lords Justices the expediency of exchanging Gibraltar on
 the footing of some adequate equivalent (2). The Lords Justices
 agreed to this plan; and the cession of Gibraltar seemed deter-
 mined if the consent of Parliament could be obtained. But the
 project was again marred by the perverseness of the King of
 Spain, who refused to give Florida, and wished to gain Gibralt-
 ar without any equivalent whatever.

At this period of the transaction ensued the deaths of Stanhope
 and Craggs, and the consequent change of the English adminis-
 tration. Townshend, however, into whose hands the affair now
 chiefly came, followed in this respect the footsteps of his pre-
 decessor. Like him he desired the cession of the fortress, like
 him he dreaded the resistance of the Parliament: Scarcely had
 he taken the seals, when he received an application from the
 Court of Madrid, stating, in confidence, their difficulty with their
 own subjects, the peace being deemed in Spain highly dishonour-
 able unless it included Gibraltar. They therefore requested, as
 an ostensible vindication of the treaty, a letter from King George,
 containing a promise of restoring the fortress some time here-
 after. By advice of the two secretaries, Townshend and Carteret,

(1) To Mr. Schaub, March 28. 1720.

(2) Earl Stanhope to Secretary Craggs, October
1. 1720. See Appendix.

such a letter was written by the King on the 29th of April, assuring His Catholic Majesty “of my readiness to satisfy you with regard to the restitution of Gibraltar, upon the footing of an equivalent, promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this article with consent of my Parliament.” But when William Stanhope delivered this letter to the King and Queen of Spain at Aranjuez, they made so many cavils and objections to the word EQUIVALENT, which, they said, would render the letter useless (1), that, at their solicitation, George the First consented to write another letter on the 1st of June, omitting the clause in question (2). It was the conviction of the Ministers that the letter, even thus mutilated, left the affair entirely to the discretion of Parliament, who might refuse the cession altogether, or demand any equivalent they pleased.

Philip, however, considered, or affected to consider, the promise as unconditional; and it was always thus represented in his negotiations. Nevertheless there seems reason to believe, that if the English Parliament could have been brought to approve the cession upon the footing of an equivalent, Philip would soon have consented to yield the latter. In January, 1722, William Stanhope writes from Madrid:—“It is very unfortunate that our hands are tied as to Gibraltar, so as not to take advantage of this immoderate desire the King of Spain has to obtain it; for were it otherwise, notwithstanding the pretended promise of it, I am fully persuaded we might yet sell it for double its worth in advantages to our commerce (3).”

At Cambray, numerous petty obstacles delayed the opening, and blighted the hopes, of the Congress. At Madrid the negotiations for Gibraltar continued to drag on with the usual slow pace of Spaniards, who, as they say themselves, are born doing business, pass their life in doing business, and die without having done any (2)! Yet Philip did not relinquish his pursuit. To gain this darling object was one of his motives for rushing so eagerly into the Vienna alliance, and he then peremptorily told William Stanhope, that the immediate restitution of Gibraltar was the only means to prevent a war. Stanhope answered, that at all events it could not be done without Parliament, which was not then sitting. “No!” exclaimed the Queen, who was present: “Why then let the King, your master, return from Germany and call a Parliament expressly for that purpose. The matter once fairly proposed would not meet with one negative in either House. Let this short argument be once made use of; either give up Gibraltar, or your trade to the Indies and Spain, and the matter, I

(1) William Stanhope to Lord Carteret, May 29. 1721, N.S. Hardwicke Papers.

(2) See this letter in the original French; *Common's Journals*, vol. xxi. p. 285.

(3) To Sir Luke Schaub. *Coxe's House of Bourbon*, vol. iii. p. 22.

(4) “*Nacimos arreglando, vivemos arreglando, y por fin moriremos sin haber arreglado nada.*” See Mr. Sildell's *Spain Revisited*, vol. ii. p. 330.

“ will answer for it, would not admit of a moment’s debate (1)!” Unhappily, however, the two houses, not having the benefit of hearing this Royal reasoning, were not convinced by it; and Philip, finding his threats as unsuccessful as his entreaties had been before, at length laid seige to the fortress, as I have already mentioned, in 1727. The siege failed, and he signed the preliminaries at the Pardo; but still, in discussing a definitive treaty, continued to claim the former promise, and to urge the expected cession.

The views of the English Cabinet at this period were still the same—anxious to pacify the Spaniards, but afraid to lose their popularity at home. In 1728 we find a letter from Mr. Poyntz to his patron Lord Townshend, observing that “ after we carry the point of Gibraltar the Spaniards will leave no stone unturned to hurt our commerce and to distress us into compliance;” and that “ the Catholic King and all true Spaniards are animated against us by this single consideration.” Townshend, in answer, declares, “ What you propose in relation to Gibraltar is, certainly, very reasonable, and is exactly conformable to the opinion which you know I have always entertained concerning that place. But you cannot but be sensible of the violent and almost superstitious zeal which has of late prevailed among all parties in this kingdom against any scheme for the restitution of Gibraltar, upon any conditions whatsoever; and I am afraid that the bare mention of a proposal which carried the most distant appearance of laying England under an obligation of ever parting with that place would be sufficient to put the whole nation in a flame (2).”

Townshend had, indeed, good reason for his fear of parliamentary or popular resistance. From the Spanish complaints the Opposition had obtained a clue to the letter of George the First, in 1721; and they now raised an outcry on two grounds; first, that there should be any idea of ceding the fortress at all—and, secondly, because, as they alleged, the ministry had disgraced the king and nation by breaking a solemn promise, however wrongly made, from whence they inferred that the war was unjust on the part of England, and that Philip was merely claiming his due. A motion to produce King George’s letter was brought forward by Mr. Sandys, in February, 1727, warmly supported by Wyndham and Pulteney. Walpole replied that such a promise had, indeed, been made in a former administration, but that he could assure the House it was only a conditional promise, and void by the refusal of Spain to comply with the terms required; and that as to producing the King’s letter, he held that the private letters of Princes were

(1) William Stanhope to Lord Townshend, Aug. 1726. Lord Townshend to Mr. Poyntz, June 14, 1728. Oxe’s Walpole.

(2) Mr. Poyntz to Lord Townshend, June 9.

almost as sacred as their very persons. The motion was rejected by a large majority.

In 1729, however, the onset was renewed in the other House. No resistance was then made by the Ministers to produce the Royal letter, probably because it had already been published abroad. This document being laid upon the table, the Opposition, in order to thwart the Government and perplex the negotiations as much as possible, moved, "That effectual care be taken in any treaty that the King of Spain do renounce all claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms." But a large majority decided for a counter-resolution: "That the House relies upon his Majesty for preserving his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca." This resolution was communicated to the Commons in a conference; in that House also, Lord Malpas obtained the production of the King's letter, and a similar proposal to that of the Lords in opposition was made, but with similar defeat. The minority, however, mustered no less than 111, a larger number than they usually could at that period (1).

The agitation of the public mind on this question, and the rising clamour against Spanish depredations, rendered it more than ever necessary to come to some conclusion of the long pending negotiations. Scarcely, therefore, had the Session closed, and the King set out on his first Royal journey to Hanover, than the Ministers determined to send once more to Spain the former ambassador, Mr. William Stanhope. His diplomatic skill was long tried, he was thoroughly acquainted with the Spanish nation, and his integrity was so highly esteemed by the Spanish monarch, that His Majesty used to say of him, "Stanhope is the only foreign minister who never deceived me." The ambassador found the Spanish Court no longer at Madrid, nor in the stately palaces around it: their Catholic Majesties, had wandered to the delicious plains of Andalusia, and now dwelt amidst the Moorish glories of Seville. The cause of this change was the same which influenced all others at that Court—the ambition of the Queen. The King, her husband, was a prey to hypochondriac maladies, and often desirous of resigning his Crown: he had effected that wish in 1724, and she had discovered, to her infinite alarm, that a similar scheme was nearly accomplished in 1728. It became, therefore, her great object to withdraw him from the neighbourhood of the Council of Castille, to whom any abdication must be first addressed, and by whose intrigues it might be sometimes promoted (2).

It was therefore in Andalusia that, on the 9th of November, William Stanhope, after innumerable difficulties, signed the cele-

(1) Parliamentary History, vol. viii. pp. 548. and 698.

(2) Mr Keene to the Duke of Newcastle, August 1. 1738. According to Duclou:—"Sans aucune incommodité apparente Philippe étoit quelquefois

"six mois sans vouloir quitter le lit, se faire raser, couper les ongles, ni changer de linge.....
"Dans des moments il se croyoit mort, et demandoit pourquoy on ne l'enterroit pas!" etc.
(Mém. vol. ii. 306.)

brated treaty of Seville. The terms were highly advantageous to his countrymen. It was a defensive alliance between England, Spain, and France, to which Holland subsequently acceded. After a confirmation of preceding treaties, and a stipulation of mutual assistance in case of attack, Spain revoked all the privileges granted to Austrian subjects by the treaties of Vienna, re-established the English trade in America on its former footing, and restored all captures, with compensation for the loss sustained. The Asiento was confirmed to the South Sea Company. Commissioners were to be appointed to determine the disputes as to the limits of the American trade, and as to the claims of Spain for restitution of the ships taken in 1718. Another article stipulated, that to secure the succession of Parma and Tuscany to the Infant Don Carlos, 6000 Spanish troops should be allowed to garrison Leghorn, Porto Ferrajo, Parma, and Placentia, instead of the neutral garrisons provided by the Quadruple Alliance. The question of Gibraltar was passed over in total silence, which, after the noisy pretensions of Spain, was equivalent to a public renunciation. Such, in fact, it was considered by Philip, who now, losing all hope of ever obtaining the fortress, attempted to cut off its communication with the main land, and constructed the strong lines of San Roque, across the isthmus (1). The Spanish people, however, still continued to look with indignation on the British banners floating from the summit of the inaccessible rock, and for above half a century longer nursed an ardent ambition for its conquest.

1730.

For the conclusion of this peace, and for his other services, William Stanhope was immediately created Lord Harrington, and soon afterwards, as we shall find, appointed Secretary of State. In proportion to the satisfaction in London was the rage and resentment at Vienna; and a further mortification to the Emperor ensued in the next Session of Parliament; for, being deprived of his Spanish supplies of money, he attempted to borrow 400,000*l.* on his credit in London. The ministry immediately brought in and carried through a bill, prohibiting loans to foreign powers without licence from the King under his Privy Seal. It is quite certain that had the Government allowed the loan, the Opposition would afterwards have loudly inveighed against their supineness. Now, however, as loud a cry was raised against "a Bill of Terrors"—"an eternal yoke on our fellow-subjects"—"an advantageous bargain to the Dutch (2)," "Shall British merchants," answers Walpole, "be permitted to

(1) Mr. Keene was afterwards instructed to remonstrate against these works. But he writes, May 20. 1731:—"I was assured if the whole universe should fall upon the King to make him desist, he would rather let himself be cut to pieces than consent.... We might as well

"pretend to Cadix as to the spot where the line "is." See Cox's House of Bourbon, vol. iii. p. 240.

(2) Speech of Mr. Deane. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 788.

“lend their money against the British nation? Shall they arm an enemy with strength, and assist him with supplies?”

The treaty of Seville was followed in a very few months by Lord Townshend's resignation. I have already more than once mentioned the misunderstandings between the brother ministers; and I need scarcely again advert to the jealousy of power in Walpole, to the violence of temper in Townshend. The former would brook no equal, and the latter no superior. Their constant bickerings were often appeased by the mediation of Walpole's sister, Lady Townshend, or even of Queen Caroline; but unhappily the former died, and the latter, when she found a breach unavoidable, threw her whole influence into the scale of Walpole. Besides the general causes of coldness, there were, at this time, particular grounds of difference. In foreign affairs Townshend was much incensed against the Emperor, and would have pushed matters to extremity against him if not withheld by his colleague. At home he was disgusted with the timidity and captiousness of the Duke of Newcastle, and wished him to be removed in favour of Chesterfield. Another cause of irritation in the Session of 1730 was the Pension Bill—a measure proposed by Mr. Sandys, and supported by the whole Opposition, to disable all persons from sitting in Parliament who had any pension, or any offices held in trust for them, and to require every member to swear that he had not. In the King's private notes this is termed “a villanous “Bill”—which should be “torn to pieces in every particular(1).” But Walpole, though he entertained the same opinion of it, would not run the hazard of unpopularity by taking an active part against it, and he allowed it to pass the House of Commons, knowing that it would be thrown out by the House of Lords. Such, indeed, was the policy which he pursued with respect to this bill during his whole remaining administration; for so strong a weapon of attack was not allowed to rust in the scabbard, and the measure was brought forward again and again by the party out of power. Townshend, on the other hand, complained that the odium of the rejection should be cast solely upon the House of Lords; and foretold, as the event really proved, that the petty manœuvre of Walpole would be soon seen through, and that the Minister would incur even more unpopularity by his disguised, than by a manly and avowed, resistance.

Complaint and recrimination were, however, useless. “It has always,” says the great Duke of Marlborough(2), “been my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though ever so reasonable, do serve to no other end but the making the breach wider.” Between Townshend and Walpole the train of enmity was now ready laid,

(1) The King to Lord Townshend, March, 1730. Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 537.

(2) To the Duchess, August 26. 1700.

and any spark would have produced the explosion. The decisive quarrel took place at the house of Colonel Selwyn, in Cleveland Square. Foreign affairs being discussed, and Townshend presuming to differ with Walpole, Sir Robert grew so incensed as to declare that he did not believe what the other was saying! Townshend, losing all patience, raised his hand, and these old friends, near relations, and brother ministers, seized one another by the collar and grasped their swords. Mrs. Selwyn shrieked for assistance; the men interposed and dissuaded them from going out, as they wished, to fight an immediate duel. But though the encounter was prevented, the friendship could never be restored.

Townshend, however, made another struggle to establish his power at Court, and obtain the dismissal of Newcastle. He had still considerable personal influence with the King; but finding it quite inadequate to maintain him against his all-powerful colleague, he resigned on the 16th of May. He left office with a most unblemished character, and—what is still less common—a most patriotic moderation. Had he gone into opposition, or even steered a neutral course, he must have caused great embarrassment and difficulty to his triumphant rival. But he must thereby also have thwarted a policy of which he approved, and hindered measures which he wished to see adopted. In spite, therefore, of the most flattering advances from the Opposition, who were prepared to receive him with open arms, he nobly resolved to retire altogether from public life. He withdrew to his paternal seat at Rainham, where he passed the eight remaining years of his life in well-earned leisure, or in agricultural improvements. It is to him that England, and more especially his native county of Norfolk, owes the introduction and cultivation of the turnip from Germany. He resisted all solicitations to re-enter public life, nor would even consent to visit London. Once when Chesterfield had embarked in full opposition to Walpole, he went to Rainham, on purpose to use his influence as an intimate friend, and persuade the fallen minister to attend an important question in the House of Lords. "I have irrevocably determined," Townshend answered, "no more to engage in politics; I recollect that Lord Cowper, though a staunch Whig, was betrayed by personal pique and party resentment to throw himself into the arms of the Tories, and even to support principles which tended to serve the Jacobites. I know that I am extremely warm, and I am apprehensive that if I should attend the House of Lords, I may be hurried away by my temper, and my personal animosities, to adopt a line of conduct which in my cooler moments I may regret." Whatever may be thought of Lord Cowper's conduct, the highest praise is certainly due to Townshend's, and he deserves to be celebrated in history, as one of the very few who,

after tasting high power, and when stirred by sharp provocation, have cherished their principles more than their resentments, and rather chosen themselves to fall into obscurity than the public affairs into confusion. Let him who undervalues this praise compute whether he can find many to deserve it!

The peaceful accession of George the Second,—the happy conclusion of the Treaty of Seville,—and the consequent quiet throughout Europe,—dashed all the hopes of the English Jacobites. That party had never varied in its language. It had uniformly declared that any attempt without a body of troops would be hopeless, and would not receive their support; and such troops could no longer be expected from any foreign power. In the twelve years from 1728 to 1740, the Jacobite cause was evidently at a very low ebb; the Stuart Papers lose most of their importance, and the correspondence dwindles in a great measure from powerful statesmen down to low adventurers. What interest could the reader feel in tracing a succession of wild schemes formed by subaltern ambition, or nourished by religious bigotry, or what place can History assign to the reveries of some despairing exile, or persecuted priest? As the old leaders drop off, few others appear to supply their place. In 1728, we find Shippen praised for keeping what is called “his honesty,” (that is, swearing one way, and voting the other,) “at a time when almost every body is wavering (1).” The faults of the Government afterwards added again to the strength of the Jacobites; but of their new champions scarce any seem of note, besides Lord Cornbury, heir to the illustrious house of Clarendon, and member for the University of Oxford (2).

Abroad, the Pretender's party lost at nearly the same time the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Wharton, and Bishop Atterbury. Mar died at Aix-la-Chapelle in May, 1732, distrusted by all parties and regretted by none.—Wharton had been plunging deeper and deeper from one folly and extravagance to another. His first Duchess having died in England, he on a very short acquaintance, and contrary to the advice of all his friends, married Miss O'Byrne, the daughter of an exiled Irish Colonel, and maid of honour to the Queen of Spain, but he afterwards left the lady almost as suddenly as he had sought her. So completely did he renounce his country, that he joined the Spanish army as a volunteer, when engaged in the siege of Gibraltar. Next spring, we find him again in Italy, having an interview with the Chevalier at Parma, and writing him a letter in vindication of his conduct, and in reply to “some gentlemen, who brand my zeal with the name of madness, and adorn their own indolence with the pompous title of discretion, and who without your Majesty's gracious interposition will never

(1) Mr. Morice to Bishop Atterbury, June 24. 1728.

(2) See his letter to James, May 17, 1733. Appendix.

“comprehend that obedience is true loyalty (1)!” Yet in June 1728, only a month from the date of this letter, he writes from Lyons to Horace Walpole to protest that “since his present Majesty’s accession to the throne, I have absolutely refused to be concerned with the Pretender or any of his affairs. . . . I was forced to go to Italy to get out of Spain. . . . I am coming to Paris to put myself entirely under your Excellency’s protection, and hope that Sir Robert Walpole’s good nature will prompt him to save a family which his generosity induced him to spare (2).”

To Paris, accordingly, Wharton came, and there renewed the strongest assurances to the ambassador. “He told me,” says Horace Walpole, “that he had, indeed, lately passed through Parma, where the Pretender and several of his adherents were with him; but that he had industriously avoided to speak with any of them. . . . He then gave me, by fits, and in a rambling way that was entertaining enough, an account of several of his late motions and actions while he was in the Pretender’s service. . . . And he concluded with telling me, that he would go to his lodgings, which were in a garret, where the Duchess of Wharton was likewise with him, and would write me a letter, and immediately, without making the least stay or appearance here, retire to Rouen, in Normandy, and there expect the answer from England (3).”

This answer, however, was not favourable; the English ministers, who had already preferred against the Duke an indictment for high treason, refused to receive any application in his favour. At this intelligence Wharton immediately renewed his connection with the Jacobites, and his profession of the Roman Catholic religion (4). By this time he had squandered all his fortune in the wildest extravagance, and was compelled to solicit and accept a present of 2000*l.* from the Chevalier. His servants were still numerous, but ragged; his journeys frequent, but penurious (5). But without following him through all the mazes of his eccentric course, it may be sufficient to state that he returned to Spain, where he held a commission in the army, and was appointed to command a regiment at Lerida. His health, however, was now failing; he derived relief from some mineral waters in Catalonia, but soon again relapsed at a small village, where he lay, almost destitute, till some charitable fathers of the Bernardine convent of Poblet removed him to their house (6). There, after languishing a week longer, he died in

(1) Letter to James, May 21. 1728. Appendix.

(2) To Horace Walpole, June, 28. 1728. Coxe’s Walpole.

(3) Horace Walpole to the Duke of Newcastle, July 6. 1728.

(4) Duke of Newcastle to Horace Walpole, July 1, 1728. Horace Walpole to the Duke of Newcastle, August 14. 1728.

(5) At last when he travelled back to Spain his

whole stock was one shirt, one cravat, and 800 livres! (Memoirs of his Life, p. 45.

(6) Campo Raso, Comment. vol. i. p. 22., and Memoirs prefixed to Wharton’s Works (2 vols. 1722), written by a friendly but candid hand. Poblet is a magnificent monastery, called by Pons “The Escorial of the North.” In the church are the monuments of Jayme el Conquistador, Raymond Folch, and other Spanish worthies. A friend of

their habit, and was interred in their cemetery. And thus, on the last day of May, 1731, amongst strangers, and without one friend to close his eyes, this last heir to a most aspiring family and most princely fortune, ended his career of baleful wit, miserable frolic, and splendid infamy.

The Bishop of Rochester's mind was of a far different order. Had James been a man of talent, or able to appreciate talent in others, he would certainly have placed his whole confidence in that great and surpassing genius. But the same infatuation which had formerly wrought the dismissal of Bolingbroke soon undermined the credit of Atterbury. The faction of the Invernesses would bear no rival, even at such a distance as Paris, and looked upon every man of ability as a sort of natural enemy. Atterbury had too much spirit to endure ill treatment, or to yield services without receiving confidence. Only a few days before the death of George the First he wrote a letter to the Chevalier, in which he mentions his own loss of favour with admirable temper and dignity: —“It may, perhaps, be some ease to you, Sir, if I first speak of that matter myself, and assure you, as I now do, of my perfect readiness to retire from that share of business with which it has been hitherto thought not improper to intrust me. I apprehend that, as things have been managed, it will scarce be in my power, for the future, to do any thing considerable for your service, which I never hoped to do otherwise than by the countenance and encouragement you should be pleased, and should be known, to afford me. That has, in many respects, and by various degrees, been withdrawn. . . . What has given rise to this conduct I forbear to conjecture, or inquire. Doubtless your Majesty must have good and wise reasons. . . . I acquiesce in them, Sir, whatever they are; and, from my heart, wish that all the steps you take towards your great end may be well adjusted and proper, and then it matters not much who has, or who has not, the honour of serving you (1).”

Atterbury's resolution was for some time delayed by the sudden decease of George, and by the consequent journey of James to Lorraine and afterwards to Avignon. But when, in the spring of 1728, the Pretender found himself obliged again to cross the Alps, the Bishop threw aside his negotiations at Paris, and chose Montpellier as the place of his retirement. Meanwhile his friends in England took care to put the best gloss upon his journey, saying, that he found himself too much pressed at Paris by the Jacobites, and had withdrawn on purpose to escape their solicitations and avoid their intercourse (2). About this time also he seems to have formed a project to conciliate various parties in England in favour

mine, who travelled there not long since, describes Wharton's tomb as “a plain slab in an aisle, apart from the other monuments.”

(1) Bishop Atterbury to James, June 17. 1727. Appendix.

(2) See the Preface to his Correspondence, p. vii.

of the lineal heir—that the Jacobites should transfer their allegiance to the Pretender's eldest son—and that endeavours should be made to obtain for the young Prince a Protestant education—a scheme which strongly shows the objections to the personal character of James (1).

In the south of France, Atterbury continued for nearly two years, cheered by the hope of a visit from his beloved daughter, Mrs. Morice, who was languishing under a consumption, and for whom a milder climate was prescribed. But the Act of Attainder had made it penal for any British subject, even for Atterbury's own children, to visit him without the King's permission under the Sign Manual; this permission was always to be renewed, attended with high fees of office very burdensome to a narrow fortune, and thus it was not without humble solicitation, and large expense, that the dying daughter was enabled to rejoin her afflicted parent.

Mrs. Morice, whose strength was too far reduced for land-travelling, went by sea with her husband to Bordeaux in October 1729, and then ascended the Garonne towards Toulouse, where Atterbury had advanced to meet her. The letters of Mr. Morice, at this period, to the Bishop, are most affecting (2). We may trace in them what too many of us may have felt with those most dear to us—how affection struggles against reason—how tenaciously the mind clings to the lessening chances of recovery—how slowly hope darkens into fear, and fear into despair! We may observe Morice, at first so sanguine in his expectations from change of scene, ere long compelled to see, compelled to own, the rapid wastings of the inexorable disease, until at length, when all human means appear to fail, he can only implore the Prelate's prayers! The anxious desire of Mrs. Morice was to reach Toulouse, and to see her dear father once more before she died. That wish at least was vouchsafed to her. With great courage she ventured all night up the Garonne, and reached her father at Toulouse early in the morning. But let me, for the closing scene, borrow Atterbury's own touching words:—"She lived twenty hours afterwards, which time was "not lost on either side. For she had her senses to the very last "gasp, and exerted them to give me in those few hours greater "marks of duty and love than she had done in all her lifetime, "though she had never been wanting in either. The last words "she said to me were the kindest of all, a reflection on the goodness "of God, which had allowed us to meet once more before we "parted for ever. . . . She is gone, and I must follow her.

(1) See a Memoir by Atterbury, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 227. According to Horace Walpole this scheme was warmly promoted by Bolingbroke. (Memoirs, vol. i. p. 63.) In 1733, Sir Archer Croft declared in the House of Commons, that "the Pretender was the more to be feared be-

cause they did not know but that he was then "breeding his son a Protestant!" (Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 1185.)

(2) See these letters in Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 222—228. ed. 1789.

“ When I do, may my latter end be like hers ! It was my business
 “ to have taught her to die ; instead of it, she has taught me. I
 “ am not ashamed, and wish I may be able to learn that lesson
 “ from her. What I feel upon her loss is not to be expressed, but
 “ a reflection of the manner of it makes me some amends. . . .
 “ Yet at my age, under my infirmities, among utter strangers,
 “ how shall I find out proper reliefs and supports? I can have
 “ none but those with which reason and religion furnish me, and
 “ those I lay hold on and grasp as fast as I can. I hope that He
 “ who laid the burden upon me (for wise and good purposes, no
 “ doubt,) will enable me to bear it in like manner as I have borne
 “ others, with some degree of fortitude and firmness (1).”—Who,
 at such expressions, would not forget Atterbury’s failings ! Who
 might not observe how often it pleases Providence to call to itself
 the best and worthiest of its creatures in their youth, and leave
 only the less noble spirits to struggle on to age ! And how true
 and touching seems the remark of the great poet of our time in
 speaking of one of his early friends—“ He was such a good amiable
 “ being as rarely remains long in this world (2) !”

If, however, there be any relief in such afflictions, it is, next to
 religion, to be found in employment either of business or study,
 and to these Atterbury had recourse. The favour of Inverness
 was now upon the wane, and the Pretender beginning to repent
 his folly in alienating by far the ablest man of his party. He
 seems about this time to have solicited Atterbury to return to Pa-
 ris and resume the chief management of his affairs ; the Bishop
 complied, but from the state of European politics could render no
 signal service. He held several conferences at Paris with the Du-
 chess of Buckingham, an illegitimate daughter of James the Second
 by Mrs. Sedley, and now upon her way to Italy on a visit to her
 brother. This Dowager was one of the heads of the Jacobites in
 England—a sort of Tory Duchess of Marlborough, and a counter-
 poise to that illustrious relict—like her, full of pride and passion—
 but like her also, with enormous wealth to make herself respected.
 Atterbury used his influence over her to prevent the Duke of Ber-
 wick from giving a Roman Catholic preceptor to her son, the young
 Duke of Buckingham, and even quarrelled with Berwick when he
 found the latter insist on his design. He also induced the Duchess
 to exert herself in Italy, and complete the dismissal of the Inver-
 nesses from her brother’s service. But Inverness, still hoping to
 recover his lost ground, had recourse to an expedient that
 strongly marks his base and unscrupulous character : he abjured

(1) Atterbury to Pope, November 20., and to
 Mr. Dicoonson, December 4. 1729. Mr. Evans, who
 had attended Mr. and Mrs. Morice from England,
 concludes a letter to his own brother by, “ a
 “ reflection I made at the time, that it was well
 “ worth my while to have taken so long a voyage,

“ though I was immediately to return home again,
 “ and reap no other benefit from it than the
 “ seeing what passed in the last hours of Mrs. Mo-
 “ rice !” (Nov. 30. 1729.)

(2) Lord Byron of Mr. Edward Long. See Moore’s
 Life, vol. I. p. 36. 12mo ed.

the Protestant for the Roman Catholic religion. The very last letter which Atterbury ever wrote was to upbraid him with his apostasy—for so we may surely call a conversion in which conscience has no part (1).

The studies of Atterbury, at this period, were, in some measure forced upon him. Oldmixon, a virulent party writer of small reputation or merit, had made an attack upon him, Bishop Smalridge, and Dean Aldrich, as joint editors of Clarendon's History, accusing them of having altered and interpolated that noble work. Atterbury, as the only survivor of the three (2), thought it incumbent upon him to write in their vindication and his own. Accordingly, in 1731, he published a temperate and satisfactory answer. The last sentence contains a prophecy on Oldmixon, which has been verified by time:—"His attack on me, and on the dead, who " he thought might be insulted with equal safety, is no proof of a " generous and worthy mind; nor has he done any honour to his " own history by the fruitless pains he has taken to discredit that " of my Lord Clarendon, which, like the character of its author, " will gain strength by time, and be in the hands and esteem of all " men, when Mr. Oldmixon's unjust censure of it will not be re- " membered or not be regarded!"

A copy of this vindication was sent by Atterbury to the Prince whom he had so zealously and so unhappily served, and his letter, on that occasion, reverts almost involuntarily to his own desolate feelings:—"Whilst I was justifying the Earl of Clarendon's His- " tory, I own myself to have been tempted to say somewhat like- " wise in defence of his character and conduct, particularly as to " the aspersion with which he has been loaded, of advising King " Charles the Second to gain his enemies and neglect his friends. " A fatal advice! which he certainly never gave, though he smarted " under the effects of it, and was sacrificed by his master to please " those who were not afterwards found to be any great importance " to his service. . . . You may, perhaps, not have heard, Sir, " that what happened to my Lord Clarendon was the first instance " in the English story of banishing any person by an Act of Parlia- " ment, wherein a clause was expressly inserted to make all corre- " spondence with him penal, even to death. Permit me to add, " that I am the second instance of a subject so treated, and may, " perhaps, be the last, since even the inflictors of such cruelties " seem now to be weary and ashamed of them. Having the " honour to be like him in his sufferings, I wish I could have been

(1) Atterbury to Lord Inverness, February, 1732. See Appendix. Inverness, it appears, had the effrontery to observe:—"Since I see nothing is " likely to be done for the King at present, I " think it high time to take care of my soul!"

(2) Bishop Smalridge had died in 1719, and Dean Aldrich in 1710. The latter was a man not only of great learning, but of wit and jovial temper.

His five reasons for drinking are well known:—

" Good wine—a friend—or being dry,—
" Or lest we should be by and by,—
" Or any other good reason why!"

His Compendium of Logic is less agreeably re- membered by Oxoniaus.

“like him too in my services; but that has not been in my power. I can, indeed, die in exile, asserting the Royal cause as he did; but I see not what other way is now left me of contributing to the support of it (1)!” Such are almost the last expressions of this most eloquent man; his infirmities were daily growing upon him, and he died a few weeks afterwards, on the 15th of February, 1732, in the 70th year of his age. How grievous is the fate of exiles! How still more grievous the party division which turns their talents against their country!

Even in his shroud Atterbury was not allowed to rest. His body being brought to England to be buried in Westminster Abbey, the government gave orders to seize and search his coffin. There was a great public outcry against the Ministers on this occasion, as though their animosity sought to pursue him beyond the grave; and undoubtedly none but the strongest reasons could excuse it. They had received intelligence of some private papers of the Jacobites to be sent over by what seemed so safe and unsuspected a method of conveyance (2). This mystery they determined to unravel; and with the same view was Mr. Morice arrested and examined before the Privy Council.

Atterbury's own papers had been disposed of by his own care before his death. The most secret he had destroyed; for the others he had claimed protection as an Englishman from the English ambassador, Lord Waldegrave; that a seal might be placed upon them, and that they might be safely delivered to his executors. Lord Waldegrave declined this delicate commission, alleging that Atterbury was no longer entitled to any rights as a British subject (3). The Bishop next applied to the French government, but his death intervening, the papers were sent to the Scots College at Paris, and the seal of office affixed to them, Mr. Morice obtaining only such as related to family affairs.

It may be observed, that the Government of George seems always to have possessed great facilities in either openly seizing or privately perusing the Jacobite correspondence. We have already seen how large a web of machinations was laid bare at Atterbury's trial. In 1728, Mr. Lockhart found that some articles of his most private letters to the Pretender were well known at the British Court, where, fortunately for himself, he had a steady friend; and on his expressing his astonishment, he was answered—“What is proof against the money of Great Britain (4)?” The testimony

(1) Bishop Atterbury to James, November 12. 1731. Appendix.

(2) Coxe, in this Narrative, speaks of smuggled brocades, not of papers. But the letter from the Under Secretary of State, which he produces as his authority, speaks only of papers, and says nothing of brocades. Mem. of Walpole, vol. i. p. 173. vol. ii. p. 237. Boyer glides over this unpopular transaction (vol. xlii. p. 499.).

(3) Mr. Delafaye, Under Secretary of State, writes to Lord Waldegrave:—“As to your Excellency's getting the *scellé* put to his effects.... “If your own seal would have done, and that “you could by that means have had the finger of his papers, one would have done him “that favour.” (May 11. 1732.) A most delicate sense of honour!

(4) Lockhart's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 400.

of Lord Chesterfield, as Secretary of State, still more positive. "The rebels, who have fled to France and elsewhere, think only of their public acts of rebellion, believing that the Government is not aware of their secret cabals and conspiracies, whereas, on the contrary, it is fully informed of them. It sees two thirds of their letters; they betray one another; and I have often had the very same man's letters in my hand at once, some to try to make his peace at home, and others to the Pretender, to assure him that it was only a feigned reconciliation that they might be the better able to serve him. . . . The spirit of rebellion seems to be rooted in these people; their faith is a Punic faith; clemency does not touch them, and the oaths which they take to Government do not bind them (1)."

Nothing certainly tended more than these frequent disclosures of letters to cool the ardour of the High Tory gentlemen in England, or, at least, to redouble their caution. They came, at length, to prefer, in nearly all cases, verbal messages to any written communication, and prudently kept themselves in reserve for the landing of a foreign force. Without it, they always told James that they could only ruin themselves without assisting him. It was a frequent saying of Sir Robert Walpole—"If you see the Stuarts come again, they will begin by their lowest people; their chiefs will not appear till the end (2)."

CHAPTER XVI.

From the resignation of Lord Townshend the ascendancy of Walpole was absolute and uncontrolled, and confirmed by universal peace abroad, by growing prosperity at home. His system of negotiations was completed by the second treaty of Vienna, signed in March, 1731, and stipulating that the Emperor should abolish the Ostend Company, secure the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Tuscany, and admit the Spanish troops into the Italian fortresses. England, on her part, was to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, on the understanding that the young heiress should not be given in marriage to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, or of any other so powerful as to endanger the balance of power (3). At

(1) To Madame de——, August 16. 1780. Orig. in French. (Works, vol. iii. p. 207.)

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Sept. 27. 1745

(3) This treaty was greatly promoted by the influence of Prince Eugene. He said to Lord

Waldegrave:—"Je n'ai jamais eu si peu de plaisir de ma vie dans les apparences d'une guerre.. Il n'y a pas assez de sujet pour faire tuer un poulet!" Lord Waldegrave to Lord Townshend, March 18. 1730. Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii.

home, various measures of improvement and reform were introduced about this time. An excellent law was passed, that all proceedings of courts of justice should be in the English instead of the Latin language. "Our prayers," said the Duke of Argyle, "are in our native tongue, that they may be intelligible; and why should not the laws wherein our lives and properties are concerned be so, for the same reason (1)?" The charter of the East India Company was renewed on prudent and profitable terms (2). Some infamous malversation was detected in the Charitable Corporation, which had been formed for the relief of the industrious poor, by assisting them with small sums of money at legal interest; but which, under this colour, sometimes received ten per cent., and advanced large sums on goods bought on credit by fraudulent speculators. Penalties were now inflicted on the criminals, and Sir Robert Sutton, the late ambassador at Paris, being concerned in these practices, was expelled the House. An inquiry into the Public Prisons of London laid bare a frightful system of abuses; we find the Wardens conniving at the escape of rich prisoners, and subjecting the poor ones who could not pay heavy fines to every kind of insult, oppression, and want. The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons is full of such cases:—thus one Captain Mac Pheadris, having refused to pay some exorbitant fees, "had irons put upon his legs, which were too little, so that, in putting them on, his legs were like to have been broken. . . . He was dragged away to the dungeon, where he lay without a bed, loaded with irons, so close rivetted that they kept him in continual torture, and mortified his legs." From such usage the prisoner became lame and nearly blind; he had petitioned the Judges, who, as we are told, "after several meetings and a full hearing," agreed to reprimand the gaoler, but decided, with infinite wisdom, that "it being out of Term, they could not give the prisoner any relief or satisfaction (3)!" . . . Another Report declares that "the Committee saw in the women's sick ward many miserable objects lying, without beds, on the floor, perishing with extreme want; and in the men's sick ward yet much worse. . . . On the giving food to these poor wretches, (though it was done with the utmost caution, they being only allowed at first the smallest quantities, and that of liquid nourishment,) one died; the vessels of his stomach were so disordered and contracted, for want of use, that they were totally incapable of performing their office, and the unhappy creature perished about the time of digestion. Upon his body a coroner's

(1) Most of the lawyers were greatly opposed to the change. Lord Raymond, in order to throw difficulties in the way of it, said, that if the Bill passed the law must likewise be translated into Welsh, since many in Wales understood no English. (Parl. Hist. vol. III. p. 861.) The great

Yorkshire petition on this subject complained that "the number of attorneys is excessive." (Ib. p. 844.)

(2) See Coxe's Walpole, vol. I. p. 326.

(3) First Report of the Select Committee, presented February 25. 1729.

“ inquest sat, (a thing which, though required by law to be always
 “ done, hath, for many years been scandalously omitted in this
 “ gaol,) and the jury found that he died of want. Those who
 “ were not so far gone, on proper nourishment given them, re-
 “ covered, so that not above nine have died since the 25th of March
 “ last, the day the Committee first met there, though, before, a
 “ day seldom passed without a death; and upon the advancing of
 “ the Spring, not less than eight or ten usually died every twenty-
 “ four hours (1).”

Such atrocities in a civilised country must fill every mind with horror, and it is still more painful to reflect that for very many years, perhaps, they may have prevailed without redress. Thus, for example, in the session of 1725 I find a petition from poor insolvent debtors in the gaol of Liverpool, declaring themselves “ reduced to a starving condition, having only straw and water “ at the courtesy of the serjeant (2).” How often may not the cry of such unhappy men have gone forth and remained unheeded! How still more frequently may not their sufferings have been borne in constrained or despairing silence! The benevolent exertions of Howard, (whom that family, fertile though it be in honours, might be proud to claim as their kinsman,) and still more the gradual diffusion of compassionate and Christian principles, have, we may hope, utterly rooted out from amongst us any such flagrant abuses at the present time. Yet let us not imagine that there is no longer any tyranny to punish, any thralldom to relieve. Let not the Legislature be weary in well doing! Let them turn a merciful eye not merely to the dungeon but to the factory, not merely to the suffering and perhaps guilty man but to the helpless and certainly unoffending child! For my part, I firmly rely on the progressive march of humanity. In a barbarous age it was confined to men of our country. In a half barbarous age it was confined to men of our religion. Within our own times it extended only to men of our colour. But as time shall roll on, I am persuaded that it will not be limited even to our kind; that we shall feel how much the brute creation also is entitled to our sympathy and kindness, and that any needless or wanton suffering inflicted upon them will on every occasion arouse and be restrained by the public indignation and disgust.

From this digression I return to the government of Walpole. —To detect and punish the cruelties of gaolers was undoubtedly a merit in any administration, and a happy consequence of tranquillity and leisure. In financial affairs, also, there was much cause for congratulation; the taxes were light, the trade thriving; the debt at least not increasing, and the predictions of impending ruin rather less common than usual. In vain did Lord Bathurst de-

(1) Second Report, presented May 14, 1729.

(2) Commons' Journals, vol. xx. p. 375.

clare with awful forebodings, that “one of our best mathematicians has foretold, that if ever England raises above five millions in a year it will infallibly be exhausted in a few years (1)!” For once, the people did not mistake gloom and melancholy for depth of thought. In short, looking to the state of the country, every thing seemed prosperous,—looking to the state of the Cabinet, every thing submissive. So brilliant appeared the fortune of Walpole at this period; that an old Scotch Secretary of State in the time of William, named Johnston, having been on a visit to his native country, and seeing the state of affairs at his return, could not forbear from earnestly asking the Minister, “What can you have done, Sir, to God Almighty to make him so much your friend (2)?”

The two Secretaries of State were now Lord Harrington and the Duke of Newcastle—men of very opposite characters. Harrington, descended from a brother of the first Lord Chesterfield, was a man of very high diplomatic, but no Parliamentary, talents. He had skill and sagacity to unravel any negotiation, however perplexed, not readiness and eloquence to defend it. The observation of a Portuguese minister, that “Lord Harrington was not accustomed to interrupt those who spoke to him (3),” paints his even and observing temper. An historian, writing shortly after his death, declares that “such was his moderation, good sense, and integrity, that he was not considered as a party man, and had few or no personal enemies (4).” Nor, indeed, would it be easy, even from the party libels of the time, to glean any invective against him. By great sagacity he had overcome great obstacles in the way of his advancement. The King disliked him on account of a Memorial written in the hand of his elder brother, Charles Stanhope, presented to George the First by Lord Sunderland, and containing some bitter reflections on the Prince of Wales (5). On coming to the throne, George the Second absolutely refused to employ the elder brother, and could only, by degrees, be reconciled to the younger. Walpole had also a prejudice against him, on account of his family; for though Sir Robert had professed a thorough reconciliation and friendship with Lord Stanhope, in 1720, he never forgave any contest for power, and his biographer informs us, that “he had taken an aversion to the “very name.” Yet the prudence of Harrington surmounted all these difficulties, and raised him from a narrow fortune to the very highest offices.

(1) See Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 537.

(2) Mr. Delafaye to Lord Waldegrave, Oct. 15. 1731.

(3) Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 332. Thus also Campo Raso says of him:—“Tenia el talento de unir la mayor actividad con el exterior menos vivo.” (Coment. vol. i. p. 26.)

(4) Tindal's Hist. vol. iii. p. 50.

(5) Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 331. The memorial presented to George the First is distorted and exaggerated by Horace Walpole, *more suo*, until it becomes an incredible proposal of Lord Berkeley, First Lord of the Admiralty, to kidnap the Prince of Wales and convey him to America! Such fables were too common with this writer in his latter years. See Works, vol. iv. p. 289.

Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, born in 1694, was a nephew of the last Duke of Newcastle of the Holles family : he inherited its vast estates, of above 30,000*l.* a year, and the title was revived in his favour by George the First. From a very early age he applied to public life, and attached himself to the Whig party. When that party was rent asunder by the schism of 1717, Newcastle, though brother-in-law of Townshend, took the side of Stanhope, and accepted the office of Lord Chamberlain. But after the deaths of Stanhope and Sunderland he formed the closest connection with Townshend and the Walpoles. Through their influence he became Secretary of State in the place of Carteret ; and though no man was ever more jealous of power, he was yet content to be a mere cipher under the brother ministers, and to fold his wings until he could expand them for a bolder flight.

No man, as I have said, loved power more, and certainly no man held it longer. For nearly thirty years was he Secretary of State ; for nearly ten years First Lord of the Treasury. His character during that period has been, of course, observed and described by writers of every rank and every party ; and it may well astonish us to find how much they agree in their accounts. His peculiarities were so glaring and ridiculous, that the most careless glance could not mistake, nor the most bitter enmity exaggerate them. There could be no caricature where the original was always more laughable than the likeness. Ever in a hurry, yet seldom punctual, he seems, said Lord Wilmington, as if he had lost half an hour in the morning which he is running after the rest of the day without being able to overtake it ! He never walked, but constantly ran ; “ insomuch,” writes Chesterfield, “ that I have sometimes told him, that by his fleetness one should rather take him for the courier than the author of the letters.” His conversation was a sort of quick stammer—a strange mixture of slowness and rapidity ; and his ideas sometimes were in scarcely less confusion : —“ Annapolis ! Annapolis ! oh yes, Annapolis must be defended ; to be sure Annapolis should be defended ! Pray where is Annapolis (1) ? ” Extremely timorous, and moved to tears on even the slightest occasions, he abounded in childish caresses and in empty protestations. At his levees he accosted, hugged, clasped, and promised every body with a seeming cordiality so universal, that it failed to please any in particular. Fretful and peevish with his dependents ; always distrusting his friends, and always ready to betray them, he lived in a continual turmoil of harassing affairs, vexatious opposition, and burning jealousies. In business, Lord Hervey thus contrasts him to Sir Robert Walpole :—“ We have one minister that does every thing with the same seeming ease and tranquillity as if he was doing nothing ; we have another

(1) Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 344.

“that does nothing in the same hurry and agitation as if he did every thing (1)!”

Yet in some points Newcastle might bear a more favourable parallel with Walpole. He built no palace at Houghton. He formed no splendid collection of paintings. He won no fortune in the South Sea speculations. In noticing his decease, Lord Chesterfield gives him this high testimony :—“My old kinsman and contemporary is at last dead, and, for the first time, quiet. . . . After all the great offices which he had held for fifty years, he died 300,000*l.* poorer than he was when he came into them. A very unministerial proceeding (2)!”

Nor was disinterestedness the only merit of Newcastle. In private life, though a bundle of weaknesses, his character was excellent. He had very great parliamentary interest, both of his own and through his friends; and his brother, Henry Pelham, now Secretary at War, was rising into high reputation as a speaker and a statesman. Newcastle himself was useful and ready in debate; always prepared for an answer, and with the same quality which the French have ascribed to his countrymen in battle—he never knew when he was beat! The same confident fluency is displayed in his dispatches. But what chiefly maintained him in power was his court-craft, his indefatigable perseverance, his devoting every faculty of his mind to discover and attach himself to the winning side; and we might admire his skill and success in these respects, had he ever shown the least hesitation in emergencies to renounce or betray his friends. “His name,” said Sir Robert Walpole, “is Perfidy.”

The Opposition at this time was very weak in the House of Commons, and seemed still weaker from the slack attendance of its members. There appeared so little prospect of success, that the Tories, losing spirit, could seldom be induced to remain in town, or appear in full force on any question. In fact, even at the present day, it may be observed, that many gentlemen of fortune seem to have two great objects in life—the first, to become Members of Parliament at any cost or exertion; the second, to stay away from the House of Commons as often and as long as possible! In 1730 Newcastle writes, “We look upon the enemy to be quite demolished in the House of Commons (3).” They were, in truth, at a low ebb. They could not deny that the Ministers had been very successful in their foreign negotiations; and were reduced to argue that this advantage had accrued by chance, or might have been attained a shorter way. According to Pulteney, “It is something like a pilot, who, though he has a clear, a safe, and a straight passage for going into port, yet takes it in his head to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks and

(1) Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole, Oct. 21. 1735. Coxe's Walpole.

(2) To Colonel Irvine, November 21, 1768.

(3) To Lord Harrington, March 16. 1730.

“ shallows, and thereby loses a great many of the seamen, destroys
 “ a great deal of the tackle and rigging, and puts the owners to
 “ a vast expense ; however, at last, by chance, [he hits the port,
 “ and then triumphs in his good conduct.” According to Wyndham,
 “ We have been like a man in a room, who wants to get out,
 “ and though the door be open, and a clear way to it, yet he stalks
 “ round the room, breaks his shins over a stool, tumbles over a
 “ chair, and at last, rumbling over every thing in his way, by
 “ chance finds the door and gets out, after abundance of needless
 “ trouble and danger (1).”

In proportion, however, as the Opposition flagged in argument, they (as usual in such cases) increased in virulence. The Craftsman still continued his weekly attacks with unabated spirit and with growing effect. Other pamphlets also appeared from the same quarter, under the name of Caleb Danvers ; and one of these lashed the character of Lord Hervey with such asperity, that Hervey called on Pulteney to declare whether he was the author of the libel. After some altercation, Pulteney replied, that whether he were or not, he was ready to justify and stand by its truth : a duel ensued, and both combatants were slightly wounded (2). Hervey was a young man of considerable wit and ability, but most infirm health, insomuch that he found it necessary to live only on asses milk and biscuits. Once a week he indulged himself with an apple ; emetics he used daily (3). He attracted ridicule by the contrast between his pompous solemn manner and his puny effeminate appearance ; and still more unhappily for himself, he attacked Pope, who, in return, has sent down his name to posterity as a monster of profligacy, and a “ mere white curd of asses’ “ milk !”

Another pamphlet which Pulteney published in the same year, and in which he did not conceal his name, brought down upon him the full tide of ministerial resentment. He had disclosed some former private conversation between him and Walpole, in which Sir Robert had not spared the character of George the Second as Prince of Wales. However blamable this breach of confidence, Walpole ought not to have mixed the King in the quarrel ; but he now prevailed upon His Majesty to strike Pulteney’s name out of the list of Privy Councillors, and to order that the several Lords Lieutenant who had granted him commissions of the peace should revoke them (4). It should be observed also, that Pulteney’s breach of confidence was not without justification. For the libel which he was answering contained a like disclosure of other conversations between him and Walpole ; and as the former

(1) Speeches on the Address, January 13. 1732.
 (2) Mr. Thomas Pelham to Lord Waldegrave, January 28. 1731. Pulteney suspected Lord Hervey of having written a scurrilous pamphlet against him and Bolingbroke, called Sedition and Defa-

mation displayed. The real author was Sir William Yonge.

(3) See a note to Coxe’s Walpole, vol. i. p. 362.

(4) Tindal’s Hist. vol. viii. p. 101.

declares in his preliminary address, “ these passages of secret history, however, falsely stated and misrepresented, could come from nobody but yourself.”

The year 1733 was marked by two great financial measures of Walpole, the first certainly wrong, but ^{1733.} carried by large majorities; the latter as certainly just and wise, but repelled by the overpowering force of public indignation. The first was his proposal to take half a million from the Sinking Fund for the service of the current year. The Sinking Fund, established by Stanhope and Walpole himself in 1717, had been kept sacred during the whole reign of George the First. Since 1727, however, various encroachments had been made upon this surplus, and now in 1733, it received an open attack. It was truly urged by the Opposition, and especially by Sir John Barnard, member for London, a man of the greatest weight on all financial questions, that this precious fund ought never to be applied to any other purpose than that of discharging debts, except in the case of some extreme emergency; that to ease ourselves by loading our posterity is a poor, short-sighted expedient; “ and the author of such an expedient,” emphatically added Barnard, “ must expect the curses of posterity.”—“ The Right Honourable Gentleman,” said Pulteney, “ had once the vanity to call himself the Father of the Sinking Fund; but if Solomon’s judgment was right, he who is thus for splitting and dividing the child can never be deemed to be the real father.” But Walpole had a most irresistible argument for the country gentlemen: he declared that if his proposal were not carried, he must move for a land-tax of two shillings in the pound—and his proposal was carried by a majority of 110! His biographer and warm admirer admits, on this occasion, “ a dark speck in his financial administration (1).” For the example once set was too tempting not to follow. Next year 1,200,000*l.*, the whole produce of the fund was taken from it; in 1735 and 1736 it was mortgaged and alienated. Our debts were always augmented in moments of difficulty, never diminished in a period of peace, until the Sinking Fund was restored, in a different era and on a new foundation, by the genius and integrity of Pitt.

It may be observed, however, in justice to Walpole, that many persons in the reign of the two first Georges entertained an idea, however erroneously, that the public debt was a main pillar of the established Government by interesting so many persons in its support, and were therefore extremely unwilling to take any measures for an effectual reduction (2). This idea was founded on the fear of the Pretender, who it was thought if once enthroned in the kingdom would never acknowledge the debts contracted

¶ (1) Coxe’s Walpole, vol. I. p. 371. See also (2) Sinclair’s History of the Revenue, part II. Sinclair’s Public Revenue, part II. p. 108. p. 73.

sired, was likewise to be instituted, "which will tend," said the Minister, "to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the "market of the world." By the increase in the revenue the land-tax would no longer be required, and might be altogether abolished. "And this," added Walpole, "is the scheme which "has been represented in so dreadful and terrible a light—this "the monster, the many-headed monster, which was to devour "the people, and commit such ravages over the whole nation!"

Nor did Walpole fail in his speech to answer or anticipate objections, such as "the increase of revenue officers, which fear, interest; and affectation have magnified into a standing army. This "standing army, allowing the proposed addition to extend to tobacco and wine, will not, according to the estimate of the commissioners, exceed one hundred and twenty-six persons; that number, in addition to those already employed, will do all the duty. "In this computation, warehousekeepers are, of course, not included; their number must be uncertain for the satisfaction "and accommodation of the merchants. . . . Another objection is the power of officers to enter and search houses. This "objection could not possibly have any weight without the aid of "gross misconception or misrepresentation. All warehouses, cellars, shops, and rooms used for keeping, manufacturing, or "selling tobacco are to be entered at the Inland Office. But no "other part of the house is liable to be searched without a warrant and a constable, which warrant is not to be granted without an affidavit of the cause of suspicion. The practice of the "Customs is now stronger; they can enter with a writ of assistance "without any affidavit.—But why all this solicitude in behalf of "fraud (1)?"

The reader has now before him a slight but I hope a clear outline of the ministerial measure. It might not be free from all objections, especially in its details, but it seemed to afford at the very least, a solid foundation for subsequent improvements. To the country gentleman, the abolition of the land-tax was clearly a great boon. To the merchant importer, the turning of the duties on importation into duties on consumption was undoubtedly no less a benefit. The working classes were not at all concerned in the question, since the retailers already sold tobacco at the rate of duty paid. Thus, then, unless we are prepared to say, with Sir William Wyndham, that "in all countries, excises of every kind "are looked on as badges of slavery (2)," we shall rather join some of the ablest writers on finance of later times in approving the main principles and objects of Walpole's scheme (3).

(1) Walpole's speech is given at length, and from original notes, in Coxe's *Memoirs*, p. 385—399. It began at nearly one o'clock, and occupied two hours and a quarter. Mr. Delafaye to Earl Waldegrave, March 15. 1733.

(2) *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 1392.

(3) See especially Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. iii. p. 358, ed. 1784, and Sinclair's *History of the Revenue*, part iii. p. 23.

Far different was the language of the Opposition of the day. In answer to the complaint of previous misinterpretation, Sir John Barnard declared it "such a scheme as cannot, even by malice itself, be represented to be worse than it really is!" Pulteney assailed it with raillery. "It puts me in mind of Sir Ephraim Mammon in the Alchemist: he was gulled out of his money by fine promises; he was promised the philosopher's stone, by which he was to get mountains of gold, and every thing else he could desire, but all ended at last in some little charm for curing the itch!" The eloquence of Wyndham was more solemn: he thundered against corrupt motives and impending tyranny, and evoked the shades of Empson and Dudley, those two unworthy favourites of old time. "But what," he added, "was their fate? They had the misfortune to outlive their master, and his son, as soon as he came to the throne, took off both their heads!"—no obscure allusion to Frederick Prince of Wales, who was then present under the gallery.

On the other hand, Walpole was ably supported by Sir Philip Yorke the Attorney-General, who had already several times shone in debate, and was gradually rising into one of the greatest lawyers and statesmen that this country can boast. He had also the unexpected aid of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, a very indifferent speaker, and somewhat open to ridicule in his dress and deportment, but a man of the highest benevolence and probity. Pope has summed up his character as one "who never changed his principle or wig." In his opinions, he had that sort of wavering temper which is sometimes applauded as independence, sometimes censured as indecision, which inclined him alternately to each side, and which made his vote on any impending question utterly uncertain. In this case, he protested that he had come to the House undetermined, but been convinced by the powerful arguments of Walpole, and he accordingly rose to speak in favour of the scheme (1).

But whichever might be thought the most eloquent or the most reasonable, there could be no doubt which was the most popular side. During the debate, the doors were beset by immense multitudes, all clamorous against the new measure, and convened partly, perhaps, by the efforts of the Opposition (2), but still more by their own belief that some dreadful evil was designed them. To this concourse Sir Robert referred in his reply:—"Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit; it may be said they came hither as humble supplicants, but I know whom the law calls STURDY BEGGARS,"—a most unguarded expression! For

(1) Lord Harrington to Lord Essex, March 15. 1733. See Appendix.

(2) "To my certain knowledge some very odd methods were used to bring such multitudes hither: circular letters were wrote and sent by

"the headles in the most unprecedented manner... This I am certain of, because I have now one of those letters in my pocket." Walpole's Speech in reply.

though the Minister meant it only to denote their fierce and formidable clamours, yet it was ever afterwards flung in his teeth as though he had wished to insult the poverty of the people and debar their right of petition; and the phrase immediately became the war-whoop of the opponents to the bill.

At two o'clock in the morning, and after thirteen hours' debate, the House divided, and the numbers were found to be, for the measure 266, against it 205;—a victory, indeed, for the Minister, but a large and most alarming increase of the usual minority against him. As Sir Robert went out to his carriage some of the "sturdy beggars," highly exasperated, seized him by the cloak, and might have done him some injury, had not Mr. Pelham interposed (1).

Two days afterwards, on reporting the resolutions carried in Committee, the debate was resumed with fresh vigour on the part of the Opposition. Sir John Barnard made a most able practical speech; and Pulteney's was distinguished at least by the former quality. "It is well known," said he, "that every one of the public offices have already so many boroughs or corporations which they look on as their properties. There are some boroughs which may be called Treasury boroughs; there are others which may be called Admiralty boroughs; in short, it may be said that nearly all the towns upon the sea-coast are already seized on, and, in a manner, taken prisoners by the officers of the Crown; in most of them they have so great an influence, that none can be chosen members of Parliament but such as they are pleased to recommend. But as the customs are confined to our sea ports, as they cannot travel far from the coast, therefore this scheme seems to be contrived in order to extend the laws of excise, and thereby to extend the influence of the Crown over all the inland towns and corporations in England. This seems plainly to be the chief design of the scheme now under our consideration, and if it succeeds,—which God forbid it should,—I do not know but some of us may live to see some vain over-grown minister of state driving along the streets with six members of Parliament behind his coach!" However, in spite of such judicious predictions, the resolutions were carried by the same majority as before. Several other debates and divisions ensued before the Bill came to a second reading, but the majority in these gradually dwindled from sixty to sixteen.

During this time, also, the popular ferment grew higher and higher. Petitions poured in from several large towns. The Common Council of London indited the most violent of all, under the guidance of Alderman Barber, a noted Jacobite, who had been

(1) An erroneous version of this anecdote inquent writers have continued to follow the Coxe's Walpole is corrected by himself in his Memoirs of Pelham (vol. 1. p. 10.); yet several subse-

Swift's and Bolingbroke's printer, and was now Lord Mayor. The instructions sent by different places to their representatives to oppose the Bill were collected and published together, so as to stir and diffuse the flame; and the Minister was pelted by innumerable other pamphlets; various in talent but all equal in virulence. "The public," says a contemporary, "was so heated with papers and pamphlets, that matters rose next to a rebellion (1)." One or two extracts will show the prevailing spirit:—"I remember to have read of some state, wherein it was the custom that if any one should propose a new law, he must do it with a rope about his neck, that in case it were judged prejudicial, he might very fairly be hanged up for his pains without further ceremony. I heartily wish that law had been in force amongst us (2)." — Philip the Second having a mind to settle the inquisition in the seventeen Provinces, as he already had in Spain, gave Cardinal Granvelle orders to establish that bloody tribunal there; and the people making some resistance against it, the Cardinal was guilty of such inhuman oppression, that the people rose as one man under the command of the Prince of Orange and the Counts Egmont and Horn (to whom the Cardinal gave the name of *GUEUX* or Sturdy Beggars), and they, with seas of blood, infinite expense, and consummate bravery, drove out their oppressors (3)."

The storm thus thickening around the Court, Queen Caroline applied in great anxiety to Lord Scarborough, as to the King's personal friend, for his advice. His answer was, that the Bill must be relinquished. "I will answer for my regiment," he added, "against the Pretender, but not against the opposers of the Excise." Tears came into the Queen's eyes. "Then," said she, "we must drop it (4)!"

Sir Robert, on his part, summoned a meeting of his friends in the House of Commons, and requested their opinion. The general sentiment amongst them was still to persevere. It was urged that all taxes were obnoxious, and that there would be an end of supplies if mobs were to control the legislature in the manner of raising them. Sir Robert, having heard every one first, declared how conscious he felt of having meant well; but that, in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; and that he would never be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood (5)!

The voice of moderation having thus prevailed, when, on the 11th of April, there came on the order of the day for the second reading,

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 173.

(2) The Vintner and Tobaccoconist's Advocate, p. 1.

(3) A Word to the Freeholders and Burgesses of Great Britain, p. 49. On the Belgian confederates nick-named *Les Gueux*, see De Thou's History, lib. xi. vol. v. p. 216. ed. 1734.

(4) Maty's Life of Chesterfield, p. 126.

(5) This meeting is recorded by the respectable authority of Mr. White, M. P. for Retford, a supporter of Sir Robert. (Gore's Walpole, vol. i. p. 404.)

Walpole rose, and moved that it should be postponed for two months; and thus the whole measure was dropped. The Opposition were scarcely satisfied with this hard-won victory, and wished to reject the Bill with the brand of their aversion upon it; but the general sense of the House was so evidently against the suggestion, that it was not pressed, nor even openly proposed. Throughout England, however, the news was hailed with unmixed pleasure, and celebrated with national rejoicings. The Monument was illuminated in London; bonfires without number blazed through the country; the Minister was, in many places, burnt in effigy amidst loud acclamations of the mob; any of his friends that came in their way were roughly handled; and cockades were eagerly assumed with the inscription LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO EXCISE! But amidst the general joy their ill-humour against the Minister gradually evaporated, or rather spent itself by its own force: and their loyalty was immediately afterwards confirmed and quickened by the welcome intelligence that the Princess Anne, the King's eldest daughter, was espoused to the young prince of Orange. Walpole congratulated himself on this new turn given to the public feeling, and determined to run no risk of stirring it once more against him. It was indeed his favourite maxim at all times, as his son assures us, QUIETA NE MOVEAS—a maxim bad under a bad constitution, but surely good under a good one—a maxim to be shunned at Milan, to be followed in London. When, in the next session, Pulteney insinuated that the Excise scheme was to be revived, “As to the wicked scheme,” said Walpole, “as the honourable gentleman was pleased to call it, which he would persuade us is not yet laid aside, I, for my own part, can assure this House I am not so mad as ever again to engage in any thing that looks like an excise, though, in my own private opinion, I still think it was a scheme that would have tended very much to the interests of the nation (1).” It is very remarkable, however, that, after his time, some of the least popular clauses of the Excise scheme were enacted, and that there was no renewal of clamour, because there was a change of title. So little do things weigh with the multitude, and names so much!

The conduct of Walpole in relinquishing, and declaring that he would never renew, his scheme, though it has not escaped censure in present times (2), seems, on the contrary, highly deserving of praise. It is true that he might still possess the power to carry the Bill by a small majority. It is true that the Bill would have been beneficial to the people. But to strive for the people's good in the very face of all their wishes and opinions, is a policy doubtful even in despotic governments, but subversive of a free one.—

(1) Parl. Hist. vol. ix. p. 284. An attempt was made that year to celebrate the anniversary of the 11th of April, with fresh bonfires and rejoicings.

but it seems to have only succeeded in London. See Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xlvii. p. 437.
(2) Edinburgh Review, No. cxvii. p. 248.

The next step of Walpole, however, is by no means to be approved. It was to seek out, and to punish, the murmurs in his own Cabinet. Surely, having yielded to the repugnance of the nation, Walpole might have forgiven the repugnance of his colleagues. Was it just that vengeance should survive when the scheme itself had fallen; or was it wise to thrust out statesmen into opposition, with the popular words *NO EXCISE* inscribed upon their banners?

Walpole found that a knot of powerful peers, holding offices under the Crown, had, some whispered, others openly avowed, their dislike to the Excise Bill. At their head was Chesterfield, who had greatly risen in public favour, from the skill and success of his Dutch negotiations. "I shall come over," he writes from the Hague, "well prepared to suffer with patience, for I am now in the school of patience, here; and I find treating with about two hundred sovereigns of different tempers and professions, is as laborious as treating with one fine woman, who is at least of two hundred minds in one day. (1)!" On his return, Chesterfield became Lord Steward of the Household, and in Parliament, a frequent and admired speaker; but did not display all the patience he had promised, when he found the whole power of the state monopolised by Walpole. The excise scheme appeared a favourable opportunity for Chesterfield to claim a share. His three brothers in the House of Commons voted against the Bill, and some sarcasms upon it were ascribed to himself. Yet it was generally thought by the public that the Minister would scarcely choose to dismiss abruptly a man of so much ability and influence; and it was even doubted, whether the King's confidence in Walpole still stood unimpaired. The public was soon undeceived. The Bill had been dropped on the 11th of April; on the 13th, as Chesterfield was going up the great staircase of St. James's Palace, he was stopped by an attendant, and summoned home to surrender the White Staff (2). At the same time were dismissed, as being leagued with him, Lord Clinton, a Lord of the Bedchamber, the Earl of Burlington, Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and three northern peers, who enjoyed lucrative sinecures in Scotland, the Duke of Montrose and the Earls of Marchmont and Stair. Nay, more; the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, holding not offices in the Court, but commissions in the army, were deprived of their regiments on no other ground, and by an unjustifiable stretch of the prerogative. Thus was the King's unabated regard for his minister declared; but thus also was the Opposition most strongly reinforced, and a new and real grievance afforded for their declamations.

To stem in some degree the formidable attacks that might now be expected in the Upper House, Walpole determined to send

(1) Lord Chesterfield to Dr. Arbuthnot, April 20.
1731: from Dr. Hunter's MS. collection.

(2) *Maty's Life*, p. 126.

there two of his most eminent commoners, the Attorney and the Solicitor General. The former became Lord Chief Justice, with the title of Hardwicke; the latter, Lord Chancellor, with the title of Talbot. Of Lord Hardwicke I shall have often to speak hereafter. Lord Talbot is less conspicuous in history, only because he was more brief in life; he died, but three years afterwards, at the age of fifty-two; and, even amidst the strife of parties, was universally lamented as a man of the highest legal talents, of irrefragable character, and most winning gentleness of manners.

The year 1733 is also remarkable for the kindling of a new war, in which, however, England took no part, and of which, therefore, a slight sketch will be sufficient for my object. Augustus the Second, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, having died in February, his kingdom was immediately exposed to the usual evils of an elective monarchy. One faction called to the throne King Stanislaus, who had already reigned over them; another proclaimed Augustus, son of the late sovereign. The former was supported by his son-in-law the King of France, the other by the Emperor Charles and the Czarina Anne of Russia. Stanislaus set out from France in disguise, attended only by a single officer, and, after a series of romantic adventures, arrived safe at Warsaw, and was again hailed the rightful King of Poland. He had certainly on his side the greater part of the nation; but a large Russian army entering Lithuania carried every thing in favour of his rival. Stanislaus was compelled to shut himself up in Dantzick, where he was besieged by the Russian and Saxon troops, and from whence he made his escape with great difficulty, while the remainder of Poland submitting to the conqueror proclaimed King Augustus the Third.

The Emperor had been withheld from taking any direct part in this struggle by the remonstrances of Walpole; but, in spite of that prudent and pacific minister, he had so warmly, though indirectly, befriended Augustus, as to become involved in a war with France and Spain. The great object, at this time, of the Queen of Spain (the King I need scarcely mention) was to obtain a crown for her son, Don Carlos. This young Prince was already Duke of Parma, having been brought over two years before, with the convoy of an English fleet, on the death of the last Duke; and though his accession was for some months delayed by the Duchess-Dowager declaring herself to be pregnant, she at length admitted her hopes to be groundless, and Don Carlos was installed (1). It was now contemplated by the Spanish Court to seize this opportunity of making him King of Naples; and Fleury having been reluctantly drawn into hostilities, was induced to co-operate in this design.

Spain and France, thus agreed, obtained the assistance of the

(1) See Boyer's *Polit. State*, vol. xiii. pp. 321. and 407. The English Admiral was Sir Charles Wager.

King of Sardinia at the very time when he was promising it at the Court of Vienna; and their united armies, suddenly bursting into the Milanese, overran the whole of Austrian Lombardy (1). Charles, on his part, found himself almost without allies. Russia, having secured her own objects, quietly withdrew from the quarrel. Denmark was insignificant; Holland timorous; and the Government of England, embarrassed by the approach of a general election, was less than ever inclined to plunge into foreign war.

Under these circumstances, the campaign of 1734 1734. was any thing but favourable to Charles, either in Italy or on the Rhine. At the battle of La Crocetta, near Parma, the Austrians lost several thousand men, and their commander, Count Mercy. A Spanish army assembling in Tuscany, under the Duke de Montemar, marched with Don Carlos to the conquest of Naples, where the Imperial troops were too few for effectual resistance, and where the natives, as usual, remained passive in the struggle. Montemar entered the capital without striking a blow, and afterwards completed his conquest by a victory at Bitonto, near Bari. Capua and Gaeta, into which the best Austrian troops had thrown themselves, surrendered to him after a protracted siege; Sicily, almost without opposition, yielded to his arms, and the young Spanish Prince was crowned King, under the title of Charles the Third—the same with which, on the death of his brother, in 1759, he succeeded to the throne of Spain (2).

On the Rhine, the Emperor had called from his retirement, and placed at the head of his army, that great General who had already humbled France and rivalled Marlborough. But even the genius of Eugene could not cope with the superior numbers opposed to him. He saw the French, who had crossed the Rhine under Marshal Berwick, invest and attack Philipsburg without being able to make an effort for its relief. The siege was still proceeding when the French sustained a loss which the gain of no fortress could compensate,—their illustrious commander, Berwick, was killed by a cannon-ball. He died at nearly the same place, and in nearly the same manner, as the instructor in arms of his father, Marshal Turenne. "I have seen at a distance," says Montesquieu, "in the works of Plutarch, what great men were, in Marshal Berwick I have seen what they are!" He left, indeed, behind him a most brilliant military reputation; and though his whole career was passed in the service of France, yet may England, as his birth-place, and as his father's kingdom, claim some share of his glory as hers, and while she deplors the defeat of her arms at Almanza, proudly remember that the blow was struck by an English hand!

(1) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* vol. xii. p. 189.

(2) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* vol. xii. pp. 205—209. He adds, "Fra tanti soldati fatti prigionieri nei Regni di Napoli e Sicilia, la maggior parte de

"gli Italiani, ed anche molte Tedeschi si arrolarono nell'esercito Spagnuolo." See also Campo Basso Comment. vol. II. pp. 66—116.

Berwick was 64 at the period of his death. Of late years he had wholly detached himself from the interest of his brother, the Pretender, who, so early as 1715, had been weak enough to treat him with coldness and suspicion (1). In 1727 he had even hinted to the English ambassador his wish to visit England and pay his respects to George the First (2), but the visit was never paid. He always remained, however, the warm friend and patron of the exiled Irishmen who had entered the French service. Once it is recorded of him, that Louis the Fourteenth having become weary of his applications for his countrymen, and saying, "I have more trouble with that Irish Legion than with all the armies of France!"—"Sir," immediately answered Berwick, "your enemies make the very same complaint (3)."

Berwick was succeeded in his command by the Marquis d'Asfeld, the same who had formerly served under him in Spain, and had there displayed two qualities not often found together, great courage and great cruelty (4). Philipsburg was taken; but the skill of Eugene curbed any further progress, and he ended the campaign in safety at last, if not in triumph. This was almost his last military service: he died at Vienna two years afterwards, full of years and of honours (5).

The state of foreign affairs, and the "lamentable and calamitous situation," for so it was termed, "of England (6)," were a fruitful theme of declamation when Parliament again met in January, 1734. It was the last session under the Septennial Act, and the patriots accordingly strained every nerve to gain the popular favour, and to heap imputations upon their adversaries. From external policy they passed to events at home; they endeavoured to revive the clamours about the Excise, and justly inveighed against the tyrannical dismissal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their regiments. It was in allusion to them that Lord Morpeth, in committee on the Mutiny Bill, brought forward a motion "For the better securing the Constitution, to prevent officers, not above the rank of Colonels, from being removed unless by a Court Martial or by address of either House of Parliament." A warm debate ensued, maintained with especial ability by Pulteney. "We know," said he, "that the late King William was once applied to by some of his ministers to remove an officer of his army because of a vote he had given in this House, but that Prince, like a great and wise King, answered:—I suppose the gentleman voted according to what appeared to him just and right at that

(1) Appendix, vol. II.

(2) Horace Walpole to the Duke of Newcastle, April 28. 1727. Coxe's *Lord Walpole of Wollerton*.

(3) See Wolfe Tone's *Life*, vol. II. p. 874. American ed.

(4) San Philippe Coment, vol. I. p. 266.

(5) "When Prince Eugene's servants went into

"his chamber this morning, they found him extinguished in his bed like a taper. He dined yesterday as usual, and played cards at night with his ordinary company." Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, April 21. 1727. Coxe's *House of Austria*.

(6) Pulteney's Speech, January 23. 1734.

“time; I know him to be a brave and a good officer, and one who has always done his duty in his military capacity; I have nothing to do with his behaviour in Parliament, and therefore will not remove him from his command in the army.—His late Majesty was so sensible of the necessity of what is now proposed, that he approved of a bill of this very nature; the bill was actually drawn up, and was to have been brought into the other House by the late Earl Stanhope: this I know to be true. I do not know how it was prevented, but I know that his late Majesty cheerfully gave his consent for the bringing it into Parliament (1).” Yet neither the eloquence of Pulteney as a speaker, nor his authority as the late Secretary at War, could prevail; so far from it that he and his party thought it prudent to shrink from a division.

In the Lords, a Bill for the same object was brought in by Marlborough, a great name on all questions, but especially on such as this. The young Duke of Marlborough was the young Earl of Sunderland, and had succeeded to the former title; according to the limitations of the patent, in 1733, on the death of Marlborough's eldest daughter, Lady Godolphin (2). A most brilliant speech for the Bill was made by Chesterfield, and “the House,” says a contemporary, “was charmed but not convinced (3); for, on dividing, 49 Peers present voted for the motion, but 78 against it.” The Duke of Argyle, who supported the ministry, reflected with much severity on the Duke of Bolton's want of service; “it is true,” said he, “there have been two Lords removed, but only one soldier!”

But the great onset of the patriots was made for the repeal of the Septennial Act, a question well fitted to embarrass the Minister and please the mob, and which would have been urged at an earlier period had it not threatened a breach between the Tories and the Whigs in opposition. Many of the latter—Pulteney above all—had supported the Septennial Act in 1716, and were unwilling to incur the charge of inconsistency by now demanding its repeal. The skill of Bolingbroke, however, discerned the value of this topic as an engine of faction, and surmounted every obstacle to its immediate application: he urged Sir William Wyndham and his party to persist; he used his own influence and theirs over Pulteney, and at length prevailed. In fact, though Bolingbroke seldom comes before the historian at this period—though his persuasive voice was hushed in the senate—though his powerful pen was veiled beneath another name—yet his was the hand, mighty though unseen, which directed all the secret springs of Opposition, and

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. ix. p. 312.

(2) *Coxe's Marlborough*, vol. vi. p. 390. The young Duke afterwards joined the Court party at the persuasion of Henry Fox. “There,” said the

old Duchess Sarah, pointing to him one day, “is the fox that has stolen my goose!” *H. Walpole's Works*, vol. iv. p. 315.

(3) *Tindal's Hist.* vol. viii. p. 233.

moved the political puppets to his will. Nor let us condemn them. So eloquent his language, that it almost wins us to his sentiments. When he thunders against "all standing armies, for whatsoever purpose instituted, or in whatsoever habit clothed—those casuists in red who, having swords by their sides, are able at once to cut those Gordian knots which others must untie by degrees (1)"—who would still remember the necessity of national defence? Or who would suspect the many frailties of one who declares "no life should admit the abuse of pleasures; the least are consistent with a constant discharge of our public duty, the greatest arise from it (2)."

The attack on the Septennial Act took place on the 13th of March, being moved by Mr. Bromley, son of the Secretary of State under Queen Anne, and seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn. The Whigs, in general, shrunk from speaking on this question, and even Pulteney was short and embarrassed. But the harangue of Wyndham was applauded, and not undeservedly, as a masterpiece of eloquence and energy, and could only be rivalled by the splendid reply of Walpole which concluded the debate. I shall not weary the reader with any quotation of arguments which he may still so often hear re-echoed from the hustings or the House; I shall merely observe, that a large minority (184 against 247) supported the repeal of the act, and that Walpole, stung by the many taunts and insinuations thrown out against him, retorted in his speech with infinite spirit and readiness; and denounced Bolingbroke, in no very covert terms, as the real head of the faction leagued against him. "When gentlemen talk so much of wicked ministers—do—mineering ministers—ministers pluming themselves in defiance—ministers abandoned by all sense of virtue or honour—other gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal right, and I think more justly, speak of anti-ministers and mock-patriots, who never had either virtue or honour, and are actuated only by motives of envy and resentment. . . . Let me, too, suppose an anti-minister who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs, and therefore christening every other gentleman who has the honour to be employed by the name of Blunderer! Suppose this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his party some persons really of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes; and others of desperate views, arising from disappointed and malicious hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect to their political behaviour, moved by him, and by him solely, all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into

(1) Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England, Letter 8. (2) On the Spirit of Patriotism.

“ their mouths, and a spitting out that venom which he has in-
 “ fused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really
 “ liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and
 “ hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this anti-
 “ minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be,
 “ and where he could not have been but by the effect of too
 “ much goodness and mercy, yet endeavouring, with all his might
 “ and all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy
 “ flowed. In that country, suppose him continually contracting
 “ friendships and familiarities with the ambassadors of those Princes
 “ who, at the time, happen to be most at enmity with his own;
 “ and if, at any time, it should happen to be for the interest of
 “ any of those foreign ministers to have a secret revealed to them,
 “ which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, sup-
 “ pose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering,
 “ I will get it you; tell me but what you want, I will endeavour
 “ to procure it for you; upon this he puts a speech or two in
 “ the mouth of some of his creatures, or new converts, and
 “ what he wants is moved for in Parliament. . . . Let us farther
 “ suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and at every Court
 “ where he was thinking himself the greatest minister, and
 “ making it his trade to reveal the secrets of every Court where
 “ he had before been, void of all faith or honour, and betraying
 “ every master he ever served!”—How must Paltenev and
 Wyndham have quailed before this terrible invective! How must
 it have wrung the haughty soul of St. John!

These Parliamentary skirmishes were the precursors of the
 great Electoral battle. It was fought, in little more than a month
 afterwards, with the utmost acrimony on both sides. Sir Robert
 himself made great exertions, and is said, on very good autho-
 rity (his friend Mr. Etough's), to have spent no less than 60,000*l.*
 from his private fortune, which by this time had far outgrown
 its original bounds of 2000*l.* a year. Still more active, if pos-
 sible, were the Opposition; they felt sanguine of a majority in
 their favour, while Walpole, on the other hand, expected his
 former numbers. Neither party succeeded altogether to their
 wish; a majority was obtained for the Minister, but by no means
 so large as at the last election. He still maintained his popula-
 rity in many places, his influence in many others; but the tide
 was every where upon the ebb, and in several counties flowed
 against him. The Excise scheme still rankled in many minds;
 the standing army, or the Septennial Act, served likewise for a
 popular cry; and the peace of England, while all was war upon
 the Continent, instead of being hailed with praise, was branded
 as “tame tranquillity;” as an infamous dereliction of our old allies.
 In Scotland, Walpole's chief manager, Lord Isla, had become dis-
 liked, and several, even of the Whigs, joined in a complaint of

undue influence in the election of the Sixteen Peers. "On the whole," writes Newcastle, "our Parliament is, I think, a good one; but by no means such a one as the Queen and Sir Robert imagine. It will require great care, attention, and management, to set out right, and to keep people in good humour (1)."

1735. Yet when the new parliament met, in January, 1735, it appeared that the majority, though smaller, was quite as sure and steady as before; and the Opposition, after a few trials, lost hope and courage, and for a while again flagged in their exertions. The chief sign of their despondency, at this period, was the resolution of Bolingbroke to withdraw from England—a resolution which Mr. Coxe, without any proof, and, as I think, without any probability, ascribes to the philippic of Walpole (2). The speech of the Minister, he it observed, was delivered a year before the departure of his rival. But the fiery and restless spirit of St. John had long pined at playing an inferior part—at being shut out from the great Parliamentary arena—at merely writing where he should have spoken, and advising what he ought to have achieved. Till lately he had been buoyed up with visions of victory, and was willing to labour and to bear; but now the result of the general election dashed his hopes from the people, while the retirement of Lady Suffolk, at nearly the same moment, destroyed his expectations from the Court. Under these circumstances, veiling his mortification under the name of philosophy, he sought the delicious retreat of Chanteloup, in Touraine (3), and the enjoyment of literary leisure. "My part is over," said he, "and he who remains on the stage after his part is over deserves to be hissed off. . . . I thought it my duty not to decline the service of my party till the party itself either succeeded or despaired of success. It is a satisfaction to me, that I have fulfilled this duty, and had my share in the last struggle that will be made, perhaps, to preserve a Constitution which is almost destroyed. . . . I fear nothing from those I have opposed; I ask nothing from those I have served (4)."

Yet although the motives I have mentioned for Bolingbroke's departure seem fully sufficient to account for it, there is reason to suspect that they were not the only ones. We have vague hints of some disagreement between him and Pulteney, who, it is said, advised him to withdraw for the good of their party. It is not improbable that the cabals with foreign ministers, in which Bo-

(1) Duke of Newcastle to Horace Walpole, May 24, 1734.

(2) *Memoirs*, p. 426.

(3) Chanteloup was built by Aubigny, the favourite of Princess Orsini, under her directions, and with a view to her future residence. (St. Simon, *Mém.* vol. x, p. 97. ed. 1829.) Delille calls it in *Les Jardins*,

"Chanteloup, fier encor de l'exil de son maître!"

which might have been applied to Bolingbroke more justly than to Choiseul.—Bolingbroke had also another smaller *Château* near Fontainebleau, of which a most spirited description is given by the accomplished and high-minded author of *Tremaine*. (*De Vere*, vol. lii. p. 188—206.)

(4) To Sir William Wyndham, November 29, 1735, January 5, and February 20, 1736.

lingbroke had engaged, and to which Walpole had alluded, may have been pushed so far as, at length, to disgust the Whigs in opposition, and turn them from their plotting leader. A letter, soon afterwards, from Swift to Pope, might have thrown great light on these suspicions; but it has been suppressed in the correspondence, and is only known to us by Pope's reply (1). Bolingbroke himself, in a letter of 1739, alludes to some persons in opposition, who "think my name, and, much more, my presence, in England, when I am there, does them mischief (2)." Writing to the same person, seven years later, he not very consistently indulges in an empty boast, that he did not leave England till his friends had some schemes in contemplation in which he would not join (3).

It may, perhaps, have some bearing to this subject, that we find Pulteney about the same time, or soon afterwards, much depressed in spirits, and seeming to make advances to the Walpoles. The day before the House rose, some remarkable civilities passed between him and Sir Robert; and proceeding on a journey to the Hague, he sent a message to Horace, who, in consequence, came to see him, and was very cordially received. "I endeavour-
"ed," says Horace, "to be easy and cheerful, and to make
"him so; but his constant complaints was lowness of spirits, and,
"in my opinion, he is rather dead-hearted than sick in body;
"and, in other respects, had a stranger come into the room, he
"would have thought we had never been otherwise than good
"friends (4)." Be this as it may, the Parliamentary warfare between them was certainly waged as fiercely as ever in the ensuing sessions.

CHAPTER XVII.

While such was the tranquillity in England, the hostilities abroad were dwindling into negotiations. The Emperor, chagrined at his losses, and foreseeing only fresh disasters should he continue to stand alone, made every effort to draw the Dutch and the English into his quarrel. He alleged positive engagements; he pleaded for the balance of power; entreaties, remonstrances, and threats were all tried in turn; he even menaced, unless he received some succours, to withdraw his troops from the Nether-

(1) Pope to Swift, August 17. 1736. The close connection of Bolingbroke and the other opposition chiefs at this time with Frederick Prince of Wales, and their great hopes from him, seem incompatible with any Jacobite design.

(2) Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 179.

(3) Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 380. See also some acute observations in the Quarterly Review, No. cviii. p. 386.

(4) Sir R. Walpole to Horace, May 25. Horace to Sir Robert, June 10. 1736. Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii.

lands, and cede that country to the French. It may be observed, that even so early as 1714, Prince Eugene declared to Stanhope that Austria looked upon the Netherlands as only a useless drain, and accepted them rather for the sake of her allies than for her own (1): but, in fact, during the whole of that century, these provinces were a constant source of uneasiness, vexation, and embarrassment to the Maritime Powers. Lord Chesterfield was, I believe, the first statesman who formed the plan to revive, as he termed it, the Duchy of Burgundy; that is, to unite Holland and Belgium, so as to construct a powerful and independent barrier against France. To this idea he alludes in one of his private letters, just after resigning the Seals (2). It has since been carried into execution, under very favourable auspices, by the Congress of Vienna. Yet, above a century before, the genius of Marlborough could discern and declare the fatal obstacle which has lately marred and defeated that promising measure; and he writes to Lord Godolphin, from Flanders: "Not only the towns, but the people, of this country hate the Dutch (3)."

Another hope of the Emperor was founded, as in 1726, on divisions in England. He knew that the King himself, and a section of the Cabinet, headed by Harrington, were inclined to grant him assistance, though not desiring, or not daring, to oppose the ascendancy of Walpole; he expected to induce this party to join the Opposition, and thus to overthrow the all-powerful Prime Minister. For this negotiation he availed himself of one Abbé Strickland, an unprincipled adventurer, who had intrigued for the Jacobites and against the Jacobites, and been alternately a spy of the Pretender, and of the English Government. In some of his juggling he had caught for himself the Bishoprick of Namur; and he had even some hopes of attaining a Cardinal's hat; but in this new enterprise he reaped neither profit nor fame (4). Arriving in England under a false name, he had, indeed, a secret conference with Lord Harrington, and a gracious reception from the King and Queen; but no sooner had his real objects been developed, than Walpole stood forth, and scattered these cabals with a word. At his desire the intriguing emissary was civilly dismissed from England, and Queen Caroline wrote to the Empress, contradicting the erroneous reports of Strickland, and positively declaring, that England would not engage in the war.

Thus disappointed in all his flattering hopes, the Emperor at length, however reluctantly, consented to treat of peace under the mediation of the Maritime Powers. A plan of pacification was accordingly framed and proffered, with an armistice, to the seve-

(1) Appendix, vol. ii.

(2) To Mr. Dayrolles, September 23. 1748.

(3) To Lord Godolphin, December 6. 1708.

(4) Mr. Robinson, the English minister at Vienna, asked Count Tarouca how the Emperor could

possibly send such a person with his commission, but the Count answered, "Que voulez-vous que j'en fasse? Quand on est prêt à se noyer on s'attache à tout!" Mr. Robinson to H. Walpole, November 18. 1734. (Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii.)

ral sovereigns at war. There being very skilful diplomatists on both sides, not a single point or punctilio was omitted, and the negotiation was spun out to an almost interminable length with form and cavils. Yet the principal articles were early agreed upon; and, when finally matured into a treaty, were as follows:—Naples and Sicily were to remain to Don Carlos; on the other hand, he was to resign the possession of Parma, and the reversion to Tuscany. Augustus was acknowledged King of Poland. Stanislaus was to retain the Royal title, and to be put in immediate possession of the Duchy of Lorraine, which, after his decease, should revolve to the Crown of France. It was to Francis, the young Duke of Lorraine, that the Emperor was giving in marriage his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, the heiress of his states under the Pragmatic Sanction; yet it was not easy to persuade this young Prince to surrender his paternal dominions, the equivalent stipulated for them being only eventual and contingent, namely, the succession to Tuscany in the place of Don Carlos. However, the authority of the Emperor (1) and a pension from France overcame his unwillingness, and his consent became cordial before the final signatures by the death of the old Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medicis, in 1737, when Francis was immediately admitted as his heir. France and Sardinia gave their guarantee to the Pragmatic Sanction, and the latter obtained Navarra, Tortona, and other neighbouring districts. Thus was the war concluded, and thus did France obtain, from the pacific Fleury, the province of Lorraine; a richer prize than had ever crowned the aspiring genius of Richelieu, or the crafty refinements of Mazarin. England should, perhaps, have viewed with jealousy this aggrandisement of her powerful neighbour, yet, unless she had herself embarked in war, could scarcely have prevented it; and so favourable were the terms of the preliminaries generally thought, that even Bolingbroke is said to have exclaimed, “If the English ministers had any hand in it, they are wiser than I thought them; and if not, they are luckier than they deserve to be (2).”

In another foreign quarrel, at the same time, England was more actively concerned. The servants of the Portuguese Minister at Madrid being accused of having rescued a criminal from justice, were themselves arrested and carried to prison. Complaints were made on both sides; redress was given on neither. The diplomatists all took fire at this insult on one of their own order, and were eager to prosecute this important quarrel, both by memorials and by armies, to the last drop of their own ink and of others' blood. One of them, Senhor Azevedo, hastened over to England to claim

(1) The favourite minister Bartenstein told the Duke plainly before the marriage—“*Monsieur, point de senson, point d'Archiduchesse!*” (Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 262.)

(2) Lord Hervey to M. Walpole, January 3. 1736. (Coxe's Walpole.)

succour for the King his master, under the Treaty of Alliance, and a war seemed fixed and unavoidable. But the prudence of Walpole warded off the blow; he sent a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line to the Tagus, under Sir John Norris, but gave him orders to act only defensively, and to urge moderation and forbearance on the Cabinet of Lisbon. At the same time, the sailing of "so terrible a fleet," as Cardinal Fleury called it (1), produced a strong effect, both at Paris and Madrid; the French exerted all their influence in Spain to prevent a collision; and at length, under the pacific mediation of Fleury and Walpole, harmony was restored between the two Peninsular Courts.

1736. In all these foreign negotiations the English ministers found in Fleury the same judicious and conciliatory, though sometimes a little timid, temper. They were also much assisted by the close friendship of Baron Gedda, the Swedish ambassador at Paris. But the case was far otherwise with M. de Chauvelin, the French Secretary of state, who laboured on every occasion to thwart the English councils, and to exasperate the Cardinal against them. He seems to have inherited the old maxims of Louis the Fourteenth; and was even engaged in a secret correspondence with the Pretender, as his own carelessness proved; for having, on one occasion, some papers to put into the hands of the English ambassador, he added, by mistake, one of James's letters to himself, which Lord Waldegrave immediately despatched by a messenger to England (2). Walpole had endeavoured to treat him in what might then perhaps, be termed a Parliamentary manner. He had instructed Lord Waldegrave to seize any favourable opportunity to offer him a bribe—a good round sum, he said,—“a compliment on the new year”—and not less than 5000*l.* or 10,000*l.*, so as to secure his future friendship (3). But it appears that Chauvelin, though he showed some inclination to this disgraceful proposal, did not finally close with it, and became more than ever a declared enemy of England. Under these circumstances, Walpole availed himself of a secret correspondence which he had opened with Cardinal Fleury, to point out the animosity of Chauvelin, and its bad effects on the harmony between the two countries; and it was probably, in a great measure, to his remonstrances that we may ascribe the dismissal of Chauvelin, which occurred a few months afterwards.

In England, the session of 1736 is chiefly remarkable for an attempt in behalf of the Dissenters, and for the passing of the Gin and Mortmain Acts.—I have already related the endeavours of Stanhope, in 1719, to include the Test Act in his measure of relief to the Protestant Dissenters, and how long he had struggled against the suggestion of “a more favourable

(1) Earl Waldegrave to the Duke of Newcastle, June 1. 1736. (Coxe's Walpole.)

(2) Earl Waldegrave to the Duke of Newcastle, October 11. 1736.

(3) Sir Robert Walpole to Earl Waldegrave, January 1. 1736. He shrewdly observes, that

5000*l.* makes a great number of French crowns.

opportunity (1).” This more favourable opportunity had ever since been held out to them by Walpole, in appealing to their patience; but, like the horizon, it seemed to recede as they advanced. They had given the Minister their zealous support; in the elections of 1734, for example, they had issued several Declarations, pledging themselves to vote for his candidates (2); and they had done so the more ostentatiously, as hoping to establish a claim to his future favour. Yet they still found Sir Robert immovable. Still did he reply to their deputations, that the time was not yet come. “You have so repeatedly returned us this answer,” at last said Dr. Chandler, “that I trust you will give me leave to ask you when the time will come?” —“If you require a specific answer,” said the Minister, provoked into sudden frankness, “I will give it you in one word—Never (3)!” Thus disappointed in the government, the Dissenters began to court the Opposition, and, in 1736, induced Mr. Plumer to bring forward a motion for the repeal of the obnoxious statute. Sir Robert was much embarrassed, wishing neither to forfeit their support nor that of the Church; but at length, after a wavering and evasive speech, voted against them, in a majority of 251 against 123. For this conduct, Walpole has been severely censured; yet in justice to him, we should, perhaps, reflect, whether his ministerial power, great as it was, really sufficed to overthrow what most of the Churchmen of the time, however erroneously, respected as one of their principal bulwarks; whether, if not, it could be his duty to plunge, at all hazards, into a hopeless contest; and whether the Dissenters would not have acted far better, both for themselves and for their friends, had they shunned a struggle which afforded no chances of success, and which only retarded the march of their cause in popular opinion.

As a counterpoise to his vote on this occasion, Walpole gave his support to a Bill for the relief of Quakers in the recovery of tithes. The object was to render the proceedings against them less long and costly, and the Bill passed the House of Commons; but however well designed, it appears to have been loosely and hastily drawn. In the other House, both the Chancellor and Chief Justice (Lords Talbot and Hardwicke) pointed out its defects and opposed it, and under their guidance was the measure rejected. Walpole was much irritated at this failure, even on personal grounds, the Quakers in Norfolk being very numerous, and having always assisted him in his elections. His resentment was levelled especially against Gibson, Bishop of London, who had prevailed upon his Right Reverend brethren to declare against the measure, and who, in consequence, lost what he had hitherto enjoyed—the chief

(1) See *supra*, p. 217.

(2) Boyer's Political State, vol. xiv. pp. 332, and 436.

(3) See Coxe's Life, p. 608. No date is assigned to this anecdote; but it must have happened either in 1736 or 1739.

confidence of the minister in all ecclesiastical affairs (1). Gibson was a prelate of eminent learning and talents, and so well known to be intended for the Primacy, on the next occasion, that Whiston used to call him the heir apparent to the See of Canterbury. But on the death of Archbishop Wake, the minister had not forgotten or forgiven the opposition to the Quaker's Tithes Bill, and the vacant dignity was conferred on Bishop Potter.

The Mortmain Act was a measure of which the necessity has often been proved in Roman Catholic countries, and seldom denied in ours: yet within the last hundred years we have seen but little cause to dread the excess of posthumous charity; and perhaps it might be said, that whenever the state of public feeling allows a mortmain law to be enacted, the same state of public feeling renders it unnecessary (2).

The Gin Act was not a ministerial measure, but proceeded from the benevolent views of Sir Joseph Jekyll. Drunkenness, a vice which seems to strike deeper root than any other in uneducated minds, had greatly augmented, especially in London, during the late years of peace and prosperity. In this session, the justices of Middlesex thought it their duty to present a joint petition to the House of Commons on this subject, stating that the evil had grown to an alarming pitch; "that the constant and excessive use of Geneva had already destroyed thousands of His Majesty's subjects, and rendered great numbers of others unfit for useful labour and service, debauching at the same time their morals, and driving them into all manner of vice and wickedness; and that this pernicious liquor was then sold, not only by the distillers and Geneva shops, but by many other persons of inferior trades, by which means, journeymen, apprentices, and servants, were drawn in to taste, and by degrees to like, approve, and immoderately to drink thereof." This petition having first been referred to a Committee, Sir Joseph Jekyll proposed to lay on gin, and other spirituous liquors, a tax so heavy as to amount to a prohibition for the lower classes, namely, a duty of 20s. on each gallon sold by retail, and 50*l.* yearly for a licence to every retailer. Neither Pulteney nor Walpole approved of the scheme; the former complained of the invidious distinction between the poor and rich: the latter foresaw that such exorbitant duties had a tendency to defeat themselves, and to encourage smuggling and fraud. Sir Robert made, however, no opposition to the passing of the Bill, merely predicting that his successors would be obliged to modify it, and providing that the Civil List should not lose in consequence. It was to the Civil List that the small duties hitherto levied had belonged, to the amount of above 70,000*l.* yearly; and this sum Sir Robert proposed

(1) According to Mr. Knough, Sir Robert was once reproached in conversation with giving Gibson the authority of a Pope. "And a very good" "Pope he is!" said Walpole. (Coxe's Life, 479.)

(2) See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. II. p. 275. ed. 1835.

should be granted to the King in compensation of the loss from the greatly reduced consumption of spirituous liquors. This clause, just and reasonable as it seems, was not carried without much altercation and difficulty in the House, or great clamour out of doors. To the lower classes the measure was already most unwelcome: and it was now exclaimed, that Walpole was ready to sell the comfort of the people to the highest bidder, and indifferent who might suffer so that the Revenue did not!

This busy Session having closed in May, the King proceeded to visit his German dominions, as he had likewise done in the preceding year, taking with him Horace Walpole as a deputy Secretary of State, and leaving the Queen as Regent in England. During his absence, the tranquillity which England had now enjoyed for so many years was slightly ruffled. A great number of poor Irish having come over in the summer, not merely worked at the hay and corn harvest as was usual, but engaged themselves at the Spital-fields' looms at two thirds of the ordinary wages. The weavers, thus thrown out of employment, raised riots on several nights, and attacked a public house where the Irish resorted (1). Similar riots seemed impending about Michaelmas Day, when the new Gin Act was to come into operation. Some Jacobites hoped to avail themselves of the popular ferment for their own ends, and had planned that gin and strong waters should for two evenings be given without payment to the mob, and the latter thus spurred to any violence which their leaders might direct. Circular letters had been sent, and the watchword fixed—"Sir Robert and Sir Joseph (2)." But the prudence of Walpole on both these occasions happily checked these riots without bloodshed or injury or danger.

A riot at Edinburgh (the celebrated Porteous Mob) was more singular in its origin and more serious in its consequences. Some years back, the real events might have excited interest: but the wand of an Enchanter is now waved over us; we feel the spell of the greatest writer that the world has yet seen in one department, or Scotland yet produced in any. How dull and lifeless will not the true facts appear when no longer embellished by the touching sorrows of Effie or the heroic virtue of Jeanie Deans! But let me proceed with the cold reality. Two noted smugglers from Fife, named Wilson and Roberston, being condemned to death for a robbery, were imprisoned together in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, when they devised a plan of escape. They procured a file, with which they rid themselves of their irons and cut through the window bar; but Wilson insisted on making the first attempt, and being a man of unwieldy size, though of powerful strength, he stuck fast in the gap, and could neither advance nor retire. Next morning the

(1) Sir Robert Walpole to Horace Walpole, July 29. 1736.

(2) Sir Robert Walpole to H. Walpole, September 30. 1736.

prisoners were, of course, discovered and secured. Wilson, in whom an irregular life had not extinguished a noble nature, now lamented not so much his own fate as his comrade's. He felt, with bitter self-reproach, that had he allowed Robertson to go first, the other being slender and active would certainly have passed through, and he resolved at all hazards to atone for the injury he had done him. It was then usual, it seems, for the prisoners at Edinburgh to be led out with a strong guard to attend Divine Service in a church adjoining to the gaol. There, accordingly, Wilson and Robertson were brought in the ensuing week under the custody of four soldiers. The service having concluded, Wilson suddenly sprang forward, and seized a soldier with each hand, and, calling to Robertson to run for his life, secured a third by grappling his collar with his teeth. Robertson easily shook off the remaining soldier, and, leaping over the pews, made his escape, and was never again seen in Edinburgh.

A feat so daring in its design and so generous in its motive, attracted, of course, no small degree of public interest. Wilson was universally praised and pitied; and this very pity, perhaps, gave rise to a vague rumour that an attempt would be made for his own rescue, on the day fixed for his execution, the 14th of April. The magistrates, thus forewarned, took every precaution for security, stationing a large detachment of the City Guard under the command of their captain John Porteous, a man of great activity as a police officer, but accused of being not only strict but harsh and brutal in his official duties, and certainly most unpopular with the lower orders. The execution took place without any interruption or disturbance(1), and it was not till the body had been cut down that some rabble began to attack the hangman, pelting him and also the soldiers with very large stones. Outrages of the same kind, though of less degree, were not uncommon on these occasions, and had usually been borne with patience; nor ought Porteous to have forgotten that the sentence was already fully executed, and that he should now attempt to withdraw his men: but on the contrary, losing all command of temper, he snatched a musket from one of the soldiers, and fired at the crowd; the soldiers followed his example, and another similar discharge took place as the detachment retired to the guard-house.

For this violence was Porteous brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary, found guilty of murder by an exasperated jury of citizens, and condemned to death. But his sentence being referred to the Government in London, and considered by Queen Caroline, as head of the Regency during the King's absence, seemed

(1) "That deluded man (Wilson) died with great tranquillity, and maintained to the hour of his death that he was most unjustly condemned: he maintained this in a debate with one of the reverend ministers of Edinburgh.... He admitted that he had taken money from a collector of

"the revenue by violence, but that the officers of the revenue had, by their practice, taught him this was lawful, for they had often seized and carried off his goods, etc." (Speech of Mr. Lindsay, May 16, 1737. Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 284.)

to her and her advisers to admit of mitigation. He had given no original provocation; he had been wantonly assailed and had a right to defend himself; and though his defence was carried to a fierce and most unwarrantable pitch, and became itself an aggression, yet still his real crime appeared to fall short of murder, and his fit punishment, of death. From these considerations a reprieve for Porteous was sent down to Edinburgh. There, however, it was received by the public with one universal roar of indignation. The persons who had fallen were not all of them rioters, and the very humanity of the soldiers had turned against them; for many of them desiring merely to intimidate and not to hurt, had fired over the heads of the crowd, and in so doing had struck several persons of good condition, looking out of the neighbouring windows. This circumstance, if rightly considered, was an alleviation of their guilt, but in the popular estimation served rather to heighten it, from the natural compassion at the fate of entirely innocent, and much respected individuals. On the whole, then, the ferment had risen high among the citizens; and dark and ominous threats were heard, that even the Royal reprieve should not shelter Porteous from their vengeance.

It was now the 7th of September, the day previous to that which had been appointed for the execution. Porteous himself, unconscious of his doom, and rejoicing in his approaching deliverance, had that very evening given an entertainment in the Tolbooth to a party of friends. But that festal evening was not to close without blood. A little before ten o'clock, a disorderly multitude began to gather in the low suburb of Portsburgh, evidently, from the first, under the guidance of cool and wary leaders. They beat a drum, and attracted fresh numbers; until, finding themselves strong enough for their purpose, they seized on the Westport, closed and barricaded it, and secured, in like manner, the ports of Canongate and Netherbow; thus cutting off the city from a regiment of infantry which was quartered in the suburbs. Their next step was to disarm the City Guard at their house, and thus obtain weapons for themselves. None of these pacific soldiers offered any resistance; their guns, halberts, and Lochaber axes were quietly relinquished by them, and, eagerly assumed by the foremost of the rioters. It is remarkable that, though these City Guardsmen had been the instruments, at least, of the very slaughter which it was now intended to avenge, they were now permitted to slink away without the slightest injury or ill-treatment; so intent were the mob-leaders on one great object, and so well able, says Fletcher the younger, of Saltoun, to restrain the multitude from every wickedness but that which they had determined to perpetrate (1).

(1) To the Duke of Newcastle, Sept. 16. 1736. had eminent talents; but we are told that "his (Coxe's Walpole.) Fletcher was then Lord Chief " schemes had but very little credit, because he Justice Clerk; and afterwards Lord Milton. He " himself was often for changing them." (Sir J.

It was not till these preliminary measures had been achieved, that the real object was disclosed in a fierce and general cry—"Porteous! Porteous! To the Tolbooth! to the Tolbooth!" and in a few minutes more they were thundering at the gates of the gaol, and demanding that the prisoner should be given out to them. On receiving no answer, they prepared to burst open the doors; but the outer door was of such solidity and strength, as for a long while to defy their utmost efforts: sledge-hammers and iron crows were wrought against it in vain, even by those who might have, perhaps, most valuable experience in house-breaking. So much time was consumed, and so little progress made, that there seemed reason to hope that this obstacle alone might be sufficient to arrest the conspirators, and prove more effectual than the "sheep in 'wolves' clothing" of the City Guard.

When the tumult first began, the magistrates, it is said, were drinking together at a tavern of the Parliament Close (1); although it was afterwards given out, as more decorous to these great men, that they had assembled there to concert measures against the rioters. Mr. Lindsay, member of Parliament for the city, who was with them, undertook the perilous task to carry a message from the Lord Provost to General Moyle, who commanded the troops quartered in the suburb, and who was now required to force the Netherbow port, and march into the city to quell the tumult. But Moyle, who had the recent example of Porteous before his eyes, refused to move against the people unless authorised by a written warrant from the magistrates; and Lindsay, on his part, was unwilling to convey any paper which, if found upon him, might probably cost him his life. There was afterwards, in discussing the transaction, much altercation between them as to what had really passed; the General declared that Lindsay had come to him drunk; while, on the other hand, Lindsay inveighed against his lack of alacrity (2): but, be this as it may, no assistance was afforded by the King's troops. A similar message had also been sent up to the Governor of the Castle, but with a similar result.

The magistrates, thus left to their own resources, sallied forth from their tavern, and marched to the scene of riot with such force as they could muster. But they found the outer line firm and impassable, and their own halberts and Lochaber axes, now no longer in civic hands, were brandished against them; yet no further violence was used than seemed requisite to make them quietly return as they came. In like manner, the sedan chairs of ladies, hastening, even amidst this confusion, to their indispensable tea and cards, were stopped, turned back, and escorted home for their safety, with

Clerk's MSS. on Lockhart, ap. Somerville's *Queen Anne*, p. 204.)

(1) General Moyle to the Duke of Newcastle, Sept. 9. 1736.

(2) Earl of Isla to Sir Robert Walpole, October 16. 1736. He adds, "I have had great difficulty to prevent mischief between General Moyle and Mr. Lindsay."

most remarkable civility and consideration for their feelings (1). All these are additional proofs that the riot was no sudden ebullition of rage, but a settled plan of leaders above the common rank, well concerted and implicitly obeyed. Perhaps the strongest proof of all yet remains to tell. Is there any other instance of a riot, either in England or Scotland, in which the rioters willingly refrained from drunkenness?

The battering of the Tolbooth door had at length exhausted the strength, not the animosity, of the assailants; when a voice among them exclaimed, "Try fire!" Tar barrels, and other such combustibles, were immediately applied; a large bonfire speedily arose, and a hole was burnt in the door, through which the terrified gaoler flung the keys. The mob now poured in, leaving the doors open for the advantage of the other prisoners, who, of course did not neglect this opportunity to escape. But the ringleaders steadily pursued their course to the apartment of Porteous, and broke through its locks and bars. What was their rage and disappointment to find it empty! The unhappy man, hearing the tumult and the shouts for his life, had endeavoured to save it by ascending the chimney, but his progress was arrested by an iron grating, which, as usual in prisons, was fixed across the vent. His place of concealment was too obvious for security; he was soon discovered, dragged down, and told to prepare for the death he had deserved; nor was the slightest attention shown either to his prayers for mercy, or to the offers of large sums of money with which he attempted to redeem his life. Yet with all this sternness of the rioters, there was, as before, a strange mixture of forbearance: Porteous was allowed to intrust his money and papers to a friend (a prisoner confined for debt) in behalf of his family; and one of the conspirators, a man of grave and reverend aspect, undertook the part of clergyman, and offered such spiritual exhortations as are proper to a dying man. They then led their victim towards the Grass Market, the usual scene of public executions, and which, being the place of his offence, they determined should be also the place of his punishment. He refused to walk; but they mounted him on the hands of two of the rioters clasped together, and forming what in Scotland is termed, I suppose from irony, "the King's cushion." Such was their coolness, that, when Porteous dropped one of his slippers, they halted until it was picked up and replaced on his foot (2).

Having reached the Grass Market, the rioters obtained a coil of

(1) Sir Walter Scott says, "A near relation of mine used to tell of having been stopped by the rioters and escorted home in this manner. On reaching her own home, one of her attendants, in appearance a *baxter*, or baker's lad, handed her out of her chair, and took leave with a bow, which, in the lady's opinion, argued breeding that could hardly be learned beside the oven."

Note to the Heart of Mid-Lothian, ch. vi. See also his excellent narrative, *Tales of a Grandfather*, Third Series, vol. ii. pp. 156—180.

(2) This slight but characteristic incident was told Sir Walter Scott by the daughter of a lady who saw it from her window. Note to the Heart of Mid-Lothian, ch. vii.

ropes by breaking open a dealer's booth, and at the same time left a guinea in payment for it; another circumstance denoting that the ringleaders were by no means of the lowest class. Their next search was for the gallows; but these being removed to a distance, they seized a dyer's pole, and proceeded to the execution of their victim. His dying struggles were long, but unavailing; the rioters calmly watched till life was wholly extinct, and then, quietly drawing in their outposts, dispersed without noise. The arms which they had taken from the City Guards they now flung away: the streets were left perfectly quiet; and at daybreak the scattered weapons and the suspended body formed the only tokens of the dreadful deed of that night.

The news of this outrage, being sent by express to the government in London, was received with no small astonishment and indignation. A riot so deliberate, orderly, and well-conducted, as almost to mock the formalities of a judicial sentence, seemed so high a pitch of insolence, that, as Fletcher of Saltoun declared, "there is an end of Government if such practices are suffered to escape punishment (1)". Queen Caroline, above all, was greatly irritated, looking upon the murder of Porteous as a direct insult to her person and authority. There is still a tradition in Scotland, that her Majesty, in the first burst of her resentment, exclaimed to the Duke of Argyle, that, sooner than submit to such things, she would make Scotland a hunting field. "In that case, Madam," answered Argyle, with a profound bow, but with no courtly spirit, "I will take leave of your Majesty, and go down to my own country to get my hounds ready!"

It was, however, Argyle's brother, the Earl of Isla, whom the government immediately despatched to Edinburgh, with strict orders and full powers to detect, convict, and punish the offenders. But neither the rewards offered, nor the threats denounced produced any disclosure. All the exertions of Isla ended only in collecting some vague rumours, which he could never trace to any authority, nor lead to any result. The popular feeling was evidently not for the murdered but for the murderers. I find in Isla's report to Walpole, "The most shocking circumstance is, that it plainly appears the highflyers of our Scotch Church have made
 1737. "this infamous murder a point of conscience. One of
 "the actors went straight away to a country church, where the Sacrament was given to vast crowds of people, as the fashion is here, and there boasted what he had done. All the lower rank of the people who had distinguished themselves by pretences to a superior sanctity, talk of this murder as the hand of God doing justice; and my endeavours to punish murderers are called grievous persecution. I have conversed with several

(1) To the Duke of Newcastle, September 16. 1736.

“of the parsons ; and, indeed, I could hardly have given credit to the public report of the temper of these saints if I had not myself been witness to it (1).” Thus was all search impeded, nor was any discovery made. Even at the present time, the origin of this singular conspiracy remains as much a mystery as ever. We can only conjecture that the ringleaders, whoever they might be, took care to leave Edinburgh, and even Scotland, as soon as their crime was perpetrated, and did not venture to return for some years; and we learn from Sir Walter Scott, that, in his younger days, the voice of common rumour pointed out certain individuals, though without any proof, who had returned from the East and West Indies in improved circumstances, as having fled abroad on account of the Porteous Mob (2).

But though there had been no discovery, who could tolerate that there should be no punishment? In the next Session, a Bill was brought in for this object, framed in a violent and vindictive spirit, far unlike the usual moderation of the minister, and probably the effect of the Queen's resentment. Having found no other victims to strike, it aimed its blow at the whole City of Edinburgh. It proposed to abolish the City Charter, rase the City gates, disband the City Guard, and declare the Provost, Mr. Wilson, incapable of again holding any public office. To support these angry enactments, witnesses were examined at the bar of both Houses; but no new fact of importance appeared. Some carelessness was certainly proved against the Provost, who had slighted previous warnings of the riots: but how unjust to condemn, how unwise to insult, the citizens at large! The Scottish Peers, however, and Members of Parliament, with that high national spirit which has ever so nobly marked the character of the Scottish people, combined almost as one man on this occasion. In the House of Lords, the Duke of Argyle made an eloquent speech, in which, after his usual panegyric of himself, he denounced the measure as contrary both to law and justice. In the Commons, the Lord Advocate (the celebrated Duncan Forbes) was not withheld by the trammels of office or the attachments of party from declaring similar sentiments. He was earnestly supported by Mr. Lindsay, member for Edinburgh, and by Lord Polwarth, son of the Scotch Earl of Marchmont, a young nobleman beginning to shine in the foremost ranks of Opposition; nor was the more experienced skill of Barnard and of Wyndham wanting. The measure speedily grew, as it deserved, unpopular, and on one occasion, in committee, was carried only by the casting vote of the chairman. Under these circumstances, Walpole, who, we may presume, had never heartily approved of the most obnoxious clauses, wisely consented to recede from them: one by one they were plucked out of the

(1) To Sir Robert Walpole, October 16. 1736.

(2) Tales of a Grandfather, Third Series, vol. II p. 177.

Bill, and it dwindled, at length, into an Act disabling Mr. Wilson from holding any future office, and imposing on the city a fine of 2,000*l.* for the benefit of Captain Porteous's widow. And thus, it was remarked at the time, all these fierce debates ended only in making the fortune of an old cookmaid—such having been the original calling of the worthy lady.

A clause, however, was added to the Bill, compelling the ministers of the Scottish Church to read a proclamation from the pulpit, once every month for the ensuing twelve, calling on their congregations to exert themselves to bring to justice the murderers of Porteous. This order was greatly resented by many of the clergy, who complained that their pulpits were thus indecorously made the scene of a hue and cry; while others, again, finding the proclamation mention "the Lords Temporal and Spiritual in Parliament assembled," feared that they might thus seem to acknowledge the legality of Bishops; an order of men whom they would seldom mention without insult and invective.

Another remarkable proceeding of this Session, was a plan to lower the interest of the National Debt by Sir John Barnard. From no one could it have come with greater weight. Were I called upon to name the man who in that century most honourably filled, and most highly adorned, the character of a British merchant, I should, without hesitation, answer, Sir John Barnard. Industrious, not grasping, in his gains—liberal, not lavish, in his expenses—religious without austerity, and charitable without ostentation—neither unduly claiming kindred with the great nor yet veiling a secret envy under an apparent disdain,—he always maintained that calmness and self-command which is the essence of true dignity (1). His speeches were, like himself, full of sterling worth: if his language was not always the most eloquent, his arguments never failed to be the most weighty. "In all matters of trade," says Speaker Onslow, "he had more sagacity, acuteness, force, and closeness of reasoning, better and more practicable notions, than almost any man I ever knew, with a disinterestedness as to himself that no temptation of the greatest profit, or very high stations (for such he might have had), would have drawn him from the very retired and humble life he generally chose to lead, not only for the sake of his health, but the content of his mind, in a moderate habitation in a neighbouring village to London, from whence he only came as he was occasionally called to any business of importance in the City or in Parliament; in the first of which he was a great magistrate, and in the other of true weight and influence (2)." As to the latter, indeed, another remarkable testimony was once borne by the very minister

(1) Benjamin Constant, in his remarkable production, "Adolphe," most truly describes—"je ne sais quelle fougue destructive de la considé-

"ration qui ne se compose que du calme." (p. 173.)
(2) Speaker Onslow's Remarks, (Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 565.)

whom he so keenly and steadily opposed. We are told that, as Sir Robert Walpole was one day riding with some friends in a narrow lane, persons were overheard talking on the other side of the hedge. "Whose voice is that?" asked one of the party. "Do not you know?" replied Sir Robert. "It is one which I never shall forget. I have often felt its power!" It was Sir John Barnard's.

The project of Sir John Barnard was, briefly, to borrow money at three per cent., and redeem some of the annuities for which a higher rate was yearly paid. But several solid and many specious arguments against it were urged by Walpole. "If we advert," said he, "to the time and manner in which these debts were created, every argument against the reduction of interest acquires a great additional force. At that disastrous period (1720), the creditors of the South Sea and East India Companies had a power to demand the whole amount of their bonds. Their forbearance was essentially necessary to the defence and well-being of the community; for, had they persisted in claiming their principal, the whole must have fallen on the landed interest, or the result must have been such as I dare not mention, or hardly think of. And is the service then rendered to the country to be now repaid by a compulsory reduction of their dividends? I call it compulsory, for any reduction by terror can only be described by that name."—The country gentlemen were in general eager for Barnard's plan; and it was not without much adroitness and several Parliamentary manœuvres, on the part of the minister, that it was at length rejected by a large majority.

But the principal hopes of the Opposition in this year rested on Frederick Prince of Wales, whose secret encouragement had now ripened into open support. His disagreements with his father were by no means of recent date. Even whilst he remained at Hanover, and whilst his father, as Prince of Wales, had gone to England, they were near enough to bicker. His own wishes were strongly fixed on an alliance with the Princess Royal of Prussia, the same who afterwards became Margravine of Bareith, and who, in her Memoirs, has left us a strange, and probably exaggerated, portrait of all her own relations. The marriage was earnestly desired by the Queen of Prussia, and, indeed, by the chief members of both families; but the brutal temper of the King, who used to beat his daughter, and who wished to behead his son (1), and the personal antipathy between him and his cousin George the Second, finally broke off the negotiations. Prince Frederick, in as much despair as a lover can be who has never seen his mistress, sent from Hanover one La Motte as his agent, to assure the Queen of

-(1) Besides the *Mémoires de Bareith, passim*, see Lord Chesterfield's despatch to the Plenipotentiaries, September 18. 1730. Appendix.

Prussia that he was determined, in spite of his father, still to conclude the marriage, and that he would set off in disguise for Berlin to execute his purpose. But the Queen, in an overflowing transport of delight, could not refrain from imparting the good news to the English envoy at her Court. He, as was his duty, gave timely notice to his own; the rash project was prevented (1); and the headstrong Prince was summoned to England, where, as I have already noticed, he arrived, to the great joy of the nation, in 1728.

For some years after his arrival, the Prince remained tranquil; but, as he became familiar with the English language and customs, and conscious of his own importance, he entered more and more into cabals against his parents. His character was weak, yet stubborn; with generous impulses, and not without accomplishments; but vain, fond of flattery, and easily led by flatterers. Even after his marriage, and whilst devoted to his wife, he thought it incumbent upon him to affect the character of a man of intrigue: this reputation, and not beauty, appears to have been his aim; and his principal favourite, Lady Middlesex, is described as "very short, very plain, and very yellow, and full of Greek and Latin (2)!" He professed a love of literature, and a patronage of men of talents; partly I believe, from opposition to his father, who had always despised the first, and neglected the latter. Thus it had happened, at last, that nearly all the wit and genius were ranged on the side of Opposition. To these the Prince's house was always open: Pulteney, Chesterfield, Wyndham, Carteret, and Cobham became his familiar friends, and the "all accomplished St. John," the Mentor of his political course. It was with a view to his future reign, and as an oblique satire on his father's, that the fine essay of Bolingbroke, "the Patriot King," was composed. The rising men of talent, also (Pitt and Lyttleton especially), were taken into his confidence and afterwards into his household.

The marriage of Frederick, in April, 1736, to Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, a Princess of beauty and excellent judgment, did not, as was hoped, restore union to the Royal Family. It is remarkable, that the address to the King on this occasion was moved by Pulteney, and that the principal speakers rose from the ranks of Opposition. Pitt and Lyttleton both made their first speeches that evening; and the performance of the former is highly praised by a contemporary; yet the subject seems to admit of little eloquence, and less variety; and the comparison with Demosthenes and Cicero is evidently an anticipation (3). So much are men mistaken at their outset, that Lyttleton appears to have been considered the greater

(1) *Mém. de Bareith*, vol. i. p. 154.

(2) Horace Walpole's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 65. In the Appendix (p. 500.) are printed some French and English songs of the Prince on the Princess, whom he calls his Sylvia. One stanza ends thus:—

"Peu d'amis, reste d'un naufrage.
"Je rassemble autour de moi,
"Et me ris de l'étalage
"Qu'a chez lui toujours un Roi!"

(3) Tindal's *Hist.* vol. viii. p. 301.

of the two ; and Pope calls him “ the rising genius of this age (1).”

Immediately after the Prince's marriage, his narrow income became the constant theme of his complaints. His father, as Prince of Wales, had been allowed 100,000*l.* from a Civil List of 700,000*l.* a year ; how unjust, therefore, that he should receive only 50,000*l.* from a Civil List of 800,000*l.* It might have been observed that George the Second, when Prince, had to maintain a large family in suitable splendour ; but all such considerations are usually leapt over by self-interest. The Prince's mind continually reverted to a scheme which Bolingbroke had first suggested two years before, and which, on leaving England, had been his parting advice—to set the King at defiance, and apply to Parliament for a permanent income of 100,000*l.* a year. Some of his best friends remonstrated warmly against this violent measure ; amongst others, Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, a man of some talent, and as patron of two boroughs, of considerable influence, who has left a curious and minute account of this transaction (2). He earnestly endeavoured to dissuade Frederick from thus dragging his private differences into public view, and forcing every one to declare either against the King or against the Prince ; but His Royal Highness remained immovable, and used only what an acute traveller has called the Italian mode of argument ; that is, repeating again and again the same original assertion (3) !

In general, however, the Opposition were far from displeased at the prospect thus afforded of perplexing the monarch and defeating the minister. Pulteney consented to bring the question forward ; Sir John Barnard promised his support ; and Sir William Wyndham answered for the Tories, declaring that they had long desired an opportunity of showing their attachment to the Prince, and proving that they were not, as falsely represented, Jacobites. The question derived still more interest from the ill-health of the King, who was at this time suffering under a low fever, and by many persons not expected to survive (4). This circumstance, while it aggravated the undutiful conduct of the Prince, induced many more politicians to approve it.

The King, on his part, at last hearing of his son's design, was persuaded by Walpole to send him a message, promising to settle a jointure upon the Princess, and, though not augmenting the Prince's income, to make it independent, and out of his Majesty's control. This message was delivered by several great officers of state, especially Lord Hardwicke, who had just succeeded Lord

(1) I gather this expression from Swift's answer to Pope, May 10. 1738.

(2) Appendix to Dodington's Diary. His first name had been Bubb ; and he has already been mentioned as minister at Madrid in 1715. See *suprà*, p. 204.

(3) Il répond aux objections à la manière Italienne ; c'est de “ répéter en criant un peu plus

“ la phrase à laquelle on vient de répondre.” (Stendhal, Rome et Naples, p. 99.)

(4) “ I heard this day, from a pretty good hand, “ that His Majesty has been worse than they cared “ to own.... The physicians say, that if he does “ get over this illness, he cannot live a twelve- “ month.” Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, February 6. 1737. See also Dodington's Narrative.

Talbot as Chancellor ; but it produced only some civil expressions from Frederick without any change of purpose (1). On the very next day, the 22nd of February, 1737, Pulteney made his motion in the House of Commons, in the form of an Address, beseeching the King to settle upon the Prince 100,000*l.* a year, and promising that the House would enable him effectually to perform the same. He was seconded by Sir John Barnard. Their arguments, couched in very moderate and cautious terms, turned chiefly on historical precedents of heirs apparent and presumptive, who, it was maintained, had a right to a sufficient and settled income. Walpole began his reply by declaring that he had never risen to speak with more pain and reluctance ; but that, from his personal knowledge of the two great characters concerned, he was convinced that neither of them would think himself injured because any gentleman gave his opinion or vote freely in Parliament. He said that he had the King's commands to acquaint them with the particulars of the message delivered to the Prince on the preceding day, and of his Royal Highness's answer ; that 50,000*l.* a year, with the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, amounting to about 10,000*l.* more, formed a competent allowance for the heir apparent ; and that the King could afford no more from the Civil List ; that to interfere between father and son would be highly indecorous ; and that no real precedent for it could be adduced, except under Henry the Sixth, a Prince so weak, that the Parliament found it necessary to assume several rights and privileges to which they were not properly entitled.

The King's ill health, however, made more impression than the minister's arguments, and greatly reduced the usual majority of the latter : nay, he would even have been left in a minority, had Wyndham been able to fulfil his promise when he answered for his friends. But the more ardent Tories were unwilling to give any vote in favour of the heir of Hanover, or against the authority of the Crown, and they left the House in a body to the number of forty-five ; a secession, which as it appears to me, exactly measures the strength of the decided Jacobites in that House of Commons. It is remarkable, that in the preceding Parliament the Jacobite numbers were said to be almost the very same, being computed, in 1728, at fifty (2). Wyndham himself, to maintain his influence over his party, though he spoke, found it expedient to refrain from voting (3). Thus, on the division, the Opposition was reduced to 204, while the minister, who could still muster 234, prevailed. On the 25th, the same motion was made in the House of Lords by Carteret, but rejected by a very large majority ; and a protest, on this occasion, was signed by only fourteen peers.

(1) Lord Hardwicke's Narrative. Hardwicke Papers.

(2) See Hallam's Constit. Hist. vol. iii. p. 338.

(3) Dodington's Narrative.

The step which the Prince had taken on this occasion, though rash and violent, is not incapable of much defence: his next admits of none. Stung by his recent disappointment, and anxious at all hazards to show some public insult to his father and mother, he took the opportunity of the ensuing 31st of July, when the Princess was seized with the pains of childbirth. It was not till less than a month before that he had deigned to send the King and Queen any announcement of the approaching event. The whole Royal Family were then at Hampton Court, and all proper attendance for Her Royal Highness was awaiting her first summons. Nevertheless, no sooner did her pains begin, than the Prince, to the imminent danger of her life, hurried her in the middle of the night to London, to the unaired palace of St. James's, without the slightest intimation to the King and Queen, or to any of the great officers of state whom custom required to be present on such occasions. The King, however, hearing of this abrupt departure, immediately despatched Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington to attend the birth; but they did not arrive till after the Princess was delivered of a daughter. The behaviour of Frederick to the Queen (for, on the first notice of her son's exploit, she too had hastened to St. James's, and was with the Princess at seven in the morning,) is recorded by no better authority than Horace Walpole's, but seems highly probable, and well according with the rest of his conduct. "The gracious Prince, so far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word to his mother; but, on her retreat, gave her his hand, led her into the street to her coach—still dumb; but a crowd being assembled at the gate, he kneeled down in the dirt, and humbly kissed Her Majesty's hand! Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt (1)!"

Such feelings might, indeed, be justified by such actions. What can we think of him who runs the risk to lose his wife, rather than not insult his father; and who contrives to prove himself by one act a careless husband, a froward son, and a foolish politician? Frederick very soon found it requisite, for the sake of public opinion, to offer his parents many humble submissions and apologies. He had no better excuse to make, than that the Princess was taken ill sooner than had been expected; that he thought it prudent to remove her towards the best assistance, rather than await its coming; and that, in his hurry he had forgotten to apprise their Majesties. No one gave the slightest credit to these pretexts: it was evidently a settled and concerted design—the fruit of that sort of stupid cunning by which men so often overreach themselves. We may conjecture what was the language of his enemies on this transaction, when we find the strong disapprobation even of his friends. Thus Bolingbroke writes to Wyndham from France:—

(1) Reminiscences, Works, vol. iv. p. 309. He repeats the same story in his Memoirs, vol. i. p. 64.

“ I am at a loss to find the plausibility or the popularity of the present occasion of rupture. He hurries his wife from Court when she is on the point of being delivered of her first child. His father swells, struts, and storms. He confesses his rashness, and asks pardon in the terms of one who owns himself in the wrong. Besides that all this appears to me boyish, it is purely domestic, and there is nothing, as far as I can discern, to interest the public in the cause of his Royal Highness (1).”

The Prince's apologies were now so humble and so numerous, that they should perhaps have made some impression upon the King; at least, have induced him to leave things as they were, and avoid a total and public separation; but, as the son had been disrespectful and untoward, so was the father harsh. Lord Hardwicke earnestly endeavoured still to reconcile them; while Walpole very little to his honour, took the contrary course. It is admitted that, far from striving to close, he wished to open the breach; fearing lest his own removal might be among the terms of a reconciliation (2). He urged, that the King had now an advantage, by the Prince having put himself so much in the wrong; which advantage ought not to be parted with. Thus preventing (it was an easy task) the King's passion from cooling, he drew up in his name, and by his order, a message to the Prince in very violent terms, it being better, said Walpole, “ to take it short at first.” The language was afterwards greatly softened at Lord Hardwicke's interposition; but it still remained sufficiently strong: it drew an angry picture of the Prince's conduct; declared that the King would receive no reply; and informed him, “ It is my pleasure that you leave St. James's, with all your family.” This message signed by the King, was delivered to the Prince on the 10th of September. It being peremptory, Frederick retired from the palace, and took up his residence at Norfolk House, St. James's Square, which immediately became the centre of all opposition and political intrigue. The King issued an order, that no persons who paid their court to the Prince and Princess should be admitted to his presence: and an official circular was sent to each of the foreign ministers, containing the whole correspondence that had passed in this unfortunate transaction.

Such was the public estrangement between George the Second and his son, nearly resembling in its particulars the estrangement, twenty years before, between the same monarch and his father (3). A christening was the occasion of the first—a childbirth of the latter. In both cases was the heir apparent commanded to quit the Royal palace; in both was the scandal trumpeted to all Europe, through the foreign ministers. Yet, amidst all this liberality of disclosures, it appears that, as in most domestic quarrels, there

(1) Letter, October 23. 1737.

(2) Coxe's Life, p. 539.

(3) See *supra*, p. 213.

still remained some secrets untold. “ Sir Robert Walpole informed me,” writes Lord Hardwicke, “ of certain passages between the King and himself, and between the Queen and the Prince, of too high and secret a nature even to be trusted to this narrative ; but from thence I found great reason to think, that this unhappy difference between the King and Queen and His Royal Highness turned upon some points of a more interesting and important nature than have hitherto appeared.”

There was one point on which at the time all parties held the same language,—that union in the Royal family was most essential to its own interest and preservation. This we find assumed on all sides as an indisputable axiom. Yet, strange as it seems, this quarrel, so unanimously deplored by the friends to the dynasty, as a heavy blow to it, tended, in fact, in no small degree to its security. The Tories, who had hitherto considered their party as under a perpetual exclusion from office and power, who saw no glimmering of light for themselves, except through the restoration of the Stuarts, had been ready to join the Jacobites in their most desperate designs. They would have given secret encouragement to any conspiracy, and perhaps public support to any rebellion. Very many amongst them indeed were attached to the Pretender, not as a cause of hope, but as a cause of principle; because they believed, however mistakenly, in his right,—because the spirit of the gallant and noble-minded and much enduring Cavaliers was yet alive within them;—and these men were not to be won over. But there were also not a few who saw with pleasure a far easier and safer avenue to power open in the favour of Frederick, who detached themselves from their dangerous foreign connection, became reconciled to the dynasty, and began to await the death of George instead of his dethronement.

The separation in the Royal family was followed, in only a few weeks, by the unexpected death of the amiable and excellent Queen. Her complaint was a rupture, which false delicacy had always induced her to conceal from her attendants. Lady Sundon alone had some years before surprised the secret, and thereby risen to great influence over her Royal mistress. Her real situation being thus unknown to her physicians, they treated it as gout in the stomach, and prescribed remedies which heightened the malady. When it was at length disclosed to them, it was already beyond their skill. One of the surgeons declared, that if he had known it two days sooner, Her Majesty should have been walking about the next day. She died on the 20th of November, to the deep and lasting grief, not only of the King, but of the nation. Her last days, though racked with pain, were courageously and patiently borne, and set forth, in the highest degree, temper, magnanimity, affection for her family, and resignation to God. Once, we are told, after a most painful operation, she became

apprehensive that the agony had wrung from her some peevish expressions, and reproached herself with them. She took a tender leave of the King, and recommended her servants to his future favour, extending her concern even to the lowest. To Walpole she is reported to have said,—“I hope you will never desert the King, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity;” and, pointing to her husband, she added, “I recommend His Majesty to you.”

Yet the death-bed of this high-minded Princess was not wholly free from the blame, still less from the malignant exaggerations of party. She was censured as implacable in hatred even to her dying moments: as refusing her pardon to her son, who, it was added, had sent humbly to beseech her blessing. “And unfor-
“giving, unforgiven dies!” cries Chesterfield in some powerful lines circulated at the time. With still more bitterness, Pope veils his satire beneath pretended praise (1). The real truth seems to be, as we find it stated in a letter only two days afterwards, that “she absolutely refused to see the Prince of Wales, nor could the
“Archbishop of Canterbury, when he gave her the sacrament, prevail on her, though she said she heartily forgave the
“Prince (2).” In justice, however, to her memory, we should not forget how recent were the Prince’s insults, and how zealously he had seized every occasion to treat her with studied slight and disrespect.

If, indeed, we could trust the assurances of Horace Walpole, Lord Orford, to Mr. Coxe, we might assert, that the Queen had sent both her forgiveness and her blessing to her son, and said she would have seen him with pleasure had she not feared to irritate the King (3). But the authority of Horace Walpole will seldom weigh with a dispassionate historian, unless when confirmed, or, at least, not opposed, by others. As is well observed by Mr. Hallam on another occasion, “his want of accuracy or veracity, or
“both, is so palpable (above all in his verbal communications), that
“no great stress can be laid upon his testimony (4).”

During the ten years (from 1727 till 1737) in which Queen Caroline wielded so great an influence over public business, it continued to flow in a smooth and uniform current, seldom broken by obstacles, and bearing along comparatively few materials for history. Yet the periods which seem the most barren of striking incidents are sometimes the most fruitful of great results; and I shall here pause in my narrative to trace, first, the progress of LITERATURE, and next the origin and growth of METHODISM.

(1) “Hang the sad verse on Carolina’s urn,
“And hail her passage to the realms of rest,
“All parts perform’d, and all her children
“bless’d!” Epilogue to *Sisters*.

(2) Mr. Charles Ford to Swift, November 22. 1727.

(3) Coxe’s Life, p. 550.

(4) Constitut. Hist. vol. iii. p. 383.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LITERATURE.

Throughout all the states of Europe, the literature of the Middle Ages was nearly the same. The usual fault of a barbarous period is not so much the absence as the false direction of learning and research, which waste themselves on subjects either beneath the notice, or above the comprehension, of man. In Spain and in Italy, as in France and England, the learned few, five centuries ago, equally lost themselves in the mazes of Thomas Aquinas, and trod in the beaten track of Aristotle; while their lighter hours were amused with Latin quibbles and Leonine verses. But when, towards the year 1500, the human mind burst forth from its trammels, and the human intellect was stirred to its inmost depths—when, at nearly one and the same period, printing was diffused, America discovered, and the errors of the Church of Rome reformed,—then was a new and original impulse every where given to genius. And thus, in the next generation, almost every people began to possess a separate and distinctive literature of its own. No where did there gather a brighter galaxy of genius than in England during the era of Elizabeth: it is by those great old writers that our language was raised and dignified; it is from that “pure well of English undefiled” that all successive generations will draw with a quenchless thirst and in inexhaustible profusion.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, most of our writers, trusting less, and having less reason to trust, their own inspirations, began to look abroad for models. The literature of Spain was then eagerly sought and studied, and by its faults infected ours: Had it been studied in a more discriminating spirit, our writers might have advantageously borrowed that remarkable nobility and loftiness of sentiment which pervades it, those romantic traces of Eastern poetry which yet linger in the land of the Moors. Thus that beautiful fable of the Loves of the Rose and Nightingale, first made known to us, I think, by Lady Mary Montagu, in a translation of a Turkish ode (1), and since so often sung and so highly adorned by the muse of Byron (2), might have been found, two centuries ago, in the Spanish verse of Calderon (3). But the English imitators rather preferred to fix on the fanciful conceits and

(1) See her letter to Pope, April 1. 1717.

(2) *The Glaiour*, v. xi. *The Bride of Abydos*, conclusion, &c.

(3) “*Campo, sol, arroyo, rosa,*

“*Ave que canto amo rosa.*”

CALDERON, *El Magico Prodigioso*;

a most remarkable performance; I think, in some respects, superior to *Faust*.

forced allegories—the *AGUDEZAS* (to use their own expression) of the Spaniards; as when the same Calderon compares the sun setting beneath light clouds to a golden corpse entombed in a silver monument (1)! Such wild shoots of fancy, which had also struck deep root in Italy, the wits of Charles the First laboured, and not without effect, to transplant among us.

As under Charles the First the national taste was corrupted by the example of Spain, so was it under Charles the Second by the example of France. The King's youth had been passed in that country: its literature, and his inclinations, equally pointed to gallantry; and the gay wit of St. Evremond and Grammont sparkled at his Court. Nor was the nation ill prepared to receive them. The gloomy thralldom of the Puritans had weighed especially upon our stage; and the pressure once removed, it flew too high by the rebound. Thus it happened that a general licentiousness began to prevail amongst authors, and that even the genius of Dryden cannot shield his plays from just reproach. Nay, it may be said of him, that he went far beyond his models. It is not so much any rapturous descriptions, or overflowings of ardent passion, that we find to condemn; but his favourite heroes, his Woodalls and his Wildbloods, display a low, hard, ruffianly coarseness—a taste for almost every thing base, which there is seldom any touch of generosity or kindness to redeem. A legion of other writers could emulate the coarseness, though not the wit, of a Dryden; and as Liberty had just run riot, so did Gaiety then.

The great writers of Queen Anne's reign, and of the succeeding, happily shunned these faults of the last century, whether derived from Spain or from France. We may still, indeed, here and there detect some conceits like Cowley's, some license like Rochester's; but these are few and rare: the current ran in the opposite direction, and was no more to be turned by some exceptions, than, on the other hand, the sublime genius of Milton could guide or reform the taste of the preceding generation. Wit was now refined from its alloy. Poetry was cleared of its redundancies. The rules both of prose and of the drama became better understood, and more strictly followed. It was sought to form, and not merely to flatter, the public taste: nor did genius, when well directed in its flights, soar less high. In English prose, it would be difficult to equal, in their various departments, "from lively to severe," the manner of Bolingbroke, Addison, Atterbury, and Chesterfield. Or who has ever exceeded in their different styles and subjects the poetry of Pope, Swift, Gay, and Prior? By these, and such as these, was our literature enriched and refined, and our language almost finally formed. It was immediately after them that a genius not in-

(1) "Quando el Sol cayendo vaya
A sepultarse en las ondas,
Que entre obscuras nubes pades

"Al gran cadaver de oro
"Son monumentos de plata!"

ferior to theirs compiled that celebrated Dictionary, which, first published in 1755, has ever since been esteemed as the standard of the English tongue. Since that time new words or phrases have been but seldom attempted, and still more seldom received and acknowledged. Yet, notwithstanding the advantages that attend a fixed and final standard, I still hope that the door is not wholly closed against foreign words, as aliens, but that some of real value may be received as denizens, and allowed to rank with the King's English. How advantageously might not several be chosen, especially from the parent German stock! Who would not wish, for example, that some writers of sufficient authority would adopt and make our own the Teutonic term *FATHERLAND*, which not only expresses in one word a *NATIVE COUNTRY*, but comprises the reason why we love it!—But let me return from this short digression.

If then we compare as a body the literary men under Queen Anne and George the First, with those under the two Charleses, we shall find a great and manifest improvement. If we compare them with the older writers of the era of Elizabeth, we shall I think pronounce them to have less loftiness and genius, but far more correctness. This judgment was once so universally received, that it might almost be considered a truism, and was first called in question by that great and good man to whom I have just referred. Dr. Johnson, in his preface to Shakspeare; denies the superior correctness of later times, taking issue especially upon the unities of time and place in dramatic composition. The want of these unities, he argues, is no defect, nor their attainment of any value; they are rules that “arise evidently from false assumptions.” When Johnson wrote, those rules were so universally honoured, and sanctioned by such high authorities, that he declares himself “almost frightened at his own temerity, and ready to sink “down in reverential silence.” So completely has the public judgment veered round since his times, and so much has his own been adopted, that perhaps the same expressions might now be as appropriate in venturing to allege some reasons for the opposite opinion.

In the first place, I would endeavour to clear away the objection so often urged, that a respect for these unities implies a coldness or distaste for Shakspeare and our great old dramatists. Surely no such consequence can be fairly deduced. To maintain the general rule is quite compatible with the highest admiration for particular exceptions. Let us admit that Shakspeare was most great, not only in spite of his irregularity, but even, sometimes, if you will, by and through his irregularity—should we therefore proclaim irregularity as our future rule? Thus, in Dryden, we may admit that such incorrect rhymes as *FORM* and *MAN*—*GONE* and *SOON* (1), are

(1) “Our thoughtless sex is caught by outward
form,
“And empty noise, and loves itself in *men*.”

“Each has his share of good, and when ‘tis
gone,
“The guest, though hungry, cannot rise too
soon.”

combined in such beautiful couplets as to make us forget their incorrectness—nay, that without the incorrectness we might have lost the beauty. But does it follow that these rhymes should be allowed in all succeeding poets? In like manner, who that has beheld the Alhambra in all its glories of gold and azure—with its forest of slender marble pillars, and its fretwork of high emblazoned walls—has not stood entranced before that happy deviation from all architectural rules? But does it follow that we should burn Vitruvius?

The argument of Dr. Johnson is, that no dramatic representation is ever mistaken for truth, and that, therefore, as the spectator does not really imagine himself at Alexandria in the first act, there is nothing to startle him at finding the second act transferred to Rome. For the same reason, he maintains that the second act may represent events that happened several years after the first. "The spectators," says Johnson, "are always in their senses, and know from first to last that the stage is only a stage, and that the players are only players." But does not this argument, in fact, amount to this—that art is not perfect, and that therefore there should be no art at all? Johnson himself, on another subject, has told us that "perfection is unattainable, but nearer and nearer approaches may be made (1)." So, likewise, in the stage, the object is complete illusion—to draw the spectator as nearly as possible into the idea that those are no feigned sorrows which he sees—that a real Iphigenia stands weeping before him—that a real Cato has pierced his heroic breast. The success, it is true, always falls short of this perfection, but the nearer it is attained the more do we applaud. The more tears are drawn from the audience—the more they are induced, either by the genius of the poet or the skill of the player, to identify themselves with the characters upon the stage, and to feel for them as they would for real sufferers—the closer we attain this point, the closer do we come to the aim which is set before us. Follow out the principle of Dr. Johnson, and you will find no reason left why costume should be rightly observed, why Iphigenia might not appear in a hoop and Cato in a frock coat! If you are not to strive at illusion—we might argue on his own maxims—you need care only for the beauty of the poem and the merit of the recitation, and every thing tending only to the illusion, like dress, may be discarded. Or, how would the argument of Dr. Johnson hold, if applied to any other of the fine arts? A painter, in like manner, knows that the landscape or the portrait on his easel will never be mistaken for the real country or the real man, but he knows, also, that it is his business to make them as like as possible—to bring us as nearly as he can to mistake them for the reality. Nor does any critic attempt to excuse glaring faults of proportion and perspective by saying, that it would, at all events, be impos-

(1) Advertisement to the fourth edition of the English Dictionary.

sible to mistake the painting for the object, and that therefore it was superfluous to labour for illusion.

Nay more, Johnson himself seems scarcely persuaded by his own arguments, for, in his *Life of Rowe*, he condemns that poet for the breach of a rule that can only be defended on the same principles as the unities. "To change the scene, as is done by Rowe in the middle of an act, is to add more acts to the play, since an act is so much of the business as is transacted without intermission." But why seek the illusion, in this single point, when you disclaim it in others? — So shifting and uncertain appears the ground, which this great critic, so seldom erroneous in his judgments, has on this subject assumed!

● If, however, such a question were to be decided by authorities, instead of arguments, I might put into the scale against Johnson's opinion, and since his time, the three great names of Alfieri, Schiller, and Byron. None of these, so far as we can learn from their lives, had any peculiar fondness for rules and restraints. Yet of the rules of unity they saw the advantage so clearly, as to adhere to them most carefully. Schiller, indeed, in his earlier pieces (*Die Rauber* especially), gave himself more license, but as his judgment matured, his regularity of design increased.

But it is asked, why, if you can avoid it, impose any restraints, any barriers on genius! — It is not considered that a great part of the beauty may arise from these very barriers. Like the embankments of a stream, they contract the channel only to give greater depth and strength to the current. Thus, in like manner, rhymes are shackles on the poet. Nevertheless it is not pretended, that on all subjects, and in all cases, blank verse is therefore preferable to rhyme. Nay, even in blank verse the metre itself is a restraint. Those sons of freedom, however, who, instead of rhyme, have written blank verse or blanker prose, have not always proved the greatest favourites with posterity. In all these cases we are to consider not the degree of trouble to him who writes, but the degree of pleasure to those who read.

It should also be remembered, that any large breach of the unities is usually attended by some clumsiness in the announcement of it. This does not apply so much, if at all, to slight deviations. Where the scene is transferred to a neighbouring spot, or to the next day, we seldom need any explanation. But when the poet changes the scene from Alexandria to Rome, he must make his characters tell us that we are at Rome. When he leaps over some years, his characters must in like manner become chronologists. Such news seldom comes naturally into the dialogue: it appears forced and constrained, and too often reminds us of that scene in the *Critic*, where the two officers at Tilbury Fort inform one another that Queen Elizabeth is their sovereign, and that the English hold the Protestant faith!

It is said, however, and with great truth, that some cases will occur, in which you must relinquish beauties, unless you will break these rules. Here, however, as in all similar cases, we must weigh one advantage against the other; and whenever the beauties to be attained by a sacrifice of the unities are really sufficient to warrant that sacrifice, let no one doubt or hesitate to make it. Thus, in Joan of Arc, the nature of the story seems utterly to preclude the unities of either time or place. This was felt by Schiller; and who that reads his noble tragedy will not rejoice that he has ventured to "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art!" Thus again in Marino Faliero, the unity of place might have been still more strictly observed, had the Doge in the third act convened the conspirators in his palace, instead of going forth to meet them. But this would have lost us a splendid scene; and the latter course was therefore wisely preferred by Lord Byron, as is told us by himself in his preface. In fact, as it appears to me, a small temptation may be sufficient to justify a writer for changing the scene to a short distance either of time or space. Then the illusion is but slightly disturbed, and soon restored; and the audience not shocked by any breach of probability. In the Siege of Calais, for example, we not only forgive, but even expect, that the scene should pass sometimes without and sometimes within the walls. But where the action is made to extend over several years, or several hundred miles,—when, as in the Winter's Tale, we find a child not born in the first act, married in the fifth,—then I certainly think that the mind of the spectator recoils from the supposition, and that none but the very highest beauties of composition can redeem such an error of design.

I think also that the cases are by no means numerous where any large departure from the unities is essential to the beauty of the play. Take the instance of Othello. Had it been attempted to make that play regular, the first act must have been laid like the four others at Cyprus, and the events at Venice left to Othello or Desdemona to relate. But would this necessarily have been a blemish? In epic poems it is admitted as a beauty, that part of the story should be told by the hero, while the rest is left to the narration of the poet. The same variety is not without its charm in tragedy. If we imagine, not what we ourselves could do, but what the genius of a Shakspeare could achieve, we shall perhaps in this and in like cases, form to ourselves an idea of what might have been, not below the works which actually exist.

On the whole then, I would not forego any beauty of description, or developement of character for the sake of the unities. But where, without loss or detriment, it is possible to maintain them, I certainly think them an additional charm to the public, an additional merit in the poet. I would advise a writer to seek them, not to sacrifice to them. It is on the same principle, that in ver-

sifying he should make every attempt to find a perfect rhyme before he uses a defective one. But if he cannot find any of the former, I would rather bear a faulty rhyme than lose a noble thought.

In our own times, not merely has the depreciation of the unities gained ground, but the poets of the age of Anne have been censured as carrying too far the smoothness and correctness of versification. Pope especially, as the foremost of this class, has been nibbled at by men whom, when alive, a single brandish of his pen would have silenced and struck down. He has been denied imagination, variety, true poetic genius, and allowed scarce any thing beyond the talent of harmonious numbers! But his defence has been promptly undertaken by gifted hands, and conducted in a manner worthy of himself and of them. Mr. Thomas Campbell has, with generous spirit and admirable sense, vindicated our British Horace (1). Lord Byron pointedly observes, that Pope is the only poet whose very faultlessness has been urged as his reproach, and that he is only blamed as Aristides was banished, because the world are weary of hearing him called the Just. Nay, so eager was Byron to do justice to his predecessor, that he became unjust to himself: he compares the poetry of the last century to the Parthenon, and that of his own times to a Turkish mosque, and boasts, that though he had assisted in rearing the gaudy and fantastic edifice, he had ever refrained from defacing and despoiling the monuments of a purer taste (2).

The real truth seems to be, that Pope's was not the highest class of poetry, but that in the second class he deserves to hold the very highest rank. It may be also observed, that this class, though inferior in the scale of merit, is perhaps more generally and permanently pleasing than any other. Milton was undoubtedly a far greater poet than Pope; yet *Paradise Lost* too often remains praised but unread upon the shelf, while the *Moral Essays* are turned over by a thousand eager hands. I am far from saying that this is a right taste; but I do say that it is, and I believe ever will be, the taste of the larger number of readers. When Pope is blamed for wanting the highest poetic flights, we should remember that such flights did not accord with the subjects he had chosen, and that sublimity misplaced would only become ridiculous. Still less should he be condemned, as appears his frequent fate, only because his imitators, for the following fifty years, were for the most part tasteless and insipid copyists of his harmony without his sense; or, to adopt his own expression, "word-catchers that live "on syllables"—who wrote, in very even-balanced numbers, very chilling love-verses and very innocent satires! All this is true, yet all this reflects no discredit upon Pope. It is the fate of all great writers to produce many wretched imitations, and to

(1) *Essay on English Poetry*, pp. 260—268, ed. 1819.(2) *Letter on the Rev. W. Bowles*.

become the model of all the aspiring dunces of their day. How many ponderous epics have come forth still-born from the press in imitation of Milton. In our own time, what fooleries have been perpetrated, with Byron for their model! What shoals of would-be Laras and Harolds! How many an accomplished young lady, with a richly bound album, has thought it fashionable to describe herself in it as plunged in the lowest depths of despair and hatred to mankind; as one "who dreads the darkness, and yet loathes the light"—who claims the "brotherhood of Cain"—whose hours are "all tortured into ages!" But do all these mincing dainty miseries recoil against the illustrious source of them, and tarnish his great poetic name? And why then is Pope alone to be held responsible for the faults and follies of his copyists?

The writers of the age of Anne, by descending from the highest but less popular flights of poetry, and by refining the licentiousness which had heretofore prevailed, greatly extended and enlarged the field of literature. The number of readers grew more and more considerable. Books were no longer confined either to the studious or to the dissolute. Education and reflection spread by degrees throughout all classes; and though several other causes concurred to this end, the new style in literature was, perhaps, the foremost. To women, especially, the change was of importance; there had hitherto been few books for their suitable amusement, and scarcely any medium between pedantry and ignorance. Amongst the ladies who lived in the time of Pope, nay even in his society, we find a want of that common information, which is seldom acquired but in youth, and which, beyond doubt, their daughters afterwards possessed. Thus, to give one instance, Mrs. Cæsar, whose husband was member of Parliament for Hertford, and had filled offices under Harley, and who was herself a correspondent of Swift, could not spell English; and was so far from considering this deficiency as a matter of shame, that she treats it as a subject of jest. She admits that her spelling is bad, but boasts that her style is terse; and quotes a saying of Pope, that he sometimes finds too many letters in her words, but never too many words in her letters (1)! In the next generation, I apprehend, many might have mis-spelt, but would have blushed at it; in the next again, nearly all would have spelt rightly. At the present time, perhaps, some persons might fear that we are passing over into the opposite extreme, and that, so far from mis-spelling, a young lady would now be more likely to indite a learned Essay on Orthography.

There is another praise to which the age of Anne seems justly entitled; it awakened public attention to the age of Elizabeth. Our noble English ballads had remained forgotten, until Addison quoted and applauded Chevy Chase (1). Thus also the Fairy Queen was pro-

(1) Mrs. Cæsar to Swift, August 6. 1732.

(1) Spectator, Nos. 70. and 74.

claimed, and at length acknowledged as “a great land-mark of our poetry (1).” Thus the great old dramatists once more resumed their reign, having in this century first excited praise from eminent men as readers, and next again attracted applauding thousand son the stage.

During the reigns of William, of Anne, and of George the First, till 1721, when Walpole became Prime Minister, the Whigs and Tories vied with each other in the encouragement of learned and literary men. Whenever a writer showed signs of genius, either party to which his principles might incline him was eager to hail him as a friend. The most distinguished society, and the most favourable opportunities, were thrown open to him. Places and pensions were showered down in lavish profusion; those who wished only to pursue their studies had the means afforded them for learned leisure, while more ambitious spirits were pushed forward in Parliament or in diplomacy. In short, though the sovereign was never an Augustus, almost every minister was a Mæcenas. Newton became Master of the Mint; Locke was a Commissioner of Appeals; Steele was a Commissioner of Stamps; Stepney, Prior, and Gay, were employed in lucrative and important embassies. It was a slight piece of humour at his outset and as his introduction—the “City and Country Mouse”—that brought forth a mountain of honours to Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and First Lord of the Treasury. When Parnell came to Court, Lord Treasurer Oxford passed through the crowd of nobles, leaving them all unnoticed, to greet and welcome the poet. “I value myself,” says Swift, “upon making the ministry desire to be acquainted with Parnell, and not Parnell with the ministry (2).” Swift himself became Dean of St. Patrick’s, and but for the Queen’s dislike would have been Bishop of Hereford. Pope, as a Roman Catholic, was debarred from all places of honour or emolument, yet secretary Craggs offered him a pension of 300*l.* a year not to be known by the public, and to be paid from the Secret Service Money (3). In 1714 General Stanhope carried a bill, providing a most liberal reward for the discovery of the longitude (4). Addison became Secretary of State. Tickell was Secretary in Ireland. Several rich sinecures were bestowed on Congreve and Rowe, on Hughes and Ambrose Philips (5).

Looking to those times, and comparing them with ours, we shall find that this system of munificent patronage has never been revived. Its place has, however, in some degree, been supplied by the large increase of readers, and the higher price of books, and consequently the far superior value of literary labour. A popular

(1) This was the expression of Pope. (Spence, p. 171.) He said, on another occasion:—“There is something in Spenser that pleases one as strongly in one’s old age it did in one’s youth.”
 “I read the Fairy Queen when I was about twelve, with infinite delight, and I think it gave me as

much when I read it over about a year or two ago.” (Ibid. p. 286.)

(2) Journal to Stella, January 31. 1713.

(3) Spence’s Anecdotes. p. 307.

(4) Commons’ Journals, vol. xvii. p. 686, etc.

(5) See a similar enumeration, and some ingenious observations, Edin. Review, No. cvii. p. 21.

writer may now receive a liberal income from the sale of his works, and, according to the common phrase, needs no other patron than the public. It is often boasted, that the latter state of things far exceeds the former in independence; yet, however plausible this assertion, it is not altogether confirmed by a closer survey. I cannot find that the objects of such splendid patronage were at all humbled by receiving it, or considered themselves in the slightest degree as political or private bondsmen. I cannot find that Swift or Prior, for example, mixed with the great on any other footing than that of equal familiarity and friendship, or paid any submissive homage to Lord Treasurer Oxford or Secretary St. John. In Bolingbroke's Correspondence we may still read the private notes of MATT to HARRY and of HARRY to MATT; and could not easily distinguish from them which was the minister and which the poet. The old system of patronage in literature was, I conceive, like the old system of patronage in Parliament. Some powerful nobleman, with large burgage tenures in his hands, was enabled to place in the House of Commons any young man of like principles and of promising abilities. That system, whether for good or for evil, endured till the Reform Bill of 1832. But whatever difference of opinion may exist concerning it, there is one point which will be admitted by all those who have observed its inward workings—although we often hear the contrary roared forth by those who never saw it nearer than from the Strangers' Gallery—that a man brought into Parliament from his talents felt no humiliating dependence on him by whose interest he was elected—no such dependence, for example, as would be imposed among gentlemen by what seems a far less favour, a gift of fifty pounds. The two parties met on equal terms of friendship. It was thought as desirable for the one that his principles should be ably supported, as for the other that he should sit in the House of Commons. Thus, likewise, in literary patronage, when Oxford made Swift a Dean, or Bolingbroke made Prior an Ambassador, it was considered no badge of dependence or painful inferiority. It was, of course, desirable for Swift to rise in the Church, and for Prior to rise in the State; but it was also desirable for the administration to secure the assistance of an eloquent writer, and of a skilful diplomatist.

It may, moreover, be observed that literary profits do not in all respects supply the place of literary patronage. First, there are several studies—such as many branches of science or antiquities—which are highly deserving of encouragement, but not generally popular, and therefore not productive of emolument. In these cases the liberality of the Government might sometimes usefully atone for the indifference of the public. But even with the most popular authors, the necessity of looking to their literary labours for their daily bread, has not unfrequently an unfavourable effect upon the former. It may compel, or at least induce, them to over-write

themselves; to pour forth hasty and immature productions; to keep at all hazards their names before the public. How seldom can they admit intervals of leisure, or allow their minds to lie fallow for a season, in order to bear hereafter a larger and a better harvest! In like manner, they must minister to the taste of the public, whatever that taste may be, and sometimes have to sacrifice their own ideas of beauty, and aspirations of fame. These are undoubted evils, not merely to them, but to us; and as undoubtedly are they guarded against whenever a fixed and competent provision can be granted to genius. I am therefore clearly of opinion, that any Minister who might have the noble ambition to become the patron of literary men, would still find a large field open to his munificence; that his intercourse with them on the footing of equal friendship would be a deserved distinction to them, and a liberal recreation to himself; that his favours might be employed with great advantage, and received with perfect independence.

In 1721, however, there were no resources in the public. The number of readers was so limited, that the most incessant labour was seldom sufficient to gain a decent maintenance for writers. It was therefore with a bitter pang that they saw Sir Robert Walpole suddenly turn aside from the example of his predecessors, and resolutely shut the door of patronage in the face of genius. The twenty years of his administration were to them a bleak and barren winter. Looking as he did solely to the House of Commons and to the Court, and measuring the value of every thing by Parliamentary votes or Royal smiles, he despised a literature which the King despised, and which had no influence upon the Legislature. Books, he seems to have thought, were fit only for idle and useless men. The writers of books, therefore, he left to dig, to beg, or to starve. It is truly painful to read of the wretched privations, and still more wretched shifts, to which men of such abilities as Savage were exposed. Their books, their linen, were most frequently in pawn. To obtain a good meal was a rare and difficult achievement. They were sometimes reduced, for want of house-room, to wander all night about the streets. They had to sleep on a bulk in summer, and in winter amidst the ashes of a glass-house. "In this manner," says Johnson, "were passed those days and those nights which nature had enabled them to have employed in elevated speculations, useful studies, or pleasing conversation. On a bulk, in a cellar, or in a glass-house, among thieves and beggars, was to be found the author of 'The Wanderer;' the man of exalted sentiments, extensive views, and curious observations; the man whose remarks on life might have assisted the statesman, and whose ideas of virtue might have enlightened the moralist (1)." Johnson, who has commemorated these calamities, himself for many years had shared them. With Savage he had

(1) Johnson's *Life of Savage*. See also Chalmers's *Life of Boyse*.

rambled houseless in the streets, with Savage he had struggled against the pangs of cold and hunger. Nor was this suffering all. Whenever it was relieved by a sudden supply of money, there commonly ensued a scene of the wildest riot and profusion. There was a constant alternation between beggary and extravagance. The half-starved poet rushed with his only guinea to the tavern, to enjoy one night of splendid luxury, while his shirt was still in pawn, and his cravat of paper; thus the subsistence for a thrifty week was lavished at a single revel; and as poverty had first produced dissipation, so did dissipation prolong and perpetuate poverty. Such, according to the testimony even of their friends, was the life of Savage and of Boyse.

It may easily be supposed that the Minister who dried up the stream of patronage would be no favourite with its former objects. Almost every writer of any name, either from principle or resentment, joined the ranks of Opposition, and were marshalled to the onset by the superior genius of Bolingbroke and Pulteney. The motives and measures of Sir Robert were attacked without moderation, and misrepresented without shame; and, in estimating the character of that Minister, we should, therefore, never fail to allow largely for calumnious falsehoods. Nay more, it is remarkable, and highly to the honour of Walpole, that those very measures against which the loudest clamours were raised, and which were selected by his adversaries as the special ground of their invective—such as Wood's Halfpence in Ireland, the Malt Tax in Scotland, and the Excise Bill in England,—when rightly and calmly examined, appear not only free from blame, but worthy of praise. But, even in making such great deductions from the exaggerations of a party press, we must condemn Walpole for neglecting and slighting its power. He did not see the danger in time, nor provide his remedy with skill. "No man," says a contemporary, "ever set the press to work with so little judgment as he did. He looked upon writing to be a mechanical kind of business; and he took up with the first pen that he could find in public offices, or whom he could oblige by private liberality (1)." He hired his authors as he would his ditchers, holding no personal communication with them, but placing them, in general, under the guidance of Paxton, solicitor to the Treasury, or of other Ministerial subalterns; persons who in general may be observed to have more ignorance of and contempt for literature, than any other class of gentlemen. How could Walpole have expected much popular effect from such mercenary drudges as his party writers? Were these the men to stem the eloquence of Bolingbroke, or retort the irony of Swift? Some pamphlets of considerable power were, indeed, contributed in defence of the administration by Lord

(1) Tindal's Hist., vol. viii. p. 18.

Hervey and Sir William Yonge; but, with a few exceptions, it may be said that all the talent and ingenuity were with the Opposition writers, and that the public mind was gradually and imperceptibly won over to their sentiments. The change was slow, but complete and universal; and thus Sir Robert Walpole's neglect of the public press may be classed amongst the foremost causes of his unpopularity and fall.

Queen Caroline, on the contrary, often wished to befriend learned and literary men; but, being thwarted in that respect both by the King and by the Minister, her wishes were seldom effectual, except in cases of church patronage. However, as her natural sweetness of temper made her unwilling to send any one discontented from her presence, she appears sometimes to have given promises, or at least raised expectations, that were not afterwards fulfilled. Swift, especially, conceived that he had the strongest reason to complain of her and Lady Suffolk; but his accusations are, as usual, clouded with spleen and satire. He was pining in his Irish Deanery, to which neither the dignity of his station, nor the flattery of his dependants, could ever reconcile him. Every letter from his friends in England recalled a brighter scene, and kindled his dormant regret. "After all," he writes to Gay, "this hum-drum way of life might be passable enough, if you would let me alone. I shall not be able to relish my wife, my parsons, my horses, nor my gardens for three months, until the spirit you have raised shall be dispossessed (1)." In 1726, he, for the first time since the death of Queen Anne, made a visit to England, apparently not unwilling to tender or accept overtures of reconciliation with the Court. He found Pope and Gay intimate with Lady Suffolk; he speedily became the friend of their friend; and this was a channel of communication with her mistress, then Princess of Wales. Yet Swift declares that, when the Princess wished to see him, she sent "at least nine times" before he would obey her summons. When at length he did come, she received him very graciously. He began the conversation by telling her, that he was informed Her Royal Highness loved to see odd persons; and that, having sent for a wild boy from Germany, she had a curiosity to see a wild Dean from Ireland (2). His powers of wit fully atoned for his want of courtly manners; and, during the few months of his stay, he became no unfrequent visitor at Leicester House.

With Walpole also, the Dean, by means of Lord Peterborough, obtained an interview, on the plea of laying before him the real state of Ireland (3). The Minister received him with civility, heard him with attention, and asked him to dinner at Chelsea. But, if Swift expected any offers to be made for his advancement, or even

(1) Letter of January 8. 1733.

(2) Swift to Lady E. Germaine, January 8. 1733. The "wild boy from Germany" was found in the woods of Hanover, in 1725, and considered a great

phenomenon. See a note to Swift's Works, vol. xiii. p. 197.

(3) Swift to Lord Peterborough, April 28. 1736.

any wish to be expressed for his support, he was wholly disappointed. Walpole, with his usual disregard of literary eminence, took no pains to conciliate this most powerful writer, and appears to have treated him exactly as he would any other Dean from Ireland. No wonder that Swift thought his great abilities misunderstood and slighted. He writes to Lady Suffolk, "Pray tell Sir Robert Walpole that if he does not use me better next summer than he did last, I will study revenge, and it shall be VENGEANCE ECCLESIAS-TIQUE (1);"—and he kept his word!

His second, and, as it proved, his last journey to England, early next year, was heralded by the publication of his *Gulliver's Travels*; the most admirable satire ever conveyed in a narrative, and the most plausible disguise that fiction ever bore. So well is the style of the old English navigators copied—so much does there seem of their honest simplicity and plain common sense—so consistent is every part of the story—so natural all the events after the first improbability,—that the fable, even in its wildest flights, never loses an air of real truth. "I lent the book," says Arbuthnot, "to an old gentleman, who went immediately to his map to search for Lilliput (2)." In Ireland, one Bishop sagely observed, that for his part he hardly believed a word of it (3)!

We may also observe in these *Travels*, as the especial talent of Swift, his manner of implying or assuming as certain the charge he wishes to convey. To give only one instance:—"In Lilliput the style of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the Europeans; nor from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; but aslant from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England!"

At the time of the publication, also, many strokes of satire, now no longer applicable, and therefore scarcely perceived, gave infinite delight. In the following passage, for example, he doubtless had in view the proceedings against Atterbury and Lacy, and some of the Royal Speeches at that period:—"It was a custom in Lilliput, that, after the Court had decreed any cruel execution, the Emperor always made a speech to his whole Council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness, as qualities known and expressed by all the world. This speech was immediately published throughout the kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the people so much as these encomiums on His Majesty's mercy; because it was observed, that the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and the sufferer more innocent!"

Yet, though *Gulliver* thus abounds with satire upon Courts, he became a great favourite at the little Court of the Princess of Wales.

(1) Letter of February 1. 1727.

(2) Letter to Swift, November 8. 1726.

(3) Swift to Pope, November 27. 1726.

Lady Suffolk and the Princess herself eagerly read the book, and warmly welcomed the author. Her Royal Highness graciously accepted from him a present of some Irish silks for herself and the young Princesses, and promised him in return some medals, which, however, were at first delayed, and afterwards forgotten. Such little neglect is not very uncommon in private life, and does not seem to call for any very extraordinary indignation. But by Swift it was most bitterly resented: he has recorded it again and again both in prose and verse; and almost to the close of his life we find him complaining of the forgotten medals and unrequited silks! He might have known that in those times few things were less remembered than presents to Princes. A popular German writer tells us that, having once offered a costly picture to his sovereign, he was honoured with a warm embrace, and his picture with one of the best places in the gallery. But only a year afterwards he stood by, when his Highness showed the picture to a foreign minister, and said, "It is really a fine piece, and I rather think that "I bought it cheap (1)."

From the manner in which Swift always harps upon his petty grievance of the medals, we may conclude that he had no greater to urge against the Court. On the death of George the First, he kissed their new Majesty's hands, and for some time buoyed himself with expectations (2); but finding, to his mortification, Walpole confirmed in power, and more hostile than ever, he returned to Ireland; yet he did not, for some years, relinquish his friendly correspondence with Lady Suffolk; until at length losing all hope, and with hope all patience, he renounced her as false and faithless; declaring that "Bob, the poet's foe," possessed her ear; and from that time also he began to make the Queen the object of some of his sharpest satirical attacks (3).

The resentment of Gay against the Queen had still less foundation. He had paid her assiduous court as Princess; and, a few weeks after coming to the throne, she said to Lady Suffolk, in allusion to one of Gay's Fables, that she would now take up the Hare with many Friends (4). Accordingly she obtained for him the appointment of Gentleman Usher to one of the Princesses, a child about two years old. It was, in fact, an honourable sinecure, affording a provision for his wants, at the same time with leisure for his pen. An easy place of 200*l.* a year was surely no contemptible offer to one who had begun life as apprentice to a silk mercer, and who was now a thoughtless man of genius, without any knowledge of affairs. Yet Gay was persuaded by some officious friends, not merely to decline the offer, but to resent it as an insult. Soon afterwards he joined the Opposition, and declared his quarrel

(1) See Knigge, *Umgang mit Menschen*, vol. iii. p. 10. ed. 1813.

(2) To Dr. Sheridan, June 24. 1737.

(3) See especially the Directions for writing a Birth-day Ode, and the Poem on his own death.

(4) Swift to Lady E. Germaine, January 8. 1733.

by the production of the *Beggar's Opera*, teeming with satirical strokes against the Court and Government. The name of Bob Booty, for example, always raised a laugh, being understood as levelled at Sir Robert Walpole. The first idea of this play appears to have sprung from a suggestion of Swift (1); but the praise of its execution belongs entirely to Gay. Its brilliant success (it was acted for sixty-three nights without intermission) may be ascribed, in some degree, like that of *Cato* under Queen Anne, to party zeal: yet the pleasure with which it is still seen upon the stage is a proof of its real merit.

It must be owned, however, that the attacks of Gay and other dramatic authors at this time far outstepped the bounds that any Government could sanction. Not only did the measures of Walpole stand exposed to every kind of misrepresentation and malignity, but his person was brought on the stage, and his character made the sport of the players. The sequel which Gay wrote to the *Beggar's Opera*, under the name of *Polly*, went as far beyond it in violence as it fell short of it in talent; and the Lord Chamberlain exerted his almost dormant privilege to forbid it (2). Gay was more than recompensed for this disappointment, through a subscription so liberally filled by the Opposition as to gain him nearly 1200*l.*, while the *Beggar's Opera* had only brought 400*l.*; so that, as Johnson observes, "what he called oppression ended in "profit (3)." Other writers, having no such reputation as his to hazard, were restrained by no regard to it. Scurrilous personalities, low buffoonery, and undisguised sedition took possession of the stage, and the licentiousness of morals under Charles the Second was now exchanged for the licentiousness of liberty. The necessity of some curb to these excesses became evident to all parties. In 1735, Sir John Barnard brought in a Bill to restrain the number of playhouses, and regulate the stage; nor did there appear at first a single dissenting voice; but on Walpole attempting to introduce a clause to enlarge the power of the Lord Chamberlain, Barnard declared that he thought that power too great already, and the Bill was dropped.

In 1737, however, another occasion offered for Walpole to effect his object. A farce, called the *Golden Rump*, abounding in sedition and blasphemy, was brought to him in manuscript, with the hope that he might give a considerable sum to purchase and suppress it. Walpole paid the money, but immediately proceeded to extract the most objectionable passages, which he laid before several members of both parties, asking them, whether such a system should be suffered to continue. Being promised their support, he brought in his famous *Playhouse Bill*, under the form of an Amend-

(1) Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 159.

and *Polly* in 1729. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*,

(2) The *Beggar's Opera* first appeared in 1728, vol. i. p. 186.

(3) *Life of Gay*. See also Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 214.

ment to the Vagrant Act. It declared, that any actor, without a legal settlement, or a license from the Lord Chamberlain, should be deemed a rogue and vagabond. To the Lord Chamberlain it gave legal power, instead of customary privilege; authorising him to prohibit the representation of any drama at his discretion, and compelling all authors to send copies of their plays fourteen days before they were acted, under forfeiture of 50*l.* and of the license of the House. Moreover, it restrained the number of playhouses, by enjoining that no person should have authority to act, except within the liberties of Westminster, and where the King should reside. This last clause appears to have been Sir John Barnard's first proposal (1).

The bill passed rapidly, and, as it would seem, without any division, through both Houses, but not without some very strong opposition, especially a celebrated speech from Lord Chesterfield. All parties agree in representing this effort of his oratory as one of the most brilliant ever yet heard in Parliament. It contains many eloquent predictions, that, should the Bill be enacted, the ruin of liberty and the introduction of despotism must inevitably follow. Yet even Chesterfield owns that he has "observed of late" "a remarkable licentiousness in the stage. In one play, very lately acted (Pasquin), the author thought fit to represent the three great professions, religion, physic, and law, as inconsistent with common sense; in another (King Charles the First), a most tragical story was brought upon the stage,—a catastrophe too recent, too melancholy, and of too solemn a nature, to be heard of any where but from the pulpit. How these pieces came to pass unpunished, I do not know; if I am rightly informed, it was not for want of law, but for want of prosecution, without which no law can be made effectual. But, if there was any neglect in this case, I am convinced it was not with a design to prepare the minds of the people, and to make them think a new law necessary!"

Such an insinuation could not fail to have weight out of doors; and still more adapted to popular effect was the name he gives the proposed licensing department, as "a new Excise Office!" But the following plausible arguments might have misled superior understandings: — "The Bill, my Lords, at first view, may seem to be designed only against the stage; but to me it plainly appears to point somewhere else. It is an arrow that does but glance upon the stage: the mortal wound seems designed against the liberty of the press. By this Bill you prevent a play's being acted, but you do not prevent its being printed. Therefore, if a license should be refused for its being acted, we may depend upon it the play will be printed. It will be printed and pub-

(1) See Coxe's *Walpole*, vol. i. p. 516. Tindal's *Hist.* vol. viii. p. 350.; and Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*, Introduction, p. xlii.

"lished, my Lords, with the refusal, in capital letters, upon the
 "titlepage. People are always fond of what is forbidden. LIBRI
 "PROHIBITI are, in all countries, diligently and generally sought
 "after. It will be much easier to procure a refusal than it ever
 "was to procure a good house or a good sale; therefore we may
 "expect that plays will be wrote on purpose to have a refusal: this
 "will certainly procure a good house or a good sale. Thus will
 "satires be spread and dispersed through the whole nation; and
 "thus every man in the kingdom may, and probably will, read for
 "sixpence what a few only could have seen acted, and that not
 "under the expense of half a crown. We shall then be told, What!
 "will you allow an infamous libel to be printed and dispersed,
 "which you would not allow to be acted? . . . If we agree to the
 "Bill now before us, we must, perhaps, next session agree to a
 "Bill for preventing any plays being printed without a license.
 "Then satires will be wrote by way of novels, secret histories,
 "dialogues, or under some such title; and thereupon we shall be
 "told, What! will you allow an infamous libel to be printed and
 "dispersed, only because it does not bear the title of a play? Thus,
 "my Lords, from the precedent now before us, we shall be in-
 "duced, nay, we can find no reason for refusing, to lay the press
 "under a general license, and then we may bid adieu to the liber-
 "ties of Great Britain."

Yet, however ingenious this reasoning, it has been refuted by
 that greatest of all controversialists—Time. The Bill has passed,
 and a hundred years have rolled away; yet still we are not a people
 of slaves. The liberty of the press stands more firmly than ever.
 The stage has lost its disgraceful personalities, not its salutary sa-
 tire. No genius has been checked, no freedom violated, and the
 powers of the Lord Chamberlain's department have been exercised
 with less reference to party than almost any other in the state. It
 sounds well, to say that an honest Government need not fear in-
 vective, and that a wicked Government ought not to be screened
 from it; yet experience shows that no merit can escape detraction;
 that scoffs, not arguments, are the weapons of the stage; that a
 lower and less reflecting class is there addressed than through the
 press; and that, even without reference to ministers, some pre-
 caution is required to guard religion from profaneness, and Royalty
 from insult. It is probable, therefore, that no future Legislature
 will be induced to forego this necessary control, and that, although
 any abuse or mal-administration of the power should be jealously
 watched, the power itself should be as eagerly protected.

END OF VOLUME I.

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