

his ready pen was employed at once to justify their conduct, and to vilify their adversaries.

His writings were recommended by a glare of metaphorical ornament, at that time very unusual, the effect of which was to dazzle the judgment of the reader, fix his attention upon the surface, and prevent him from penetrating into the substance of the argument.

It is a just remark of his biographer, that Bolingbroke too frequently falls into the same error of which he accuses Clarendon, that of giving characters of persons which are incompatible with their actions. He warped history to his own convenience, and was less solicitous to represent past events truly, than, under colour of relating them, to draw parallels with those against whom he directed his efforts, by selecting only such parts as suited his particular views *. In drawing the character of Walpole, Bolingbroke is guilty of the grossest misrepresentation, and the most exaggerated malice. It is recorded of Zeuxis, the celebrated painter, that for the purpose of giving perfection to the portrait of Venus, he selected the most beautiful parts of the most beautiful women, and from the union of those parts, formed the goddess, without a single defect. In his political delineations, Bolingbroke has pursued the opposite line of conduct. He selected from the ministers of all times and countries, their prominent vices, and from their assemblage, drew the portrait of Walpole without a single virtue.

From the versatility of Bolingbroke's political life, no fundamental principle of action could be expected; for where is that principle which at some period he had not violated? Where was the party to which he had not rendered himself obnoxious? Nothing then remained for him, but to form a political creed as versatile as his life, and which, Proteus-like, adapted itself to all times, situations, and circumstances.

His doctrines are principally reduced under three heads. A government by prerogative, rather than by influence; coalition of parties; the supposed perfection of the human species in particular instances.

The leading principle of his writings was, that a government by prerogative was better than a government by influence. In enforcing this topic, the author betrays his aversion to the revolution, while he affects to praise it, by an assertion no less remarkable for its audacity than its untruth; namely, that the rights of the subject were more endangered by the system of influence, which had taken place since, than by that of arbitrary power which was pursued before that æra. That the crown had acquired more sources of power by the establishment of the funds, and nomination of revenue of-

Chapter 25.
1725 to 1726

Remarks on
the political
writings of
Bolingbroke.

* Life of Bolingbroke, p. 334.

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ficers, and enjoyed the means of invading liberty more effectually by the constitution of the revenue, than it ever had been invaded by prerogative. He characterises prerogative as a mere *chimera*, and influence as *a new and undefinable monster, far more dangerous to our liberties*. He avers, that national corruption, which he makes the necessary consequence of investing the crown with the nomination of the officers employed in managing the revenue, is become universal, and that the loss of liberty is the natural and necessary consequence of national corruption. From these premises he draws the obvious conclusion, that it becomes highly necessary to save the ruin of the constitution, by reducing the power of the king, by means of an independent house of commons; and declares that the only method of effecting this, was to lessen the means of corruption, to revive frequent parliaments, and to insure their purity by introducing self-denying ordinances.

This tenet could only be supported by the other two doctrines, equally absurd and extravagant. The second of these doctrines was to enforce the *coalition of parties*, by which he understood that all the invidious distinctions of Whig and Tory *, Dissenter and Church-man, which had so long troubled and distracted the kingdom, should be sunk into those of court and country; the first of which he considers as *a faction and confederacy against the other*; and the second he characterises under the denomination of *constitutionalists*.

With a view to effect this purpose in a free country, in which party is an essential requisite, he drew out a system of policy so artfully contrived, that any man, whatever were his political opinions, might, without appearing to desert his own private notions of government, enlist himself under the banners of any opposition, or vote in favour of any question, however repugnant to his real sentiments, under the notion of opposing or driving out a corrupt minister, and the semblance of laying aside all prejudice and party attachment.

In attempting to *explode all former distinctions, to unite men of all denominations, and to change the narrow spirit of party into a diffusive spirit of public benevolence*, he well knew that he contradicted the history of past ages, and the experience of his own; and he therefore broached the third doctrine, the supposed perfection of the human species, in particular instances. Convinced of the absurdity of advancing, that an opposition composed of the most heterogeneous parts could continue uniformly true to their *professed* principles, and would not be divided or desert each other at the instigations of ambition or self-interest, he

The impossibility of reconciling the Whigs and the Tories, and the different views of those parties, are fully shewn by his own confession, in a letter to Sir William Wyndham, July 23, 1739. Correspondence, Period VII.

turned

turned his hopes of success from the many to the few; to those few who engross the whole reason of the species, who are born to instruct, to guide, and to preserve, and who are designed to be tutors and guardians of human kind. Forgetting his own complaint, that human passions are so strong, and human reason so weak, he described men as they ought to be, and not as they are; men whom he represented as stars still stuck in good plenty up and down our hemisphere, making virtue the foundation of their friendship, and merit the title to their favour; delighting rather to be thought good than great; just in all their dealings; moderate in their pleasures; not solicitous for a place because they want it, but because the place wants them.

But still conscious that he overrated the number of those chosen few, he concentrated the virtues and wisdom of the whole species into one man, A PATRIOT KING, whom he considered as born to form the happiness and glory of England, under whose government the head, and all the members, should be united in one common cause, and animated by one common spirit.

In drawing this chimerical character, he laid down positions no less chimerical. He supposed that all distinctions of party, all cabals for favour, and all jealousy in individuals possessing, or contending for power, should be entirely suppressed by the wisdom and virtue of one man, whom he calls a sort of standing miracle; and that a whole nation should be so perfect in judgment, and just in practice, as to acknowledge that they were made happy by such exertions. In this extraordinary attempt to reconcile the ideas of a government by prerogative with those of liberty and happiness, he endeavours to bribe the imagination instead of convincing the judgment, by an artificial and brilliant display of all those scenes of splendor and domestic felicity which are so lavishly and exquisitely portrayed in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and Fenelon's *Telemachus*; scenes which adorn the page of the speculative philosopher, but must be considered as mere puerilities from a practical politician.

In giving these reveries to the public, he made use of a specious philosophical jargon, then novel, and calculated to make an impression on ignorant minds; since become more common, and justly exploded, as the cant of hypocrisy or enthusiasm. Its pretensions were founded on candour, liberality of sentiment, universal philanthropy, and a tender concern for the happiness of posterity.

He described himself as labouring to reinfuse the spirit of liberty, to reform the morals, and to raise the sentiments of the people. He dwelt with rapture on the ideas of perfect government, and the completion of social happiness. He talked of the moral system of the world, the system of infinite wisdom, the universal law

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of reason, of moral duty drawn from the constitution of human nature, of the general fitness of things. He maintained that the shortest and easiest method of arriving at real knowledge, was to trace back government to the first good principles on which it is founded; principles and measures of conduct founded on true propositions, all of which are obvious, many of them self-evident; principles laid in the system of human nature, drawn from that source from whence all the duties of public and private morality must be derived. He boasted of the noble prerogative of governing a society of freemen by a constitution founded on the eternal rules of right reason, and directed to promote the happiness of the whole, and every individual. After some trite observations, that the good of the people is the ultimate and true end of government, and that without liberty no happiness can be enjoyed by society, he styles the king the first servant of the people, considers his right as a trust, and theirs, which he calls an indefeasible right, as a property.

From the numberless contradictions and political absurdities to be found in almost every page of his works, I shall select two instances which relate to Walpole. After having described the hideous monster, corruption, and shewn that unless it was annihilated it would swallow up the constitution, and destroy those liberties without which no happiness could be enjoyed by society; after displaying the necessity of shutting up with all the bars and bolts of law, the principal entries through which the torrents of corruption have been let in upon us, he adds, I say the principal entries, because, however it may appear in mere speculation, I think it would not be found in practice to be possible, no nor ELIGIBLE neither, to shut them up ALL.

After having, in a long series of invectives, reprobated in every particular, and reproached the corruption of Walpole, ascribed to that all his power in the cabinet, and in the senate, branded him with the names of high priest, first missionary, and treasurer of corruption, he acknowledges that the ascendancy he had acquired could not be attributed to his superiority of parts, OR HIS CLUMSY TALENT OF BRIBERY alone, but that his long continuance in office must be ascribed to the faintness and indecisiveness of opposition.

In fact, the noble writer himself lived to see the impracticability of his own speculative doctrines. He therefore looked forward to what he called better times, and left his visionary project as a legacy to posterity; I turn myself, he says, from the generation that is going off, to the generation that is coming on the stage. Thus in a few words he confessed, that all his writings, and all his labours were repugnant to the constitution of human nature, as exhibited by his own experience. Fortunately, the baneful effects of Bolingbroke's influence were counteracted by the known profligacy of his principles, and the unpopularity

popularity of his character. For the public prejudice against him was so great, that Pulteney recommended his departure from England, because his co-operation rendered their cause less respectable *.

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His speculative effusions, notwithstanding their splendour of diction and graces of style, are not consulted as containing just axioms or practical precepts; except by those who wish to avail themselves of the laxity of his political tenets, and his affectation of recurring to first principles and abstract doctrines, for the purpose of substituting a capricious and theoretical system, in the place of a well defined and limited government †.

CHAPTER. THE TWENTY-SIXTH:

1723—1725.

Disturbances in Ireland, occasioned by Wood's Patent.—Public and secret History of that Transaction.—Character of Lord Middleton.—His Disagreement with the Duke of Grafton.—Indiscreet Proceedings of Government.—Embarrassments and Conduct of Walpole.—Duke of Grafton recalled, and Lord Carteret appointed Lord Lieutenant.—Resignation of Lord Middleton.—Surrender of the Patent.—Tranquillity restored.—Tumults in Scotland, on levying the Malt Tax.—Prudent Conduct of Walpole.—Character and Services of the Earl of Ilay.

THE year 1725 teemed with events of the highest importance to the interest and security of England, both in regard to foreign and domestic affairs, and gave sufficient employment to the cabinet. The foreign affairs were distinguished by the celebrated treaties of Vienna and Hanover; the

* Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, July 23, 1739. Correspondence, Period VII.

† The works of Bolingbroke, principally alluded to, are *The Occasional Writer*, his essays in the *Craftsman*, which were afterwards collected and re-published under the Title of a *Dissertation on Parties*, with a sarcastical dedication to

Sir Robert Walpole, and *Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England; Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, on the Idea of a patriot King, &c.* His posthumous Letters on the Study of History, have been ably retorted in Horace Walpole's *Answer*, and in *Leland's Reflections*.

domestic

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domestic tranquillity was interrupted by disturbances in Ireland, arising from Wood's patent of coinage, and tumults in Scotland, both of which were suppressed by the prudence and vigour of Walpole.

No minister ever suffered more abuse for the indiscretion and violence of others, than Sir Robert Walpole. The tumults in Scotland, on account of the duty on malt, and the disturbances in Ireland, relating to Wood's patent, because they happened under his administration, were solely attributed to his misconduct; whereas the duty on malt was carried in the house of commons by the country gentlemen, in opposition to his sentiments; and the grant of Wood's patent, was an unfortunate legacy left by the earl of Sunderland, in which he had no other share than in passing it when he was at the head of the treasury.

To judge by the accounts generally given of that transaction, it would appear a monster of despotism and fraud, that the halfpence were deficient in weight and goodness, and that the circulation of them would have been followed by the total ruin of Ireland.

In fact, the inimitable humour of Swift, which places the kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other, has misled our judgment and captivated our imagination; and most persons have formed their opinion from his Drapier's Letters and satirical poems, rather than from authentic documents or well attested facts. The simple narrative of this transaction, stripped of the exaggerated dress in which the malignant wit of the author has invested it, is reduced to a short compass.

Grant of
Wood's pa-
tent.

There being great deficiency of copper currency in Ireland, the king, in virtue of his prerogative, granted to William Wood, a patent for coining farthings and halfpence, to the value of £100,000 sterling, on certain terms which the patentee was bound to follow. William Wood, who in the party language of Swift is ridiculed under the denomination of a *hardware man* and a *low mechanic*, was a great proprietor and renter of iron works in England. He had a lease of all the mines on the crown lands in thirty-nine counties, was proprietor of several iron and copper works, and carried on, to a very considerable amount, manufactures for the different preparations of those metals*. Among many proposals submitted to government, that which he delivered was accepted, and was considered by all persons of judgment or capacity, not biased by party or national prejudice, as beneficial to Ireland.

ferment in
Ireland.

But the natives did not see it in so favourable a light, and before the money was circulated, a general ferment was excited. The ostensible causes of complaint were derived from the consideration, that the king had treated

* Anderson's Commerce, vol. III. p. 124.

Ireland as a dependant kingdom *, that the patent was granted to a person who was not a native, that the coin was stamped in England, and that as a great profit was likely to be derived, the benefit should have principally accrued to the public. All the attempts of the duke of Grafton, then lord lieutenant, to subdue the public aversion were ineffectual. The spirit of opposition seized all orders of men, and even many of the king's servants, who held the chief places under his administration.

Inflamed by national zeal, the two houses passed addresses to the crown accusing the patentee of fraud and deceit, asserting that the terms of the patent were infringed both in the quantity and quality of the coin, that the circulation of the halfpence would be highly prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of the commerce, and of most dangerous consequence to the rights and properties of the subjects: the commons, with an absurdity and effrontery hardly credible, declared, that even had the terms of the patent been complied with, the nation would have suffered a loss at least of *one hundred and fifty per cent*! and indeed the whole clamour rested on partial or ignorant representations. It was not at that time expected or dwelt on as a matter of speculative propriety, that the weight of the copper coin should be adequate to its circulating value; and the assertion that Wood had carried on notorious frauds and deceits in the coinage, as advanced by Swift, and that the intrinsic was not equal to one eighth of the nominal value, was proved to be false by an assay made at the mint, under Sir Isaac Newton, and his two associates, men of no less honour than capacity, the result of which was, that in weight, goodness, and fineness, it rather exceeded than fell short of the conditions of the patent.

But the clamour, however unjust, was raised, and became general; and it was a necessary act of prudence, not to increase the ferment, by forcing upon a nation what was considered as unjust and fraudulent. Lord Carteret, who succeeded the duke of Grafton in the office of lord lieutenant, failed no less than his predecessor, in all his endeavours to obtain the introduction of the copper money. The patent was surrendered, and tranquillity restored. Wood, as an indemnification for the loss he had sustained, received pensions to the amount of £. 3,000 a year for eight years †.

Such is the public history of Wood's patent; and it is difficult to conceive by what means or by what intrigues this simple transaction, calculated for the benefit of Ireland, and in which not a single right was infringed, or a

Surrender of
the Patent.

Secret history
of the trans-
action.

* See Primate Boulter's Letters.

† Correspondence.

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single grievance inflicted, could be so misunderstood and perverted, as to create a general ferment, and nearly to overthrow the administration of Townshend and Walpole. The secret history of this event, which the documents, under my inspection, enable me to give, will assist in tracing the motives and causes which gave rise to the disturbances, and finally occasioned the surrender of the patent.

The emoluments arising from the disposal of the patent for supplying Ireland with copper coin, were given by Sunderland to the duchess of Kendal, who sold it to Wood. Sunderland had warmly recommended it to his friend, the duke of Bolton, who was at that time lord lieutenant; but he met with so much difficulty in his attempts to countenance and support the project under hand, that he had neither courage or inclination to propose a scheme which he foresaw would greatly embarrass his administration. On his death, the duke of Grafton was promoted to that high office, at the recommendation of Walpole, he consented to bring it forward, and was promised the support of the king's friends in Ireland.

Walpole's reluctance.

Walpole, on succeeding Sunderland at the head of the treasury, instantly saw and appreciated the difficulties in which this transaction would involve him; and with as much frankness as his situation at that time would permit, remonstrated against the grant, as likely to become unpopular; but being unwilling to offend the duchess of Kendal, the extent of whose influence over the king, he had unfortunately experienced, reluctantly submitted to what he could not prevent, and employed every means in his power to remedy the abuses and obviate the difficulties. He took the advice of the attorney and solicitor general, obtained the ratification of the lord chancellor of England, and by proper assays at the mint, secured the execution of the terms stipulated by the patent, which at length passed the usual forms, and was sent to the lord lieutenant for the purpose of being put into execution.

Duke of Grafton, lord lieutenant.

When the duke of Grafton returned to Ireland in August 1723, things were in a state very different from that in which they had been erroneously represented to him by the English cabinet. He found a ferment rising in the nation; a general aversion to the patent; and a most decided opposition from those who, as he had reason to believe, had promised their warmest support. The character and conduct of the duke of Grafton, were not calculated to conciliate parties, or to restore union and harmony in a country like Ireland, distracted with troubles, and abounding with persons disaffected to the English government. He was a nobleman of high honour and disinterested probity; but proud and imperious, fretful and choleric, and highly conscious

of his dignified situation. Though by no means deficient in abilities, yet he did not possess sufficient skill and address to guide the helm of state in a difficult period: he was well characterised by his friend, Walpole, as *a fair weather pilot, that did not know how to act, when the first storm arose.*

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1723 to 1725.

Opposition
and character
of lord Mid-
leton.

The success of the measure was principally impeded by the unexpected and inflexible opposition of lord chancellor Middleton, who has, on that account, incurred the bitter reproaches of Walpole, Townshend, and the duke of Grafton, in their correspondence with each other. Upon a candid review of his conduct, however, it appears that he was actuated by no improper motives, but, in common with many other persons in Ireland, considered the plan imprudently introduced, and inimical to the true interests of the country. The private letters which passed between him, his brother, and son, and which I am enabled to lay before the public, will afford a clear explanation of his motives; and a comparison of them with those of the two ministers, and of the duke of Grafton, relieve the characters of each party from much of that obloquy which flowed from the rage of discordant politics.

Alan Brodrick*, descended from an illustrious family, whose ancestors may be traced from the conquest, was second son of Sir *Saint John Brodrick*, knight, of Richmond in Yorkshire, and of Wandsworth, who obtained a grant of lands, in the county of Monaghan, during the government of Oliver Cromwell. He performed such essential services in assisting the restoration, that he procured a farther grant of a large estate in the county of Corke, and obtained a charter from Charles the Second, for the town of Middleton to return two members to parliament.

Alan was bred up to the law, and rose to such eminence in that profession, that in 1695, he was appointed solicitor general, and being chosen member for the city of Corke in 1703, he was unanimously elected speaker of the house of commons, attached himself to the Whigs, and having opposed some bills which were favoured by the duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant, he was removed from the place of solicitor general. In 1707, when the Whig administration was formed, he was made attorney general, and in 1709, chief justice of the Queen's Bench; but was removed in 1711, when the Tories came into power. He was chosen, in 1713, member for the county of Corke, and again elected speaker by the Whigs, in opposition to the castle interest.

During the last years of queen Anne, he proved his faithful attachment to the religion and constitution, by promoting the succession of the house of

* Lodge's Irish Peerage.—Communications from the honourable William Brodrick.

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Hanover, and was highly instrumental in counteracting the cabals of those who were inclined to restore the Pretender. In reward for these eminent services, he was, at the accession of George the First, nominated chancellor of Ireland, in 1715 was created a peer, by the title of baron Brodrick, and in 1717, advanced to the dignity of viscount Midleton. In the same year he was also chosen member of the British Parliament for Mithurst in Suffex, which borough he continued to represent till his death. When the functions of his high office did not render his presence necessary in Ireland, his eloquence and abilities were useful in supporting the measures of government in England.

As he considered himself obliged to Sunderland for his promotion to an Irish peerage, he attached himself to the party of that minister. But neither his obligation or interest could induce him to swerve from his duty to his country, or to support administration in measures which he disapproved. He resisted all the solicitations, offers and menaces of Sunderland, to vote in favour of the peerage bill, and he persisted in opposition to the request of the lord lieutenant, and the orders of the sovereign. The minutes* of his conversations with Sunderland and others on that occasion, and the rules which he laid down for his conduct, afford evident proofs of his integrity and firmness, and do honour to his memory. His refusal in this instance offended Sunderland, and nothing but the difficulty of finding a proper successor for the office of lord chancellor prevented his disgrace. He was treated however, with so much coldness and disregard, that for three years he expected every moment to be dismissed; a situation of uncertainty, which he bore with unexampled patience and dignity.

On the death of Sunderland, he attached himself to Carteret, in opposition to Townshend and Walpole. He joined to a natural warmth and vehemence of temper, which he himself was the first to acknowledge, an high consciousness of his own talents and influence, which produced an unbending pertinacity of opinion, and a display, often ostentatious, of his own services and importance. He possessed great dignity of sentiment, and a spirit so independent, that he would not permit even his personal esteem for the king to bias his conduct in the duties of his high station; he considered the salary of office his due for his exertions as chancellor, and thought himself at liberty to act, vote, and speak in parliament (as a lord), just in the same manner while he was on the woolsack, as he would have done on one of the benches†.

The warmth of his temper was increased by the still greater warmth of his brother and son.

* Correspondence. Article Peerage Bill.

† See Correspondence.

His elder brother, Thomas Brodrick, had from his first entrance into life, uniformly promoted the Protestant succession. He was a member of the privy council to king William, and sat in the English parliament for the borough of Stockbridge, and afterwards for Guildford; and in the Irish parliament for the county of Corke. In consideration of his services, he was by the Whig administration made comptroller of the salt duties, and joint comptroller of the army with Sir Philip Meadows, which places he resigned in 1711, when the Tories came into power. On the accession of George the First, he was again appointed a member of the privy council, but was not gratified with any place. As chairman of the secret committee for the examination of the South Sea affairs, he had acquired great popularity, and had stood forth one of the warmest advocates for severe and rigorous measures against the directors, and those who had in any degree promoted the South Sea scheme. As a Whig, he was strongly attached to the principles of that party; generally supported government, but not uniformly; possessed great weight among the country gentlemen inclined to the Whig interest, and not unfrequently had proposed and carried questions in opposition to the known sentiments of the minister. He was held in high estimation by the king, as the head of a family which had ever shewn an unabated zeal in favour of his succession; and had been courted by Sunderland, and after his death, by Carteret and Roxburgh. He was a man of high spirit and probity, but his temper was violent, captious, and overbearing.

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1723 to 1725.

Character of
Thomas Bro-
drick.

Saint John Brodrick, son of lord Middleton, was not deficient in talents and knowledge; possessed great skill in debating, which he managed with good effect in the Irish house of commons, where his father's advice and interest rendered him highly respected. He was presumptuous and confident; sanguine in his hopes, and vehement in his pursuits; affecting great foresight, sagacity, and discernment. He was highly irritable, readily provoked, but open to flattery and easy of delusion. He was first chosen a member of the Irish parliament for the borough of Middleton, and afterwards represented, until his death, the city of Corke. He was elected in 1721, and in the new parliament, which assembled in 1722, for Beralston, in Devonshire.

and of Saint
John Bro-
drick.

Both the brother and son caballed with lord Carteret, and seem to have conceived a violent antipathy against Walpole, which was heightened by his opposing the bill for permitting the importation of Irish calicoes. The proud consciousness entertained by lord Middleton of his abilities and influence in Ireland, was increased by the repeated accounts transmitted from his brother and son, of the king's high sense of the services rendered by the whole family, and by Carteret's repeated declarations, that he alone was capable

Their antipa-
thy to Wal-
pole.

of

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Misunder-
standing be-
tween Graf-
ton and Mi-
dleton.

Dec. 23,
1723.

Causes of the
unpopularity
of the patent.

of governing Ireland. His opposition received an additional impulse from the sanguine representations of his son, that the power of Walpole was declining, and a full conviction that the combination of Cadogan, Carteret, and Roxburgh, would triumph in the cabinet.

An unfortunate misunderstanding had taken place between the duke of Grafton and lord Midleton, who, in the capacity of one of the lord's justices, had directed the administration of affairs, and conscious of his influence in the two houses of parliament, expected to retain the same power on the arrival of the new lord lieutenant. The duke of Grafton, however, was by no means inclined to place implicit confidence in the chancellor, who had shewn so many instances of an intractable temper, and hostility to Walpole. He courted the opposite party in the cabinet, and particularly consulted his competitor for authority, William Conolly, speaker of the house of commons, by whom he was almost implicitly directed. On his arrival in Ireland in 1723, he was offended at the chancellor, for disrespectful behaviour, and bitterly complained to the archbishop of Dublin, who being inimical to Wood's patent, did not conceal, or perhaps exaggerated the dissatisfaction of the lord lieutenant. The conduct of lord Midleton in parliament was so offensive to the duke of Grafton, that he connived at the passing of a vote of censure in the house of lords, for delays of justice, occasioned by his absence from Ireland. This insult, solely ascribed, by lord Midleton, to the duke of Grafton, increased the misunderstanding; and the duke was so incensed, that he peremptorily insisted on his exclusion from the number of lords justices during his absence.

These jealousies, fomented by Carteret, laid the foundation of a successful opposition to the introduction of Wood's coinage, which opposition was aided by the concurrence of indiscreet and unpopular proceedings.

Great discredit was thrown upon the measure, by a report, industriously circulated, that the profits of the patent were to be shared between Wood and the duchess of Kendal. This fact was insidiously communicated by Carteret, to Alan Brodrick, second son of lord Midleton, during his visit at Hanover, transmitted by him to his friends in Dublin, and soon made public by various allusions of Swift, in his writings and political ballads, in one of which he says :

" *When late a feminine magician,
Join'd with a brazen politician,
Expos'd, to blind a nation's eyes,
A parchment of prodigious size *.*"

* A Simile on our Want of Silver, and the only Way to remedy it.

The

The indiscretion of Wood, and of his friends in Ireland, was also detrimental to his cause. They exaggerated the quantity of coin to be issued, and the gains which would accrue to the patentee, and made repeated boasts of his power and influence in the English cabinet. Wood himself defended the privy council, by observing, that if a proclamation was necessary, he could have it, or any thing that was wanting to enforce the currency of his coin; and that the complaints and remonstrances were not intended against him, but against the king and ministry for making the grant.

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1723 to 1725.
Indiscretion
of Wood,

The misconduct of government was still greater. The patent was passed without formally consulting either the lord lieutenant or privy council, and its contents were concealed in Ireland: by these means exaggerated rumours of its evil tendency were diffused, which were universally credited, and not found to be false, until their wide circulation had made a deep impression on the public mind, which it was impossible to efface. The lord lieutenant landed on the 13th of August. He had scarcely assumed the reins of government, before he publicly declared, that he was perfectly unconcerned in the event, that the patent was passed before he was made acquainted that it was in agitation, and that he had no instructions about it from the king or the ministry. On the 13th of September, an address was presented from both houses, requesting information concerning the patent. In his answer, returned the 14th, he declared that he had neither the patent, nor any copy, nor even any paper which would give them any satisfaction; but on the 16th, when the house was actually assembled with a view to make a strong remonstrance on the subject, Hopkins, the secretary to the lord lieutenant, informed the speaker, that a person attended without with the exemplification of the patent, which, by mistake, had been delivered to the lord lieutenant's servant, instead of his private secretary, and mislaid.

and of go-
vernment.

Even after the irresistible opposition which shewed itself in parliament, no attempts were made to soften or conciliate those members who were against the patent; on the contrary, some were received at the castle with coldness; others were treated with marks of indignity, and Saint John Brodrick was slighted and offended. By these means, the lord lieutenant precluded all confidential intercourse with the chancellor and his friends, who were prevented from explaining the motives of their conduct, and undeceiving him in those points in which he had been misinformed.

The conduct of Walpole himself was not at first marked with his usual caution. He suffered the lord lieutenant to depart without specific instructions in what manner he was to act, should the parliament oppose the introduction of the coinage. He trusted too much to the representations of those who were friends

Conduct of
Walpole.

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to government, and who were either ignorant of the real situation of affairs, or unwilling to offend, by transmitting disagreeable truths which they well knew would be communicated by others. He did not sufficiently appreciate the great influence of the chancellor and his family, in both houses of parliament, and when that influence appeared predominant, he attributed the strength of opposition solely to the combination of the Brodricks with lord Carteret. He bitterly accused lord Midleton of treachery and low cunning, of having made, in his speeches, distinctions between the king and his ministers, of caballing with Carteret, Cadogan, and Roxburgh, and of pursuing that line of conduct, because he was of opinion the opposite party in the cabinet would gain the ascendancy. He did not believe the disturbances to be so serious as they were represented, nor was he satisfied with the duke of Grafton's conduct, as being solely directed by Conolly, but declared that the part acted by Conolly, *almost excused what the Brodricks had done* *.

Notwithstanding this confession, he resolved to support the duke of Grafton in his resentment against the chancellor, and obtained from the king a promise, that he should be removed whenever it was thought expedient, and the formal notification was made by lord Carteret to the lord lieutenant. But his removal was considered at the present moment impracticable, by the temper and situation of Ireland, and by the influence of lord Midleton's friends in the British cabinet.

Carteret complained to the king, that his majesty's name and authority had been used to gratify the private pique and resentment of the lord lieutenant against the chancellor; imputed the disturbances of Ireland principally to that source, and induced the king to declare that those ought to be employed who were most capable of serving him. Thomas Brodrick, in an audience of the king, expostulated against the proposed indignity of excluding his brother from the list of lords justices, proved the weakness of the duke of Grafton's government, and the preponderancy of the chancellor's party, which sufficiently appeared from the vote of congratulation, passed by the commons, in favour of lord Midleton, contrary to the avowed influence of the lord lieutenant. This remonstrance effectually convinced the king of the impropriety of the measures which had been hitherto pursued, and irritated him to such a degree, that Walpole became ashamed and uneasy at the conduct of the lord lieutenant, which brought him into the greatest difficulties he had ever experienced. He discovered that he had been deceived by the misrepresentations sent from Ireland, that lord Midleton had great power

* Correspondence.

and influence, and could not be dispensed with in the formation of a cabinet. Resolved to withdraw his support from the duke of Grafton, and effect his removal, he had determined to obtain the appointment either for the duke of Bolton, or the duke of Dorset, and the arrangement was on the point of being made; when the duke of Argyle embarrassed him, by claiming that high dignity for himself. This unexpected demand suspended the execution of his plan, and together with the increasing ferment in Ireland, rendered it expedient to adopt a new line of conduct. He found that a question of the highest consequence was involved in this dispute, no less than the independence of Ireland; a favourite topic, urged by Molineux, promoted by the archbishop of Dublin, and ably supported by Swift, in his *Drapier's Letters*, and other publications. He was too prudent to suffer this delicate subject to be discussed in parliament. He held frequent conferences with Saint John Brodrick, who had taken his seat in the English parliament, attentively listened to his accounts of the proceedings, confessed that he had been grossly misled, spoke in terms of the highest respect of the chancellor's character and talents, insinuated that the duke of Grafton was about to be recalled, and was only continued in his post until a proper successor could be appointed; disclaimed any intention of excluding lord Midleton from being one of the lord justices, and succeeded so far as to soften, in some measure, the violent asperity which had long distinguished that family.

At this period the struggle * in the cabinet, which terminated in the triumph of Townshend and Walpole, was finally decided. It had been their original intention to remove Carteret entirely, but the embarrassment arising from the claim of the duke of Argyle, and the great difficulty of managing Ireland, rendered it necessary to find a person who would promote the patent, and be likely to persuade lord Midleton, and those who acted with him, to soften their opposition. In this dilemma, lord Carteret was removed from the office of secretary of state to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, Lord Midleton was continued in the office of chancellor, constituted one of the lord justices, and Saint John Brodrick was nominated a member of the privy council.

Carteret lord
lieutenant.

At the same time every effort was made to conciliate the people of Ireland, and to induce them to receive the currency. A report was drawn up by Walpole †, and submitted to the king in council. After fully justifying Wood

Walpole's
report.

* See chapter 24.

† The original is in Sir Robert Walpole's hand writing, among the Orford Papers.

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from the charge of not having fulfilled the terms of his contract, and shewing that his halfpence exceeded in value and weight the conditions required in the patent, it recommended to the king, that it would be advisable to order, that instead of £. 100,000, Wood should be permitted to import into Ireland only £. 40,000, to be current to such as voluntarily pleased to accept them: the king sent his order in conformity to this advice.

Increasing
disturbances.

The report, though drawn up with great precision and clearness, made no impression. It was answered by Swift in the *Drapier's Letters*; his hardy assertions and false representations were implicitly believed, and the popular outcry was so violent, that the lords justices refused to issue the orders for the circulation of the coin. A general panic seized even the king's best friends, who were apprehensive of popular commotions. People of all descriptions and parties flocked in crowds to the bankers to demand their money, and drew their notes with an express condition to be paid in gold or silver. The publishers of the most treasonable pamphlets escaped with impunity, provided Wood and his patent were introduced into the work. The grand juries could scarcely be induced to find any bill against such delinquents; no witnesses in the prosecution were safe in their persons; and no juries were inclined, or if inclined could venture, to find them guilty*. Not content with refusing to bring in a bill of indictment against the printer of the *Drapier's Letters*, the next grand jury of Dublin, in a presentment drawn up by Swift, presented all persons as enemies to the government, who should endeavour, by fraud or otherwise, to impose Wood's halfpence on the people.

Moderation
of Walpole.

In this alarming state of affairs, Walpole acted with becoming moderation: he saw that the popular frenzy was so strong, that it would be madness to attempt introducing the copper currency by force; that to repeat the orders to the lords justices, who had declared their resolution not to obey them, would only again expose the king's honour, without the smallest hopes of success; that although to permit them to continue after that refusal, would be to renounce for ever all authority of the crown, yet to remove them on this account, would increase their popularity so much, that they might be able to counteract the measures of government†. He resolved, therefore, to act a temporising part; to send over lord Carteret without a moment's delay to bring the people gradually to a proper temper; to suspend or surrender the patent as circumstances required; and, after the restoration of tranquillity, to remove the chancellor, and to appoint

* Primate Boulter's Letters.

† Correspondence.

new lords justices, of whom, at least the majority should be natives of England.

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1723 to 1725.

Motives of
Carteret's
conduct.

On his arrival in Ireland, Carteret found himself in a very delicate and embarrassed situation, and at first view his whole conduct in this transaction is mysterious and inexplicable. He had secretly opposed the patent, fomented the discontents and jealousies of lord Midleton and the Brodricks, and excited, underhand, the disturbances in Ireland. In the frequent conferences which he held with Thomas and Saint John Brodrick, accounts of which were transmitted to lord Midleton, he appeared so hostile to the patent, that Saint John Brodrick says of him, "Lord Carteret is perfectly free from all *suspicion* of being concerned in, or wishing well to this base project *;" and lord Midleton suspected that Wood's patent would be insisted on by Walpole, merely with a view to embarrass lord Carteret, and create difficulties to his administration †. But he had no sooner taken upon him the office of lord lieutenant, than he promoted the introduction of the copper coin with so much zeal, as induced lord Midleton, who was astonished at the change of his sentiments, to observe, that he could not have employed more industry to attain his end, even if the success of his labours would be attended with an entire restitution of the favour and authority which he formerly enjoyed.

The motives of his conduct are well explained by lord Midleton, in his letters to his brother. His secret sentiments were strongly in favour of the patent, because it was proposed by his friend Sunderland, and he always maintained its validity, as derived from the prerogative of the king, which vested in the crown the right of coining money. But with a view to embarrass Walpole and Townshend, whom he wished to remove, he secretly favoured the opposition in Ireland, caballed with the Brodricks, spoke slightly of the duke of Grafton, and insinuated that the duchess of Kendal had a share in the profits of the patent. He exaggerated the alarm, and irritated the king by repeated representations, that the discontents in Ireland were owing to the umbrage which the duke of Grafton had given to lord Midleton. His hopes of overturning his rivals by these means were so sanguine, as induced him to acknowledge to Saint John Brodrick, that the patent was the luckiest incident that could have occurred in favour of his party in the cabinet. But he was no sooner convinced that his credit with the king was declining, and that he should be removed from the office of secretary of state, than he prevented his total disgrace by agreeing to accept the lord lieutenancy

* Saint John Brodrick to lord Midleton, May 10, 1724.

† Correspondence, p. 425.

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under the promise of promoting the patent, and of prevailing with his friend lord Midleton to desist from his opposition. He confided in his own efforts and address to effect the introduction of the money, when lowered to £. 40,000; and to stop the discussion on the question concerning the independency of Ireland.

In conformity with these promises, lord Carteret employed all his address, and used the great influence which he possessed over his friend, to prevail on him to promote, or at least not to oppose the introduction of the coin. But all his efforts failed. Neither flattery, promises, or threats, had any effect; Midleton uniformly and decidedly persisted in his opposition; while he expressed the highest obligation to the lord lieutenant, he declared that his duty to his country was paramount to every other consideration, and refused to give any assistance to government, until the patent was absolutely surrendered. This conduct drew upon him the resentment of his former friend: he was received at the castle with coldness and reserve, and considered as an enemy to the king's government; he accordingly resigned the seals with disgust, and Richard West, one of the king's counsel, was appointed lord chancellor in his place.

Resignation
of lord Mi-
dleton.

May 1725.

Surrender of
the patent
announced
by the lord
lieutenant.

The inflexibility of lord Midleton annihilated all hopes of success; the king followed the advice suggested by Walpole, and consented to procure the surrender of the patent. In the speech from the throne, the lord lieutenant observed, "I have his majesty's commands at the opening of this session, to acquaint you, that an entire end is put to the patent, formerly granted to Mr. Wood, for the coining of copper halfpence and farthings for this kingdom, by a full and effectual surrender thereof to his majesty, an exemplification of which, under the great seal of Great Britain, shall be laid before you. So remarkable an instance of his majesty's royal favour and condescension, must fill the hearts of a loyal and obedient people with the highest sense of duty and gratitude; and I doubt not, but you will make such suitable returns as may convince the world, that you are truly sensible of the happiness you have enjoyed under his majesty's most mild and gracious government, ever since his accession to the throne of these kingdoms; and that the preservation of all our religious and civil rights must ever be owing, under God, to the support of his majesty's government, and the succession in his royal house *."

The gracious manner in which the surrender of the patent was announced, in compliance with the wishes of the nation, did not satisfy the party in

* Historical Register, 1725.

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1723 to 1725.Proceedings
in the house
of lords,

opposition. Their great object was to shew that the surrender was solely owing to the king, and to cast reproaches on the English administration, as if they had occasioned the disturbances, by promoting the patent, and had been uniformly averse to its revocation. With this view, when the primate moved an address of thanks to the lord lieutenant for his speech at the opening of the session, particularly to express their grateful sense of the *king's goodness and condescension for putting an end to Wood's patent*, the archbishop of Dublin proposed inserting the words, "*and great wisdom*," observing, in justification of this amendment, that the ministers had been the authors of the patent, but that the king had been *wise* enough to see the mischiefs, and accordingly revoked it. He was powerfully seconded by lord Midleton, and the motion for the amendment was carried. For the purpose of counteracting this suggestion, the primate laid before the committee, an address somewhat differing in form from the resolution of the house, and with the omission of the words *great wisdom*; but the lords in opposition insisting, that the committee was bound to receive those expressions, the primate was compelled to add them. On the 23d, however, the friends of government obtained their point. When the report of the address from the committee was laid before the house, a motion was made to leave out the obnoxious words; and after a strenuous opposition, in which lord Midleton exerted himself with great ability and with much petulance, was carried by 21 against 12*.

This victory decided, in favour of government, the struggle in the house of lords, and the decision of the first question in the commons, promised a similar issue. An address was moved, acknowledging the king's great goodness and condescension in obtaining a full and effectual surrender of the patent, and expressing a grateful sense of all favours, and of the many blessings enjoyed under his mild and gracious government. The unanimity with which this address was carried, without a single dissenting voice, seemed to augur a quiet and successful session; but the friends of lord Midleton, amongst whom Saint John Brodrick was the most able and the most violent, excited a warm opposition, which required some time and much management before it subsided.

and in the
commons.

When a proposal for a supply was laid before the house, it was agreed to in general terms; but the grant was delayed under various pretences. A committee being appointed to examine the public accounts, and the amount of the national debt, the statement of government was not allowed. The

* Primate Boulter's Letters, p. 35.

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debt was said to be magnified with a view to obtain a larger sum than was requisite, and it was particularly objected, that no credit was given for cash in the hands of the collectors, and for several solvent branches of the revenue not yet received; various resolutions were passed, which embarrassed government, or delayed the payment of the army; a tax on salaries, profits of employment, places and pensions, was carried in opposition to the castle interest: But after some struggle, the ways and means were voted *, and on the 8th of March the lord lieutenant put an end to this stormy session.

1726.

The ferment having subsided, and public confidence being restored by these prudent compliances, lord Midleton quitted Ireland, and settled in England until the time of his death †. Carteret was permitted to retain only a nominal power; the principal authority was vested in Dr. Hugh Boulter, who had, from the bishoprick of Bristol, been raised, in 1724, to the primacy of Ireland, and a resolution was adopted of filling the high charges of state with the natives of England, which the primate considered as an essential requisite for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and for the ease of those who governed in Ireland ‡.

During the progress of the disturbances in Ireland, Scotland became the scene of similar agitations.

Duty on malt
evaded in
Scotland.

Since the union, the natives of Scotland had objected to the payment of many taxes imposed by the British parliament on the united kingdoms, and had shewn themselves particularly averse to the duty on malt, which they long evaded under various pretences.

Proposal to
enforce it.

The English country gentlemen were highly dissatisfied with this exemption of the Scotch from a burden which was considered as heavy and grievous. Accordingly, when in a committee of ways and means, the continuance of the malt tax was proposed, Thomas Brodrick moved to adjourn the committee till Monday, for the purpose of considering of a method for obliging

1724.
February 7.

* Proceedings of the parliament in Ireland, Historical Register for 1725.

† Before his return to England, Fawkenor, the printer, requested permission to dedicate the Drapier's Letters to him, as the preserver of Irish liberty, and the father of his country, but he declined it in terms of high indignation.

‡ It redounds, indeed, much to his honour, that although lord Midleton refused to support the patent, yet he condemned, in the strongest terms, the violent conduct of Swift, and of his patron the archbishop of Dublin,

whom he represents as the two persons from whose politics and wrangling, Ireland had received more damage than it could have been in the power of its worst enemies to have brought upon it.—Lord Midleton to Thomas Brodrick, November 17, 1724. Correspondence.—Lord Midleton died in 1727.

‡ Primate Boulter's Letters, p. 19. The contents of this chapter are principally drawn from the letters in the Orford, Townshend, Walpole, and Midleton Papers, Correspondence, Period III.

Scotland to pay a proportionate part of the duty on malt. Walpole, foreseeing the evil effects which might result from using compulsory means, opposed the motion*; but finding the sense of the house against him, prudently suffered the adjournment to pass without a division. On the next meeting, however, of the committee, he contrived to evade any alteration in the bill, which was continued as usual for one year. But the clamours of the country gentlemen were so violent, that in the next session it was proposed, that instead of the duties on malt in Scotland, a duty of sixpence should be paid for every barrel of beer or ale; and the question was carried by a majority of 133 votes against 41 †.

This act had scarcely passed before the people of Scotland were influenced by misstatements of its tendency, and by a partial representation of the relative situations of Scotland and England. A legal argument was drawn up with much skill, put into familiar language, circulated with great activity, and had an alarming effect upon the public mind. It was thus stated: The Scots act of Charles the Second, passed in 1681, stands yet unrepealed, which declares that the right of succession to the crown shall devolve according to proximity of blood; that no difference in religion can alter or divert it; and that it is high treason, by writing, speaking, or otherways to endeavour any alteration or diversion, or to debar the successor from the immediate, actual, and free administration of the government. The only bar to the validity of this act, is the treaty of union, which was contracted by two independent kingdoms, and was to remain in force as long, and no longer, than each fulfilled its articles. It is universally acknowledged by the public law of nations, and confirmed by the reason of the law which prevails in private contracts, that the violation of any material articles of a compact is a legal dissolution of the whole. The resolutions of the house of commons, which transferred the duty on malt to a duty on beer, being contrary to the 6th and 7th articles of the Union, will dissolve that Union; the dissolution of the Union, by bringing the Scots act into force, instantly dethrones George the First, and renders the next in succession of the line of Stuarts king of Scotland. The people are released from their oath to the dissolved government, and under no obligation to obey the laws of the revenue; and the commissions of the judges who are entrusted with the execution of those laws, are become void. It was also observed, that the annals

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Opposed by
Walpole.

10th.

December,
carried.

Means em-
ployed to in-
flame the
Scots

* Saint John Brodrick to Lord Middleton, February 8, 1723. Correspondence.

† Political State for December 1724, p. 593.

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of history afford many instances, where infractions of compacts, though considered at the time of little consequence, have proved no less destructive to the party which made the encroachments, than to those who were oppressed. Israel having once revolted, upon a trifling occasion, from Judah, the seat of government, powerful in wealth and arms, could never be reduced to obedience, and became a separate kingdom. Sweden joined to Denmark by the union of Calmar, was released from its dependence by the breach of that union on the part of Denmark; and a defender was found in Gustavus Vasa, who restored liberty to his native country. The United Provinces, oppressed by taxes, and shackled in the free exercise of religion, shook off the yoke of Spain, under the powerful government of Philip the Second; the Scots gave sufficient proofs of their resistance to repeated oppressions under the reigns of Charles the Second, and James the Seventh, and they are now called upon to resist the tyranny of the minister, who keeps the king and country in chains, and is attempting to rivet a tax on this country, which is an infringement of the Union, and hostile to their liberty and independence*.

Tumults at
Glasgow.

These representations had a strong effect, and a general ferment took place, in a country like Scotland, which teemed with Jacobites, and where, according to the expressions of the earl of Ilay, *by a long series of no-administration, the mere letter of the law had little or no effect with the people*. The public discontents broke out at Glasgow on the 21st of June, when the commissioners of the excise were preparing to do their duty, and the people threatened to stone them if they attempted to visit the malt-houses. Application being made to general Wade, commander in chief of the forces in that part of Scotland, he sent two companies of foldiers, under the command of captain Bushel, for the purpose of supporting the commissioners, and quelling any riot.

The populace assembled in considerable numbers, repeatedly exclaiming, "Down with Walpole, and up with Scaforth; the Mackenzies are up in the north, and will soon come to our assistance &c." They broke open and plundered the house of Daniel Campbell, member for the city; assaulted and drove away the troops, who were finally compelled in their own defence to fire; and after killing and wounding three or four, retreated in good order to Dumbarton.

* Grant's Letter to Sir Robert Walpole. Orford Papers.

General Wade's Letter to the duke of Newcastle, July 1, 1726. Walpole Papers.

General Wade, informed of these events, marched with a large body of troops to Glasgow, and accompanied by Duncan Forbes, the lord advocate of Scotland, took quiet possession of the city; arrested some of the rioters, apprehended the magistrates, and conveyed them prisoners to Edinburgh, for being accessary, or at least for having connived at the tumults, and taken no pains to discover the rioters. They were tried by the lords justiciaries; acquitted, and immediately discharged. Captain Bushel, who had been arraigned for murder, according to the forms of law, was convicted and condemned; but as the orders by which he had commanded his troops to fire, had been dictated by self-defence, he was pardoned, and promoted in the service. The rioters at Glasgow were brought to trial; yet such was the lenity of government, that four only, after being scourged, were sentenced to transportation, and one woman was condemned to stand thrice in the pillory.

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Although this tumult at Glasgow, and the riots which took place in a few other towns were suppressed, yet they gave rise to an affair at Edinburgh, which threatened the most serious consequences. The magistrates of Glasgow had been accompanied to Edinburgh by a large body of the inhabitants, who reproached the people for betraying the interests of their country; and upbraided them, that by submitting to the law, they would become the instruments of wreathing about their necks the insupportable bonds of the malt tax*. The acquittal of the magistrates being considered as a victory over government, the popular discontents increased to an alarming degree. The brewers entered into a combination not to give security for the discharge of the new duty, and not to brew if they were judicially called upon for payment. All the maltsters in Scotland depended on this combination of the Edinburgh brewers, who were considered as the chosen champions of Scottish liberty†.

Confederacy
of brewers
at Edinburgh.

The cause of the brewers was highly popular among all ranks and distinctions of men, not only of those who were not employed by government, but even of those who were invested with authority. Some of the lords justiciaries were timid, or lukewarm, others secretly averse to the imposition of the tax; while the justices of the peace, and the magistrates of the principal towns, openly expressed their disapprobation.

But the greatest obstruction arose from the conduct of the duke of Roxburgh, secretary of state for Scotland. He was strongly attached to Carteret and Cadogan, and had joined them in attempting to remove Townshend

* Letter from John Campbell to Sir Robert Walpole. Correspondence.

† Letter from the earl of Ilay to Mr. Stewart. Correspondence.

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and Walpole; and aware that his dismissal had been recommended to the king on the removal of Carteret, still continued to augment the division in the cabinet. He now secretly encouraged the discontents in Scotland, and counteracted or delayed the orders of government, which, in virtue of his office, were issued by him. A general opinion also prevailed, that a firm resolution to resist the new imposts with unabating zeal, would be attended with a success similar to the event of the struggle which had been recently made in Ireland, in opposition to Wood's coinage, where the unanimous voice of the country was on the eve of obtaining from government the surrender of the patent.

The brewers were still farther encouraged to persevere, by rumours industriously circulated by persons of credit and consequence, that these severe measures were adopted by the regency, contrary to the inclinations of the king, only for the purpose of supporting Walpole; that in the next session of parliament he would be disgraced; that the chief power would be lodged in the hands of Pulteney, in conjunction with the duke of Roxburgh; and that those who now submitted would be exposed to the resentment of the new administration, and the fury of the populace.

Mission of
the earl of
Ilay.

In this dilemma, the minister, with the approbation of the regency, deputed Archibald, earl of Ilay, lord keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, to Edinburgh, armed with full powers from government, and privately instructed by Walpole, who tempered the violent orders sent from Hanover. The removal of the duke of Roxburgh from the office of secretary of state, which was adopted at the earnest request of Walpole, soon convinced the deluded people, that they had been imposed upon by the enemies of government, in supposing the minister disagreeable to the king, and that his opponents would be triumphant. General Wade, in pursuance of the act of parliament passed in the preceding year, disarmed the highlanders of the most disaffected clans, and the inhabitants of the Isles of Mull and Sky. The spirit and zeal of lord Ilay, broke the combination at Edinburgh, and restored tranquillity; to him Walpole wholly attributed the final suppression of the riots; and the warm praises of his conduct, which he transmitted to the king, do honour to the exertions of the one, and to the gratitude of the other.

From this period lord Ilay became the person in whom Walpole implicitly confided for the management of the Scottish affairs, which he conducted with great ability and prudence, and with so much real authority, that he was called the king of Scotland. The rise, progress, and termination of

these tumults, are minutely related in the correspondence which passed between Sir Robert Walpole, lord Townshend and the earl of Ilay *.

Archibald, earl of Ilay, and afterwards duke of Argyle, on the death of his brother John, was second son of Archibald earl of Argyle. He was born at Ham house, at Peterham, in 1682, educated at Eton, and resided in England until he was about seventeen years of age, when he was sent to the university of Glasgow. Being a younger brother, with a small fortune, he went to Utrecht, and made a considerable proficiency in the civil law, with a design to practise in that line. But his father being created duke, he renounced this intention, and embraced the profession of arms. He was, when very young, appointed colonel of the 36th regiment of foot, and governor of Dumbarton castle. But finding himself more qualified for a statesman than a soldier, he quitted the army, and with his usual assiduity, employed himself in the acquisition of political knowledge. In 1705, he was appointed lord register of Scotland, and in the ensuing year, was nominated one of the commissioners for settling the union: in consideration of his services, he was created earl of Ilay, and on the conclusion of the treaty was chosen one of the sixteen-peers of Scotland, and constantly elected in every future parliament, till his death, excepting that which assembled in 1713. His exclusion at that time, was owing to the zeal with which he had abetted the cause of the Whigs, and promoted the succession of the Protestant line. In 1710, he was made justice general of Scotland.

Although he had long renounced the profession of arms, yet when the rebellion broke out in 1715, he placed himself at the head of a corps of royalists, prevented, by his prudent conduct, general Gordon, at the head of 1,000 men, from penetrating into the Western Highlands; and raising levies, joined the duke of Argyle at Stirling, and was wounded at the battle of Dumblain. His military conduct was only a temporary exertion. His principal merit consisted in his parliamentary abilities, which were very considerable. In his study of the law, he had acquired acuteness of apprehension and method of arrangement. His speeches were replete with solid arguments and keen observations, his language was plain and fluent, and his manner grave and solemn. He continued invariably attached to Sir Robert Walpole, during his long administration, and counteracted, as much as lay in his power, the violence of his brother's politics, when he joined

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the earl of
Ilay.

* Article, Tumults of Scotland.

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opposition. In 1725 he had been nominated keeper of the privy seal, and in 1734, he was made keeper of the great seal, which office he held till his death*.

Walpole, having thus, by timely concession on one hand, and by a due mixture of vigour and moderation on the other, suppressed these alarming disturbances in Ireland and Scotland, expressed, in a letter to lord Townshend, his exultation, his sense of the difficulties from which he had been relieved, and his resolution to avoid similar embarrassments. "I think we have once more got Scotland and Ireland quiet, if we take care to keep them so."

CHAPTER THE TWENTY-SEVENTH:

1725.

Dissolution of the Congress of Cambray.—Origin and Progress of the Union between the Emperor and Spain.—Treaty of Vienna.—Affairs of the North.—Alarms and Conduct of England.—Application to Parliament.

The Emperor and Spain dissatisfied with the quadruple alliance.

I HAVE already observed, that the quadruple alliance, which was concluded with a view to terminate the disputes between the Emperor and the king of Spain, equally displeased both parties. Accordingly both the Emperor and Philip obstructed the success of the negotiations at the congress of Cambray, where attempts were forming, under the mediation of England and France, to settle the final terms of reconciliation between those two powers.

Pretensions of the Emperor.

Besides many other objects in dispute, the Emperor was unwilling to renounce the establishment of the East India company at Ostend, and was still more reluctant to bestow, according to his promise, the investiture of Parma and Tuscany on Don Carlos, from a just apprehension, that the settlement

* For many of these particulars, I am indebted to the obliging communications of lord Frederick Campbell.

of a Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon in Italy, would endanger the security of his dominions in that country. Chapter 27.
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Philip no less eagerly insisted on the restitution of Gibraltar, which he declared had been promised to him, as the price of his accession to the quadruple alliance, and retarded his evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, until the investitures of Parma and Tuscany should be bestowed on Don Carlos. The consequence of this mutual repugnance, to the terms of the quadruple alliance, was a private overture, made by Philip to the Emperor, and the mission of Ripperda to Vienna, for the purpose of adjusting the conditions of their reconciliation. While this secret negotiation was pending, the resentment of Philip and his queen was inflamed by an event which touched their affections and interests in the tenderest point, and justified, in some measure, the violent proceedings which they instantly adopted.

One principal motive which had induced Philip to accede to the quadruple alliance, was the double marriage between his family and the house of Orleans. Don Carlos was affianced to Mademoiselle Beaujolois, the fourth daughter of the duke of Orleans, and the infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip, by Elizabeth Farnese, was betrothed to the king of France. This arrangement was highly advantageous to both the contracting parties; for as the Infanta was only four years of age, her marriage with Louis the Fifteenth, left the chance of an eventual succession to the crown of France still open, to which Philip and his queen, notwithstanding repeated renunciations, looked with anxious expectation; and should the young king live to consummate the marriage, the infanta of Spain would become queen of France, and their descendants sit on the throne. The regent was no less gratified by the contemplation of his own advantage resulting from the same circumstances; he considered the precarious health of the young king, and the infancy of his bride, as placing at a very remote distance the prospect of a lineal heir, and opposing no obstruction to the hopes he entertained of reigning in his own right, for the security of which, he depended on the promised assistance of England.

Views of the
duke of Or-
leans.

During the life of the duke of Orleans, the infanta was treated at Paris as the future queen; but after his death, the duke of Bourbon, in compliance with the general sense of the nation, and in conformity to his own interest, sent back the infanta to Spain, and affianced Louis the Fifteenth to the daughter of Stanislaus, titular king of Poland. This measure, however just or necessary in itself, was conducted with such want of address and circumspection, that it produced an immediate rupture between France and Spain. The abbot de Livry, who was commissioned to open this delicate business,

Return of the
infanta.

Period III. 1726 to 1727.  business, was ordered to deliver to the king of Spain, letters from Louis the Fifteenth and the duke of Bourbon, explaining, in respectful terms, the reasons which induced them to send back the infanta. Livry, instead of fulfilling his orders, was no sooner admitted to an audience, than he threw himself on his knees, kissed the king's hands in an agony of despair, burst into tears, and thus betrayed his errand before he offered to deliver the letters. Both the king and queen refused to receive them, turned from him with indignation, and dismissed him from their presence with the greatest marks of ignominy. On receiving a notification from their minister at Paris, that the infanta was to be returned, Livry and the French consul were ordered to quit Madrid in twenty-nine hours, and Philip publicly declared, that Spain could never shed sufficient blood to avenge the insult offered to his family.

Resentment
of the king
and queen of
Spain.

On the day which succeeded the issuing of these orders, Philip, in an audience which he gave to the British ambassador *, enumerated, in an agony of resentment, all the aggravating circumstances which had accompanied this insupportable indignity offered to his daughter; he made the most bitter complaints at the manner in which it had been carried into execution; and accused the duke of Bourbon of having added duplicity to insult. He had, they both alledged, repeatedly approved the marriage with the infanta, had even assured their minister at Paris, that the espousals should be celebrated on the 30th of March; he had made this declaration even after the abbot de Livry was commissioned to notify the resolution of dissolving the marriage; and then, without waiting for their answer, had published the resolution in France. The deceit and fraud of this whole proceeding, they observed, were so flagrant as must render them contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, and of their own subjects, did they not feel the highest resentment at such enormous ingratitude. After these expressions, Philip declared his determination of separating himself from France for ever; he trusted this resolution would not occasion any decrease in the friendship of the king of England, but rather draw closer the bands of union and amity. He was determined to place his entire friendship and confidence in him alone, and declared that he should order his plenipotentiaries at Cambray to reject the mediation of France, and to submit the final settlement of the points in dispute, between him and the Emperor, to the sole mediation of England †.

England re-
jects the sole
mediation.

This offer was no sooner declined by George the First, as injurious to his alliance with France, than Philip transferred his resentment to England,

William Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, 19th March, 1725. Harrington Papers.

† William Stanhope to the Duke of Newcastle, Madrid, March 20, 1725. Walpole and Harrington Papers.

broke up the congress of Cambray, and sent immediate orders to baron Ripperda, to conclude the terms of a final reconciliation with the Emperor.

Ripperda found an easy compliance in the Emperor, who had long been dissatisfied with George, both as king of England and elector of Hanover; as king, for his strict alliance with France, and his refusal to co-operate in excluding Don Carlos from the succession of Parma and Tuscany; and as elector, for the acquisition of Bremen and Verden, and for refusing to pay the enormous fine demanded for the investiture.

The disputes between Spain and the Emperor, which had so long embarrassed and agitated Europe, and which had been rather heightened than composed by the congress of Cambray, were terminated in a few conferences, and the two sovereigns, in whose quarrels such a deluge of blood had been shed, and such immense treasures expended, suddenly contracted an alliance for the mutual support of each other's interests, without the knowledge of those very powers who had so long and ineffectually attempted to negotiate an accommodation between them.

Treaty of
Vienna.

This alliance between the Emperor and Spain, concluded at Vienna, consisted of three separate treaties. By the first, signed on the 30th of April, the two sovereigns confirmed the articles of the quadruple alliance. Charles the Sixth renounced his pretensions to the crown of Spain; Philip acknowledged the Emperor's right to Naples and Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, and guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, or the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, in the female line.

In consequence of this sudden union, the new allies were suspected of forming the most ambitious and dangerous projects. It was not credited that Philip the Fifth would so easily have renounced that just claim, which he could form on the Netherlands, Naples, and Milan, should the Emperor die without issue male, and have guaranteed the whole Austrian succession, in the female line, unless the Emperor, in return, had promised some secret articles in favour of the children of Philip, by Elizabeth Farnese, who wholly governed the councils of Spain. Influenced by these considerations, England and France were no less alarmed at the treaty of Vienna, than offended at the insult offered to them as mediating powers, in concluding that alliance without their interposition. These suspicions were soon afterwards strengthened by the indiscreet and violent expressions of Ripperda; by intelligence from the British ministers at Madrid and Paris, and from St. Saphorin, the British agent at Vienna; they were confirmed by the immediate demand of the restitution of Gibraltar, made by Spain; as the sole and indispensable condition of the continuation of peace and commerce with England.

Alarms of
England.

It.

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1720 to 1727.

Further treat-
ties.

It soon appeared that a second and third treaty had been signed on the first of May. The second was a treaty of commerce; and supported the establishment of the Ostend company, which the maritime powers considered as contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, and as involving in its consequences the diminution of their Indian trade. The third was a treaty of mutual defence; the two sovereigns guaranteed their respective territories, and engaged to support each other with all their force, should either be attacked; the king of Spain to supply fifteen men of war, 15,000 infantry, and 5,000 horse, or stipulated subsidies instead; the Emperor to bring into the field 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse.

See ret arti-
cles.

But besides these conditions, reports of other articles were circulated and believed; that the Emperor promised to give in marriage his daughters, the two arch duchesses, to Don Carlos and Don Philip, the two infants of Spain, and assist in obtaining by force the restitution of Gibraltar, if good offices would not avail. In addition, it was strongly rumoured, and many circumstances induced the ministers to believe, that arrangements were making to place the Pretender upon the throne.

Audience of
the Imperial
minister.

George the First received the notification of the treaty of Vienna, from Count Staremberg, the Imperial ambassador, with the greatest coldness, and an appearance of the most perfect indifference. In an audience, to which he was introduced by lord Townshend, he began by observing, that on the proposal of Ripperda, at Vienna, to commence a separate treaty, the Emperor had replied, that the congress of Cambray being established for the purpose of settling the disputes between him and the king of Spain, under the mediation of Great Britain and France, he did not see the necessity of altering the train of the negotiation. But when Ripperda insisted (on the part of Spain) that an attempt should be made to compose their differences, the Emperor, reflecting on the difficulties derived from the misunderstanding between Spain and France, and considering that Spain had rejected the mediation of France, and that the king of England had declined the sole mediation, conceived, that for the promotion of the public tranquillity, it was his duty to endeavour to form an amicable compromise with the king of Spain. This attempt had been crowned with success, the treaty was at length signed; he was commanded to communicate a copy of it to the king, and Fonseca, the Imperial minister at Paris, was also commissioned to lay another before the king of France. He observed, that the treaty was in all respects conformable to the quadruple alliance, and only regulated those points, which remained to be adjusted. He remarked,

remarked, that as the Emperor had bound himself by the quadruple alliance, to guarantie the succession to the crowns of England, France, and Spain, Philip had, in conformity to the dictates of reason and justice, consented to guarantie the pragmatic sanction. His Imperial majesty, he said, trusted and hoped that the kings of Great Britain and France would also guarantie that order of succession, by acceding to the treaty; that with this view, an article was inserted for the admission of those powers, who, with the consent of the contracting parties, should accede within a year, and that the article was thus worded, because it was not thought proper to name France, on account of the misunderstanding with Spain. He particularly specified, that although the treaty with Spain was signed, yet the Emperor had ordered his plenipotentiaries not to quit Cambray, until the Spanish ministers had taken their departure. Ripperda, he added, had informed the Emperor, that some points * still remained to be settled between Spain and England; and the king his master requested the Emperor to employ his mediation to that effect. To this request the Emperor had replied, that if those matters related to, and were the consequence of the quadruple alliance, and if the king of England approved it, he would willingly offer his interposition, but that otherwise, he would not interfere.

The king, after receiving the copy, congratulated the Emperor and king of Spain on their reconciliation. He then said, that Spain finding it impossible to overcome the impartiality of the mediators, and to induce them to act in contradiction to the quadruple alliance, had deputed Ripperda with a view to form a direct accommodation with the court of Vienna; that his mission taking place before the quarrel arose between France and Spain, it was not to that event, but to the equity and firmness of England and France, that the overtures from Spain were to be attributed; that the hopes of supporting the public tranquillity, and maintaining the faith of treaties, had induced the mediating powers to exert themselves in attempting to bring the congress of Cambray to a happy conclusion, by settling the objects in dispute, between the Emperor and Spain, which were in themselves so little interesting to the two crowns. He did not take the least notice of the delicacy which the Emperor affected to shew in not being the first to recal his ministers at Cambray, nor of the demand for acceding to the treaty; and he concluded by observing, that in regard to the offer made by the Emperor, of interposing his assistance towards adjusting any differences between England and Spain, he did not recollect that any other subsisted,

Reply of the
king.

Alluding to Gibraltar.

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except

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Audience of
the Spanish
minister.

Affairs of the
north.

except such as related to commerce, and in those there was no occasion for a mediation *.

To the Spanish ambassador, when he notified the treaty, the king expressed his satisfaction at the peace, because he was thereby delivered from a difficult and burdensome mediation; and he added, with a smile, that he hoped the reconciliation would prove as sincere and durable as the parties expected †.

At the moment when the union of the Emperor and Spain threatened the south of Europe with new disturbances, the tranquillity of the north was in danger of being broken by the daring enterprizes of Russia, who seemed to employ, with great effect, the new ascendancy which she had gained as an European power. When Peter the Great had been counteracted in his attempts against Denmark, by the vigorous interposition of England, he turned his views to Sweden, at that time distracted with the troubles naturally derived from a disputed succession, declining under the weak administration of a sovereign almost reduced to a cypher by the new constitution, and enfeebled by factions, natural to a government founded on popular principles, and fomented by a turbulent aristocracy. But he was prevented from taking an active share in the disturbances of Sweden by the Persian war, which carried him from the Baltic to the Caspian sea. At the conclusion of the campaign, he again turned his thoughts to Denmark and Sweden. By gaining the senate, he concluded, in opposition to the king, a defensive alliance with Sweden for twelve years. The aim of this alliance was levelled against Denmark; and a secret article stipulated, that the contracting powers should employ their good offices to obtain the restitution of Sleswic to the duke of Holstein, and if these did not succeed, should have recourse to other measures. He also refused to listen to the overtures of reconciliation with George the First offered through the mediation of France and Sweden, unless the king would bind himself to insist on the restitution of Sleswic. The treaty was scarcely signed, when Peter died; but his wife Catherine, who was raised to the throne by the intrigues and influence of prince Menchikof, adopted all the views of her deceased husband, promoted the cause of her son-in-law with still greater warmth, and made vigorous exertions for the purpose of forcing Denmark to accede to her demands. Thus a new war seemed inevitable, and preparations were made on all sides against an approaching rupture.

Every attempt made by France and England, to reconcile these jarring

* Lord Townshend to St. Saphorin, May 3-14, 1725. Walpole Papers.

† Walpole Papers.

interests, failed of success. Catherine insisted on the restitution of Sleswic, or an equivalent (which alluded to Bremen and Vehrden) as the indispensable condition of her accommodation with Denmark. In vain the senate exhorted her to try the way of negotiation, and earnestly besought her, "for the ease and relief of her subjects, to countermand the chargeable equipments she had been pleased to order in favour of the duke's pretensions on Sleswic." In answer to these exhortations, the empress warmly replied, "Let not any one of you all, that would be reckoned an honest subject, or hope to enjoy the least share of my favour, dare to offer me such mean spirited advice. The duke of Holstein stripped unjustly of his hereditary dominions, took sanctuary in our country, and threw himself into the arms of my deceased lord for protection; he is since contracted to my daughter, and is himself as dear to me as my own child. I am bound by all the rules of honour, as well as the ties of blood, to see justice done to that unfortunate prince, in whose cause I would not scruple to forego the weakness of my sex, and even to draw a sword, or to put myself at the head of an army: I could content myself with cloaths to keep me warm, and with bread to eat; but I will have you know that my children ought to be, and shall be treated as the offspring of my dear lord, and your sovereign deceased. Whoever of you will aid me in this just cause of my son-in-law, shall be encouraged and rewarded; but whoever dares oppose it, shall feel the utmost weight of my displeasure. If the kings of France and Great Britain are really disposed to help the duke of Holstein in recovering his right, this equipment will facilitate their operations, by intimidating the king of Denmark, and putting him to a constant expence. I know that prince will not be able to rest in his bed, nor to keep a single ship in his harbours unequipped, as long as he sees that the fleet and galleys of Russia, with 50,000 men on board, can in a fortnight's time visit him in the very port of Copenhagen. But let France and Britain refuse their assistance to the duke, while I have Sweden and Prussia on my side, I hope he is in no danger of wanting subsistence. In short, it is for my interest and glory, as well as your's, to convince the world, that I have power to see justice done to my family, and that I am resolved to make use of it; and I know no such way of convincing them of this truth, as by letting them see the effects of it with their own eyes."

At the conclusion of these words, she gave orders, in their presence, to Menchikof and Apraxin, to have the fleet and troops in readiness by the middle of May at their peril.

¹ Stephen Poyntz to lord Townshend, Stockholm, May 14, 1725. Walpole Papers.

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Alarming re-
ports.

In consequence of these resolutions, Spain and the Emperor made overtures to Catherine, which were cordially received. Large sums of money were remitted from Madrid to Petersburg, and plans of offensive operation were concerted between them. It was reported that the fleet and troops of Russia were preparing to act, not only against Denmark, but to join Spain and the Emperor in their designs in favour of the Pretender. But none of these transactions had any effect in disturbing the public tranquillity, or exciting the attention of parliament.

Application
to parlia-
ment.

As the embarrassed situation of foreign affairs, and the prospect of an approaching rupture with the Emperor, Spain, and Russia, might render it highly necessary to expend large sums in secret service money; as there was no sum appropriated to such emergencies, and as the revenues of the civil list, loaded as they were with a large debt, were incapable of affording a competent supply, the minister was again laid under the necessity of applying to parliament.

On the 8th of April, a message from the king was delivered to the house, importing that he had been engaged in some extraordinary expences, which he was persuaded his loyal commons would believe to have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the crown, but for the interest and prosperity of his people. The report of the treasury stated the debt at £. 508,363. In the debate, it was asserted that since the civil list was settled, an expence of above £. 90,000 a year had been incurred, which could not be foreseen, and consequently not provided for. Parliamentary relief having been given in a similar case three years before, just and abundant matter was suggested for parliamentary debates and popular complaints. Pulteney was particularly urgent, and commenced on this occasion his public opposition. A compliance with the message however was carried by a large majority.

* For its being taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house on the 9th, 239 against 119; and for passing the bill on the 16th, by 211 against 99. Journals.

CHAPTER THE TWENTY-EIGHTH:

1725

Conclusion and Object of the Treaty of Hanover.—Objections of Walpole.—Removed.—Observations on the secret Articles in the Treaty of Vienna.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in the north and south, when the king arrived at Hanover, on the 25th of June. The whole political horizon was thickly covered with clouds, which seemed to announce a future tempest. To disperse these clouds, and to bring back serenity, seemed almost beyond the power of human prudence.

Negotiations
at Hanover.

Hanover, as the Hague in the time of William, now became the great centre of intrigue and negotiation, and the cabinet of a British sovereign in the heart of Germany, pacified or convulsed Europe. The great object of Townshend's negotiations, was to add vigour to the co-operation of France, to gain Prussia, to detach Sweden from Russia, and to form with France, and by her concurrence in the north, a counter treaty to that of Vienna, which might awe the Emperor and Spain, and prevent the princes and circles of the German empire, from acceding to an alliance, which solely regarded the house of Austria, and was wholly unconnected with the interests of Germany. All these points were effected with consummate address. Horace Walpole obtained at Paris the concurrence of France, however averse to adopt vigorous measures. Townshend, in a conference at Herenhausen, lured Frederick William, by an offer of guarantying his succession to Berg and Juliers, and detached him from Russia and Austria. Poyntz, aided by French and English money, supported the cause of the king of Sweden, depressed the Russian party, and acquired a majority in the senate favourable to the English interest.

In the midst of these auspicious circumstances, a defensive alliance between England, France, and Prussia, was signed on the 3d of September at Hanover, from which it is usually denominated the treaty of Hanover. By the third article, the contracting parties mutually stipulated to furnish, in case of an attack, two months after requisition, England and France respectively 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and Prussia 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse,

Treaty of
Hanover

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Its objects.

horse, or the value in ships or money. If these quotas were not sufficient, they were to agree concerning farther succours; and, in case of necessity, to assist the party attacked with all their forces.

The treaty of Hanover, like most defensive alliances, had two meanings. The ostensible purport was to guarantie each other's dominions, and the treaties of Westphalia and Oliva. The real purport was to form a strong alliance in opposition to the designs of the Emperor, Spain, and Russia, and, under the general tenor of guarantying the privileges of commerce in particular, which the contracting parties actually enjoyed or ought to enjoy, as well in as out of Europe, to compel the Emperor to relinquish his favourite project of establishing the Ostend company, which was considered by England and Holland as contrary to the articles of the treaty of Westphalia; and to counteract the attempts which the Emperor, Spain, and Russia were accused of carrying on in favour of the Pretender.

Approved by
the cabinet.

A copy of the treaty being immediately transmitted by lord Townshend to the duke of Newcastle, was first communicated confidentially to Sir Robert Walpole; and by his advice laid before a select meeting of those * members of the regency, who were most entrusted with the secrets of the cabinet. The result † of the conference was, an unanimous approbation of the contents, and a resolution to support the engagements contracted by this alliance. The lords justices in like manner gave their consent; and immediate negotiations were set on foot to obtain the accession of the United Provinces, Sweden, and Denmark, and several of the German princes and states, which was afterwards effected.

Townshend's
projects:

The resentment entertained at Hanover against the Emperor, is sufficiently proved by a visionary scheme, which the sanguine disposition of Townshend had conceived for the conquest and partition of the Austrian Netherlands, and which he fully enters into and justifies, in a confidential letter ‡ to Horace Walpole. He was moreover too fully assured of its success, that at one time he proposed to divide the conquered provinces between England, France, and Holland; and at another, to transfer them to the elector of Bavaria §. It is most probable that this wild scheme, the im-

* The lord chancellor King, the earl of Berkley, first lord of the admiralty, and earl Godolphin, who was mentioned by the duke of Newcastle as the only person, in the absence of the duke of Devonshire, to whom it was thought proper to entrust a matter of so great secrecy and importance.

† Duke of Newcastle to lord Townshend, September 17, 1725. Correspondence.

‡ Lord Townshend to Horace Walpole, Hanover, August 27, 1725. Walpole Papers.

§ Lord Townshend to W. Finch, 11 November 1725. Walpole Papers.

practicability of which was proved by Horace Walpole in his reply *, was never communicated to Walpole, but if communicated, we may be fully convinced that it met with no encouragement from a minister whose great principle it was to avoid as much as possible all foreign entanglements, and not to enter into any war which was not connected with the security of England.

Townshend announced, with great triumph, the success which attended his complicated negotiations, by the conclusion of the treaty of Hanover. In a dispatch to Horace Walpole, dated September 3, 1725, he observes, "I must now congratulate with you on our having so successfully begun a work, which, if cultivated and improved as it may be, will check the ambitious views of the court of Vienna, and secure the tranquillity of Europe; and in order to obtain that great end, no time ought to be lost to engage other powers to accede to this treaty."

And exultation.

It has been usually asserted, and echoed from one publication to another, that during the reigns of the two first sovereigns of the house of Brunswick, the helm of government was uniformly steered by the Hanoverian rudder, and that the interests of Great Britain were *wholly* sacrificed to the interests of the king's dominions in Germany. But no transaction has been more vehemently arraigned as a dereliction of national honour, than this treaty, upon which lord Chesterfield has said †, "that Hanover rode triumphant on the shoulders of England;" and lord Chatham, in his energetic language, observed, that "it was a treaty, the tendency of which is discovered in the name; a treaty by which we disunited ourselves from Austria, destroyed that building which we now may perhaps endeavour without success to raise again, and weakened the only power which it was our interest to strengthen." It may, perhaps, seem presumptuous to affirm, in opposition to these respectable opinions, that there was no event since the accession of the house of Brunswick, in which the interests of Hanover were more sacrificed to those of England, than in this very treaty, which then raised such an outcry against the Walpole administration, and which still affords a theme for political obloquy.

Imputation of Hanoverian influence

In the first place it may be observed, that if in this treaty the interests of England were wholly sacrificed to those of Hanover, evident proofs of that fact would be traced from the conduct of the king and his German ministers. We

* September 4, 1725. Walpole Papers.

† Further Vindication of the case of the Hanover Treaty.

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Refuted.

should find them uniformly promoting that alliance, uniformly concurring in vigorous measures against the house of Austria; but the contrary is the fact. The king himself opposed the Hanover treaty, and objected to all vigorous proceedings against the Emperor, from a dread of being put under the ban of the empire *, and from a tender concern for his electorate, which was threatened with an immediate invasion; nor was he induced to sanction the measures of the British cabinet, until he was persuaded that, even should a rupture with the Emperor ensue, his German dominions would not be exposed to an attack, because it would only be a naval war, and hostilities would be principally confined to the West Indies †; and that in all events, supported by the united arms of France and England, he would have no cause of apprehension ‡.

The treaty was highly displeasing to the German ministers, who, alarmed at the repeated menaces of the Imperial court, loudly exclaimed, that the king was exposing his Hanoverian dominions to the vengeance of the head of the empire, for the sake only of a few branches of the English trade. They accordingly renewed their efforts against Townshend and Walpole, leagued with opposition, and caballed with those foreign powers who were inimical to the English cabinet.

We now find the Emperor, with whom the Hanoverians are said to have been constantly at variance during the whole reign of George the First, courting that very party; we see his confidential ministers expressing hopes of their assistance to counteract the hostile intentions of the English cabinet; lamenting, in most pathetic terms, the overthrow of that influence, which is held forth as unfavourable to the Imperial interest, and caballing with Bothmar, and Fabricius, the king's chambellan; we trace the empress of Germany corresponding with the duchess of Kendal, for the purpose of infusing pacific sentiments into the king.

Another motive, which had certainly no connection with Hanoverian politics, and was solely derived from a due consideration of England alone, is thus detailed in the report of the treaty of Vienna: "The Emperor has long been desirous to have a naval force, and though his endeavours in Italy have hitherto proved fruitless, because nothing can produce navigation but trade, yet should the Ostend company go on with success, by the natural course of things, the Emperor will in time have a

* Intercepted Letters. Correspondence, Period III.

† Palm to the Emperor, December 17th, 1726.

‡ Townshend's Dispatches to Horace Walpole, November 1725, and August 1726.

naval force on the coast of Flanders, which may prove much more inconvenient to us hereafter, than a fleet in the Mediterranean or Adriatic seas; and there are many reasons why we should be extremely jealous of the increase of shipping in the hands of a popish prince. The command of the seas has frequently past from one nation to another; and though Great Britain has continued longer in possession of the superiority than perhaps any other nation ever did, yet all human affairs are subject to great vicissitudes. We have seen one considerable maritime power established in the north in our memory; Spain likewise was in a fair way to make a figure at sea not long ago, and perhaps may do so still; but the protestant interest at sea is declining. The Dane and the Swede are no longer considerable in the Baltic, and there is reason to apprehend, that the Dutch naval force is not at present upon a very good foot *."

Thus then, I have endeavoured to shew that this treaty was not directed by the interests of Hanover, but diametrically opposed them; that it was wholly an English treaty in every thing, but the name; and that the motive which gave rise to it, was the protection and preservation of British commerce, British possessions, and British government. Its determinate objects were, the preservation of Gibraltar, the abolition of the Ostend company, and, if credit may be given to the supposed secret articles in the treaty of Vienna, the frustration of the plan for restoring the Pretender.

Treaty of
Hanover, a
British treaty.

In thus attempting to explain the motives which led to the formation of the treaty of Hanover, I am not justifying Sir Robert Walpole, for he never entirely approved that alliance; he always thought that the king and Townshend were too much alarmed with the exaggerated rumours and apprehensions of distant evils; he was of opinion, that milder measures might have been pursued with greater probability of success. He strongly objected to one part of their proceedings; that while they were anxious to gain allies on the side of Germany, they neglected to secure Portugal, the advantages of whose friendship, in case of a rupture with Spain, were incalculably great; and he did not hesitate to deliver his opinion, however contrary to the sentiments of the king, and his brother-in-law, with that frankness to which he was always accustomed. He remonstrated, in the strongest manner, against the large sums of money required for gaining Sweden; and when lord Townshend, in the name of the king, demanded £. 100,000 for that purpose, he ventured to declare that it was so large a demand, as could not be legally supplied by any other method than from the civil list; and that £. 50,000

Walpole's
objections.

* Report concerning the Treaty of Vienna. Oxford Papers.

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was as much as that could furnish, without the greatest difficulties, and trusted that no more would be drawn for. He thought Townshend too precipitate in concluding the treaty; hinted his doubts whether the empress of Russia had any serious intention to invade England, and strongly opposed the searching or laying an embargo on the Russian ships, which Townshend suspected were employed in conveying arms and ammunition to the disaffected in Scotland, or Ireland.

He was also dissatisfied with lord Townshend for having concealed the negotiation which terminated in the treaty of Hanover, until it was entirely concluded. He doubted the sincerity of France, and suspected (what really happened) that she would evade paying her share of the subsidies, and that therefore the principal burthen of the expence would fall on England. He was averse to enter upon measures which might tend to diminish the force of the house of Austria, whom he had always considered as the natural ally of England, and the bulwark against the ambitious designs of France, whenever an union with Spain should be re-established, and their finances be recovered from the exhausted state to which they had been reduced by the war of the Spanish succession, and the fatal effects of the Mississippi scheme.

Motives for
supporting it.

He declared, in the most positive terms, that if a war was to be undertaken, which he most heartily deprecated, it was absolutely necessary to convince the nation, that an invasion by a foreign power, or an evident design of an invasion, the support of the Pretender, and the cause of the Protestant succession, were the principal motives that compelled the king to part with that peace and tranquillity which had been attended with such lasting and happy effects. But from the moment that there appeared to him any danger of an invasion in favour of the Pretender, however remote and distant, he caught the alarm. He became not less anxious than his brother minister to adopt measures of defence, and to prepare for hostilities; yet he continued so true to his system, that, during the complicated negotiations which followed the treaty of Hanover, he inveighed against precipitate measures, and invariably recommended caution and forbearance. He was, in fact, so very anxious to prevent a rupture with the Emperor, that he availed himself of the pacific sentiments of the duchess of Kendal*, to counteract, by her influence over the king, the more violent and hostile resolutions of Townshend, who supported the necessity of vigorous measures.

Secret articles
of the treaty
of Vienna
discussed.

It was observed by the late earl of Hardwicke†, that the merits of the treaty of Hanover, entirely rest on the still undetermined points, whether

* Correspondence.

† Hardwicke Papers.

the courts of Vienna and Madrid intended only to compose their own quarrels, or also to take Gibraltar, and to impose the Pretender on England. As these yet undecided points still exercise the sagacity, and give full scope to the conjectures of native and foreign historians, I shall here observe, that the papers and documents submitted to my inspection, fully display the proofs on which the reality of the secret articles was formed, and which produced the public declarations of the king and ministers in parliament, that the Emperor and king of Spain proposed to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar, and the restoration of the Pretender. From a candid review and comparison of these accounts, we may draw this inference, that the king of Spain, urged by resentment, ambition, and interest, was serious in his resolution to extort the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca, at all events; was prepared to employ his whole force against England to restore the Pretender; and that he fully depended on the co-operation of the Emperor, to whom he sent, in fourteen months, 1,340,000 pistoles; and would have remitted more, had the galleons arrived. To these facts, may be added the frequent conferences of Ormond and Liria, son of the duke of Berwick, with the Spanish, Imperial, and Russian ministers; the plan of an invasion given in by Liria; the assembling of troops on the coast of Galicia; the engagement of officers for the Pretender's service; the redemption of the stands of arms which the Pretender had pawned at Cadiz; the distinguished reception of the duke of Wharton, as agent of the Pretender, with the ensigns of the garter, by him recently conferred; and his mission to Vienna for the purpose of concerting a plan of operation. At this crisis, the British ambassador was treated with slight and indignity; he was, to use his own expression, avoided by the grandees like a pestilence. The Jacobite air, "The king shall enjoy his own again," was insultingly played at court, and the duke of Liria did not scruple to declare, that he hoped it would soon be a crime in Spain to mention George the First as king of England.

But a distinction has been made between the king of Spain and the Emperor, on whose behalf it has been asserted, that some reports were afterwards found to have been exaggerated, and some imputed projects never intended to be carried into execution. The Emperor himself positively denied that he had ever entertained serious designs of assisting the Pretender, and declared that he had only lured the queen of Spain with the hopes of giving his daughters in marriage to her two sons, which he never meant to realize. Yet at the time there were strong reasons to believe that he encouraged the Pretender and his agents.

* M. Stanhope's dispatches from Spain, 1725. Harrington and Walpole Papers. See Correspondence, Article Ripperda.

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1720 to 1727.

The Emperor's great object was to establish the Ostend company, and to obtain the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, which England and France declined, and with that view, to force George the First to a compliance, by affecting to co-operate with Spain in favour of the Pretender, and by threatening an invasion of the electorate of Hanover. Yet there were sufficient appearances to justify the apprehensions of the king, and to induce him to believe that the Emperor was sincere in his designs of joining Spain with all his forces, and that he would only be deterred by a counter-alliance. Ripperda said publicly, that by this close union of Spain and Austria, the two sovereigns would avenge the insults they had received; and the partisans of the Emperor boasted, that as he was no longer alarmed for Italy, there was no power in the empire who could venture to oppose the dictates of their master in matters of religion or otherwise *. The Austrian minister publicly boasted, that the Emperor would give laws to Europe; that he would now possess the sole and entire direction of the court of Spain, and that in future the king must be obliged to him for the continuance of the harmony between England and Spain, and for the security of the commercial advantages stipulated with that crown †. Count Sinzendorf also said to Petkum, "Let the king take care of himself, for we know that the people of England are beginning to be tired of him." The Emperor was weak enough to make an unconstitutional distinction between the king and parliament, and boasted to count Oropossa, that by offering to the parliament the exclusive commerce to Spain and the Indies, he should not only obtain the restitution of Gibraltar, but seduce England from France. "My ministers," he added, "are unanimous; I am desirous to favour the people and commerce of England; but Gibraltar and Minorca must first be restored ‡." As the Emperor was at this time known to govern the councils of the court of Madrid, and the strictest union appeared to be maintained between them, it was not possible for ministers to distinguish between his professions and intentions; nor does a subsequent avowal of duplicity on his part, inculcate those who, acting under the impulse of opinions so well founded, formed that treaty, which deterred the king of Spain and his allies from exerting themselves in the execution of those projects, which, if once accompanied with success, might have been pursued to an extent not originally intended by the Emperor. Such were the grounds of alarm which induced Walpole, though not to approve the proceedings in all respects, yet to justify and to support the treaty in parliament.

* St. Saphorin to lord Townshend, Vienna, 11th May 1725.

† Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Stanhope, May 4th, 1725, O. S.

‡ St. Saphorin to lord Townshend, Vienna, May 30th, 1725.

CHAPTER THE TWENTY-NINTH:

Chapter 29.

1725 to 1727.

1725—1727.

The King's dangerous Passage to England.—The Treaty of Hanover approved by Parliament, and vigorous Measures adopted.—Public Indignation against the Emperor.—Walpole's pacific Views.—Preliminaries agreed to by the Emperor—and Spain.—The King departs for Hanover.

THE presence of the king being now necessary in England, for the purpose of laying the treaty before parliament, he quitted Hanover on the 29th of December, and after a short stay in Holland, embarked at Helvoetsluys, on the 1st of January, O.S. at one in the afternoon; and after a violent storm, which continued three days, during which he was exposed to imminent danger, he landed on the 3d at Rye. To the king's escape, the author of the Night Thoughts alludes in his seventh Satire, which concludes with a high eulogium on Sir Robert Walpole.

The king's dangerous passage to England.

While sea and air, great Brunswick! shook our state,
And sported with our king's and kingdom's fate,
Depriv'd of what she lov'd, and press'd by fear
Of ever losing what she held most dear;
How did Britannia, like Achilles weep,
And tell her sorrows to the kindred deep!
Hang o'er the floods, and, in devotion warm,
Strive, for thee, with the surge, and fight the storm!
What felt thy Walpole, pilot of the realm!
Our Palinurus slept not at the helm.
His eyes ne'er closed, long since enured to wake,
And outwatch every star for Brunswick's sake:
By thwarting passions' soft, by cares oppress'd,
He found the tempest pictur'd in his breast.
But now, what joys that gloom of heart-dispel,
No powers of language—but his own can tell;
His own, which nature and the graces form,
At will to raise or hush the civil storm.

The

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
January 20th
1726.
Speech from
the throne.

The speech from the throne was penned with great address, and well calculated to produce an impressive effect. It stated, that the distressed condition of the protestants abroad, the engagements contracted by certain powers, which seemed to lay the foundation of new disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of their most advantageous trade, had obliged the king to conclude a defensive alliance with France and Prussia, and to invite the States General and other powers to accede, with a view to secure their rights and privileges, and preserve the peace and balance of Europe. It adverted to the machinations of the disaffected party, in favour of the Pretender; and after urging the necessity of placing the kingdom in a posture of defence, concluded in the true spirit of the preventive and pacific system adopted by the minister. "When the world shall see, that you will not suffer the British crown and nation to be menaced and insulted, those, who most envy the present happiness and tranquillity of this kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us subservient to their ambition, will consider their own interest and circumstances, before they make any attempt upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by prudent and powerful alliances; and, though desirous to preserve the peace, able and ready to defend themselves against the efforts of all aggressors. Such resolutions, and such measures, timely taken, I am satisfied, are the most effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us the blessings of peace and prosperity *."

Pulteney in
opposition.

January 28th.
February 9th.

Addresses, in conformity with the speech, were presented by both houses, to support the king, against all attempts, to disturb the public repose: And the commons immediately proceeded to consider of a supply. On the proposal for continuing the same number of men as were maintained in the last year, a motion of Shippen, to reduce the 4,000 men, was negatived without a division, and the original question carried. Another being made by Pulteney, for a committee to state the public debts, from 1714 to 1725, Walpole objected to it as unreasonable and preposterous, and calculated to give a dangerous wound to public credit, when the nation were too much alarmed with the appearances of an approaching war; and urged, that in the present posture of affairs, the commons could not better express their love to their country, than by fulfilling their promises, and raising the necessary supplies, for the purpose of enabling the king to make good his late engagements,

* Journals. Ghandler. Tindal.

disappointing

disappointing the hopes of the disaffected, and resenting any insults which might be offered to his crown and dignity. Barnard, member for London, having confirmed the statement of the minister, and observed that stocks had already fallen 12 or 14 per cent.; his remarks made a deep impression on the house; and the motion was negatived by 262 against 89.

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The treaty of Hanover was presented to the house of commons by Sir Robert Walpole, but he did not take any active part on that occasion. The business of the day was principally supported by his brother Horace Walpole, who opened the debate with a very able speech, in which he gave a detail of the state of affairs in Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to that time; dwelt on the dangerous consequences which might result from the union of Spain and the Emperor, and endeavoured to prove the necessity of the treaty formed at Hanover, between England, France, and Prussia, as being the only method of counteracting the ambitious designs of those two sovereigns, preserving the tranquillity of Europe, restoring the balance of power, and securing the trade and commerce of England.

Treaty of
Hanover
approved.
Feb. 16th,
1725-6.

The opposition, with great art, condemned the treaty, as being made solely with a view to Hanover, and as likely to engage the nation in a war for the defence of the king's dominions in Germany, contrary to the article in the act for limiting the crown in the protestant line, which being the basis of the act of settlement, was become part of the constitution, and therefore ought to be held sacred and inviolable. The objection was well answered by Henry Pelham, "That the true meaning and intent of that limitation, was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majesty's foreign dominions of any assistance from this nation; for if so, the king in that respect would be in a worse condition upon his accession to the British throne, than he was before; but only to restrain the sovereign for the future, from engaging the nation, at his pleasure, in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England, without the consent of parliament, to whom the legislature wisely left to judge and determine, whether such a war was just and necessary or no? That for his own part, he was fully of opinion, that if in the present juncture, his foreign dominions should be attacked or insulted, this nation ought to support the king against all his enemies*."

The only share Walpole took in this debate, was in reply to Pulteney, who spoke against the motion, and suggested that the backwardness of the Em-

* Chandler, vol. 6. p. 362.

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1720 to 1727.

peror in granting the investiture of Bremen and Verden might have been one motive for the late measures; observed, "that the king might long ago have received the investiture, if he would have consented to pay the exorbitant fees demanded on that occasion." An address, moved by Pelham, was carried in the affirmative, by 285 against 104; and the same triumphant majority voted an extraordinary supply, an increase of seamen, and testified their hearty concurrence to support government in the most vigorous measures.

Prorogation
of Parlia-
ment.

This session, in which scarcely any opposition was made to the measures of government, was closed on the 24th of May by prorogation; when the king, after returning his hearty thanks for their attention and zeal, and extolling their spirit and resolution, concluded, "The constant employment of my thoughts, and the most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the securing to my subjects their just rights and advantages, and to the preserving to them and to all Europe, the enjoyment of a safe and honourable peace: and I must not conclude without giving you the strongest assurances, that the particular confidence you have placed in me, shall be made use of in such a manner only, as may most effectually conduce to the attaining those good and great purposes *."

Vigorous
preparations.

In consequence of this effusion of parliamentary zeal, the most active preparations for commencing or preventing hostilities were made, in concert with France. The first efforts were directed to the North, as to the point which appeared most dangerous and alarming. For it required no great penetration to foresee, that if Russia would either bribe or awe Sweden into compliance, Denmark would not be able to resist the combination of these two powers. A Russian Squadron riding in the port of Gotheburg, in conjunction with the Swedish fleet, would keep Great Britain in continual alarms, by threatening her with an immediate invasion, and be ready to co-operate with the Emperor and Spain. The golden showers poured into Sweden from France and England, overcame the Holstein and Russian party, and Sweden prepared, on the first appearance of the English Squadron, to renounce the alliance with Russia, and to receive the Hanoverian allies with open arms. The Squadron sent to the Baltic under the command of Sir Charles Wager, effected the purposes for which it was equipped: it inspired Denmark with confidence; enabled Sweden to recede from its alliance with Russia, and to accede to the treaty of Hanover; it com-

pelled the empress Catherine to renounce her hostile attempts in favour of the duke of Holstein; and though she afterwards concluded a formal alliance with the Emperor, yet it was not attended with any material effects. Threatened with an attack from the united arms of France, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, who had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, and finding herself not likely to receive any effectual assistance from her ally the Emperor, who, though he had seduced Prussia from the Hanover allies, had been foiled in his attempts to gain the princes and circles of the empire, her impotent resentment subsided at the near approach of danger, and her fleet quietly remained in her ports, without venturing to oppose the British squadron.

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1725 to 1727

These vigorous measures in the North, which detached Sweden from Russia, and prevented all concert between the Emperor and Catherine, effected the most difficult part of the business, and were a prelude to the successful issue of the exertions against Spain and the Emperor. The haughty and restless ambition of Spain had roused up the spirit of the British nation, but strong prejudices in favour of the house of Austria prevailed in England. The Emperor had many partizans, and even Walpole was inclined not to push matters vigorously against him, but the imprudence of the Emperor destroyed these favourable impressions.

This year gave birth to two events of great importance, which occurred nearly at the same period, the fall of Ripperda, and the disgrace of the duke of Bourbon. The fall of Ripperda, of which a full account is given in a subsequent chapter, was unfavourable to the interests of England. On his disgrace, he took refuge in the house of the British ambassador, where he was arrested by command of the king of Spain. Stanhope complained of the violation of the law of nations, and was warmly supported by the foreign ministers. The Spanish cabinet tendered excuses; memorials and counter memorials passed between the two courts; the misunderstanding was increased, and Philip made vast preparations by sea and land, which were evidently designed for the siege of Gibraltar*.

Fall of Ripperda.

The disgrace of the duke of Bourbon was received at the courts of Madrid and Vienna with the highest transports of joy, as a sure prelude to the separation of France from England, and reconciliation with Spain. The elevation of Fleury was hailed by the Jacobites as the beginning of a new æra, and the certain forerunner of a successful attempt to place the Pretender on the throne, by the united arms of France, Spain, and Austria; but the address of Horace Walpole, who had secured his confidence, prevailed

June.
Disgrace of
the Duke of
Bourbon.

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1720 to 1727.

on the new minister to maintain the union, and to ratify the engagements specified in the treaty of Hanover. While the opposition in England industriously circulated reports, that the cabinet was duped by Fleury, the French party hostile to his measures, and the queen of Spain, declared that Fleury was a coward, and wholly governed by that heretic Horace Walpole*.

Meeting of
parliament.

The parliament assembled the 17th of January 1727, and the king in his speech from the throne observed, that he had received information from different parts, on which he could entirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom was one of the articles of the secret engagements; and if time should 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 indignation must this raise in the breast of every protestant Briton†! This whole speech is singularly full and explicit, and in length exceeds all others, which, since the revolution, had been delivered from the throne. The conclusion peculiarly animated and impressive: "If preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the possessions of the crown of Great Britain, of infinite advantage and security to our trade and commerce; if supporting that trade and commerce against dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the present establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people, are any longer considerations worthy of the care and attention of a British parliament; I need say no more to incite my loyal and faithful houses of parliament to exert themselves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them."

Zeal of par-
liament.

The zeal and indignation raised by this speech was so great, that the address of thanks was carried by a majority of 251 against 81; and the commons proved, that the warm terms in which they conveyed their approbation of the measures which had been pursued, were not confined to mere form. Twenty thousand seamen were unanimously voted; the army was augmented to 26,000 men, and the supplies demanded for the service of the current year, were voted without the least opposition. The public indignation, excited by the peremptory demand of the restitution of Gibraltar, and the secret articles in the treaty of Vienna, which, according to the positive declarations of the king and his ministers, related to the Pretender, was still farther increased by the imprudent conduct of Palm, the Imperial minister at London. Caballing with the Hanoverian ministers, and confiding in the

Indignation
of the public.

* Horace Walpole's Apology. Walpole Papers.

† Tindal, vol. 19. p. 562. Journals.

counsels of opposition, he advised the Emperor, in a letter which fell into the hands of the ministers, to make a public declaration, that the assertions contained in the speech were false *.

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Imprudence
of the Em-
peror.

Guided by this imprudent advice, the Emperor, who was wholly unacquainted with the principles of the English constitution, ordered Palm to present a memorial to the king. In this memorial, the Imperial minister, after reflecting on the speech, and after denying, in his master's name, in the most solemn manner, the existence of any secret articles, concluded in these words: "Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his sacred Imperial and Catholic majesty require, that they should be exposed to your majesty, to the kingdom of Great Britain, and to the whole world: and his sacred Imperial majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by these many imputations †."

Unanimous
address to the
king.
March 13th

This memorial was printed and circulated, and was accompanied with a letter from the Imperial chancellor, count Zinzendorff, enjoining Palm to publish it, that the whole nation might be acquainted with it ‡. The intemperate language used in these papers, and the indiscretion of distinguishing between the king and his subjects, and of appealing from the throne to the nation, excited the just resentment of parliament. The memorial being submitted to the house of commons, not only those who supported government, but even Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, Shippen, and the leading members in opposition, agreed in expressing the highest indignation at this affront offered to the crown, and strongly reprobated the audaciousness of the Imperial minister. The whole house unanimously adopted the address drawn up by Walpole, "To express the highest resentment at the affront and indignity offered to his most sacred majesty, by the memorial delivered by Monsieur de Palm, the Emperor's resident, and at his insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom; to declare their utmost abhorrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people against his majesty; and their detestation of the presumptuous and vain attempt of endeavouring to instil into the minds of any of his majesty's faithful subjects, the least distrust or diffidence in his most sacred royal word; to return his majesty the thanks of this house, for his care and vigilance, in discovering the secret and pernicious designs of his enemies, and his goodness in communicating to his parliament the dangers that threatened this kingdom; and to assure his majesty, that the house would stand by and support him against all open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad; and

Correspondence.

† Tindal, vol. 19. p. 576.

‡ Hist. Register.

L 1 2

effectually

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1720 to 1727.

effectually defeat the expectations of all such as may have in any manner countenanced, encouraged, or abetted the disturbers of the public tranquillity in this extravagant insult upon his majesty, or flattered them with hopes, that an obstinate perseverance in their destructive measures, could stagger the firmness of the British nation, in vindication of his majesty's honour, and the defence of their rights and privileges *."

Imperial minister dismissed.

Soon after the presentation of this address, Palm was commanded to leave the kingdom; the British resident at Vienna quitted the Imperial dominions; and as the Spanish minister had previously taken an abrupt departure, a rupture with Spain and the Emperor appeared to be unavoidable. The most active preparations were made on all sides; Spain commenced hostilities by the siege of Gibraltar, and expected to be seconded by the whole force of the house of Austria. A bloody war would have been the consequence of this attack, had the Emperor fulfilled the treaty of Vienna; or had England and France instantly directed their whole force against the restless and ambitious court of Madrid. Fortunately, the pacific sentiments of Walpole and Fleury began to operate on the affairs of Europe, and the government of England exhibited a striking instance of vigour and moderation; of vigour in the preparations for war, and of moderation in suspending the blow, at the very moment in which it was ready to strike with effect.

Pacific views of Walpole.

Walpole dreaded the interruption of our commerce with Spain, which at that time formed the most extensive branches of the national trade, and with that view strained every nerve to infuse sentiments of reconciliation into the British cabinet. Hence the instructions † of admiral Hosier, who had been sent on an expedition to the Spanish West Indies, enjoined him in the strongest manner not to commit hostilities; hence England also declined the offer of France, to consider the attack of Gibraltar as a *casus fœderis*, from an apprehension lest the wailike interposition of France should contribute to the diffusion of hostilities; hence, notwithstanding the insult offered to the king and nation by the Emperor, through the medium of his minister, overtures of accommodation were gladly received through the mediation of France.

When the Emperor so grossly insulted the king and the nation by the memorial of Palm, he conceived the most sanguine expectations of having formed a confederacy strong enough to oppose the allies of Hanover. He had seduced the king of Prussia from the treaty of Hanover; he had already gained the electors of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and Palatine; secured the neutrality of the Saxons, and even prevailed on the duke of Brunswic Wol-

* Journals. Chandler,

† Walpole Papers.

fenbottle, to admit an Austrian garrison into Brunswic, from whence he might easily make an irruption into Hanover. He had concluded a strict alliance with the Czarina, and collected an army of 30,000 men, ready to march from the Netherlands to the invasion of Holland.

But the measures adopted in opposition to these hostile designs, disconcerted his views; 20,000 Danes, and 12,000 Swedes, were subsidised by England and France; 12,000 Hessians taken into English pay; and a French army was collecting on the frontiers of Germany. The death of the Czarina, in May, deprived the Emperor of a powerful ally; the king of Prussia began to waver; the princes and circles of Germany refused to consider the cause of the house of Austria as the cause of the empire; and as the king of Spain was unable to supply him with those large sums of money, which the unbounded promises of Ripperda had led him to expect, Charles found himself unable to resist the powerful combination against him. He sacrificed Spain to his own safety; and after a short negotiation commenced by the Pope, and continued through the mediation of France, he signed at Paris, on the 31st of May, in his own name, and in that of Spain, the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. He agreed to suspend the charter of the Ostend company for seven years; confirmed all the treaties in force anterior to 1725, and consented to submit to a general congress the termination of the disputes subsisting between the allies of Hanover and Vienna.

Philip the Fifth having, in consequence of his disagreement with France, no minister at Paris, the preliminaries were signed at Vienna in the beginning of June, by the duke of Bournonville, the Spanish ambassador; the fifth article declaring that they should be executed immediately after the signature by the Emperor and the allies, and by Spain eight days after the king of Spain had received them signed. In consequence of this agreement, George the First issued orders to lord Portmore, governor of Gibraltar, and his admirals, both on the coasts of Spain, and in the West Indies, to cease all hostilities, and to restore all prizes taken from Spain; to permit the return of the galleons to Europe, and to raise the blockade of Porto Bello, and the other ports in the West Indies. In return, it was expected that the siege of Gibraltar would be raised, and the prizes taken from England, particularly the prince Frederick, belonging to the South Sea company, at Vera Cruz, would be restored.

On proroguing the parliament, the king observed, in his speech from the throne, in a language which breathed the pacific sentiments of Walpole, "The siege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all dispute, the aim and design

Chapter 29.
1725 to 1727.

Separate
peace with
the Emperor.

1727.

Dismissed in
May 1726.

Spain forced
to accede.

May 15.

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1720 to 1727.

design of the engagements entered into by the Emperor and the king of Spain ; but the preparations I had made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the rashness and folly of that undertaking. However the love of peace has hitherto prevailed on me, even under this high provocation, to suspend, in some measure, my resentments ; and instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding of my allies that assistance, which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred with the most Christian king, and the States General, in making such overtures of accommodation, as must convince all the world of the uprightness of our intentions, and of our sincere disposition to peace, and demonstrate, to whose ambition and thirst of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if these just and reasonable propositions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover, and the convention between me, his most Christian majesty, and the king of Denmark, is actually signed *." Such was the state of the negotiation, when the king departed for Hanover, in June 1727.

The king's
departure for
Hanover.

CHAPTER THE THIRTIETH:

1727.

Cabals of the Dukes of Kendal and Bolingbroke to remove Walpole,—Bolingbroke's Interview with the King.—Sanguine Hopes of Opposition.—Death of the King.—Memoirs of his Wife, the unfortunate Sophia of Zell.

Cabals
against Wal-
pole,

AT this period, Walpole stood in the highest estimation with the king and nation ; and his pacific sentiments were so well known, that all who desired the blessing of peace, wished for his continuance in office ; yet ru-

* Journals. Chandler.

mours of a change in administration were believed and circulated; and a formal attempt was made by Bolingbroke, in co-operation with the duchess of Kendal, to obtain his removal, and to substitute himself in his place. A full account of this intrigue, which has occasioned various conjectures and uncertain speculations, is here given from undoubted authorities.

The duchess of Kendal, who, by the death of lady Darlington, remained without a rival in the confidence of the king, had, in consideration of £. 11,000, assured lord Bolingbroke that she would obtain his complete restoration*; but having failed in effecting her promise, she threw the whole blame on Sir Robert Walpole, as the person who obstructed the king's designs in his favour; and though she was inclined to second all attempts for the purpose of obtaining his disgrace, yet many circumstances prevented her from exerting her influence in favour of Bolingbroke.

By the duchess of Kendal and Bolingbroke.

She was become timid and cautious; fearful of distressing the mind of the king, who was declining in years and health, and easily depressed. She was unwilling to offend the ministers, who, besides the payment of a pension of £. 7,500 from the exchequer, which it depended on their punctuality to discharge, secured her good-will by private presents, and supplied her with various means of gratifying her rapaciousness. She affected great concern for the interest of England, and sacrificed to her own tranquillity the concerns of the Hanoverian junto. Under these circumstances, it was no easy task to rouse her active exertions; but Bolingbroke paid assiduous court, his wife was no less constant in her attendance, and both anxiously watched for a favourable opportunity, which at length seemed to present itself.

The eldest son of Sir Robert Walpole had been appointed ranger of Richmond Park, and the minister, while a new lodge was building, took a small tenement on Richmond Hill, where the king after shooting, occasionally dined with him, and passed the afternoon drinking punch, of which he was excessively fond, in an easy and convivial manner. The duchess, alarmed at this familiar intercourse, and anxious to render these visits less frequent, attempted, by means of some of her German friends, who were generally of the party, to break up the meeting sooner than the usual time of retiring; but their attempts having no effect, the duchess listened to the overtures of Bolingbroke, who artfully fomented her jealousy against Sir Robert Walpole, and prevailed on her to second his efforts.

The king's convivial intercourse with Walpole.

* Chapter 25.

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Boling-
broke's au-
dience with
the king.

He drew up a long memorial, full of *invectives* against the minister, which the duchess of Kendal secretly delivered to the king. After stating in various instances the misconduct of administration, he concluded, by requesting an audience, and undertook to demonstrate that the kingdom must inevitably be ruined, should Sir Robert Walpole continue at the head of the treasury. The king put this memorial into the hands of the minister, who concluded, that the person who conveyed it, could not be ignorant of the contents: after some inquiry, he traced it to the duchess of Kendal, who, on being interrogated, acknowledged that she had delivered it, and attempted to justify her conduct by frivolous excuses. Walpole in reply, only entreated her as a favour, to second the instances of Bolingbroke, and to procure for him that audience, which he so earnestly solicited. The duchess, after several endeavours to excuse herself, promised compliance; and at a proper interval, Walpole besought the king to grant an audience to Bolingbroke; and urged the propriety, by observing, that if this request was rejected, much clamour would be raised against him for keeping the king to himself, and for permitting none to approach his person who might tell unwelcome truths.

The king declined complying in so positive a manner, that Walpole could not venture to press it any farther in person; but waited on the duchess to renew his application. He found lady Bolingbroke on a visit, and when she retired, was informed, that the king was unwilling to admit Bolingbroke, on a supposition that it would make him uneasy. Walpole repeated his earnest entreaties, and declared that he could not be easy, until the audience was granted. These pressing solicitations finally had their effect; and Bolingbroke was admitted into the closet.

While Walpole was attending in an adjoining apartment, lord Letchmere came, and demanded admission for the signature of papers, which he had brought as chancellor of the duchy of Cornwall. He was informed that Bolingbroke was with the king, and that Walpole was also waiting. In the midst of his surprise, Bolingbroke coming out, Letchmere instantly rushed into the closet, and without making any apology, or entering upon his own business, burst out into the most violent invectives against Walpole, whom he reviled as not contented with doing mischief himself, but had introduced one who was, if possible, worse than himself, to be his assistant. The king, delighted with this mistake, calmly asked him, if he would undertake the office of prime minister. Letchmere made no reply, but continued pouring forth his invectives, and finally departed without having offered any of the papers to sign. Walpole found the king so highly diverted and occupied with this incident, that it was some time before he had an opportunity of inquiring

inquiring the subject of Bolingbroke's conversation. The king slightly answered, "*Bagatelles, bagatelles.*"

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Thus was this formidable attack defeated by the prudence and firmness of the minister; the king continued his confidential visits, and on his departure for Hanover, ordered him to have the lodge in Richmond Park finished against his return*.

Produces no effect.

Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction, given by Walpole himself†; yet other reports have been circulated, which deserve consideration. Bolingbroke so confidently and repeatedly asserted, that on the king's return from Hanover, he should be appointed minister, that this opinion obtained belief, not only from his friends and partizans, but from others who were less inimical to the minister, and less desirous of his fall. Swift expresses his hopes on the subject, with his usual freedom, in a letter to Dr. Sheridan, May 13th, 1727; and Atterbury drew up a memorial to cardinal Fleury, in which he treated the fall of the minister as a certain event. Pelham also told speaker Onslow‡, that at this period, Walpole was so convinced of Bolingbroke's intended elevation, as to have adopted the resolution of resigning and accepting a peerage, but was deterred by the remonstrances of the duke of Devonshire, and the representations of the princess of Wales, who dissuaded him from a step, which would incapacitate him for taking his accustomed lead in the house of commons.

Vague rumours on the subject.

On the other hand, Horace Walpole, lady Walsingham, and the duchess of Kendal herself, in a conversation with Sir Matthew Decker, asserted that the king did not intend to dismiss Walpole. It is not difficult, however, to reconcile these contradictory reports. It was natural for Bolingbroke to propagate an opinion tending to exalt his own importance; it is probable that Walpole, in a peevish moment of dissatisfaction, might have expressed a resolution of retiring; and the whole account might possibly have received its greatest authority from Walpole's own declaration, that knowing the venality of the duchess of Kendal, her ascendancy over the king, and the influence of Bolingbroke over her, he was not without apprehensions that her efforts might have finally succeeded.

The king departed for Hanover on the 3d of June; he enjoyed perfect health till he arrived at Delden. He was entertained by the count de Twittel, at a country house about twenty miles from that town. The king

Death of the king.

* From Lord Orford.

† Onslow's Remarks. Correspondence,

† Etough's Minutes of a Conversation with Sir Robert Walpole in September 1727. Correspondence.

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June 10-21.

eat some melons after supper, which probably caused the indigestion of which he died. He returned that evening to Delden, and set out early the next morning, after having breakfasted on a cup of chocolate. On his arrival at Bentheim, the king felt himself indisposed, but continued his journey in opposition to the repeated entreaties of his suite. His indisposition increased, and when he arrived at Ippenburen, he was quite lethargic; his hand fell down as if lifeless, and his tongue hung out of his mouth. He gave, however, signs of life, by continually crying out, as well as he could articulate, Osnabrug, Osnabrug. This impatience to reach Osnabrug, induced the attendants not to stop at Ippenburen; but to hasten on, in hopes of arriving at that city before he died. But it was too late. The exact time and place of his death cannot be ascertained; but it is most probable, that he expired either as the carriage was ascending the hill near Ippenburen, or on the summit. On their arrival at the palace of his brother, the bishop of Osnabrug, he was immediately bled, but all attempts to recover him proved ineffectual*. A courier had been dispatched to the duchess of Kendal, who had remained at Delden, with the account of the king's dangerous situation; he met her on the road, about two miles on the other side of the Rhine; but as she was hastening on, another courier announced his death. She beat her breast, tore her hair, and gave signs of extreme grief; and then, dismissing the English ladies who accompanied her, took the road to Brunswic, where she continued three months†.

* Lord Townshend, who was on his journey to Hanover, repaired instantly to Osnabrug, where he arrived on the 22d, early in the morning; but finding the king deceased, he wrote a letter ‡ of condolence and congratulation to the new sovereign, and taking post, pursued his journey to England.

Before I conclude the reign of George the First, one remarkable fact must not be omitted: As the king could not readily speak English, nor Sir Robert Walpole French, the minister was obliged to deliver his sentiments

Anecdote of
Walpole.

* For this account of the king's death, I am indebted to my friend Nathaniel Wraxal, esquire, who obtained it from persons at Hanover and Osnabrug, who recollected the event.

† The duchess of Kendal was sister of Frederic Achatius, count of Schulenburgh and Hedlen. Petronelle Melesina, the countess of Walsingham, who afterwards married the earl of Chesterfield, was supposed to be her daughter by George the First, though she was

considered as her niece. The duchess returned to England, and died at a very advanced age. She principally resided at Kendal House, near Twickenham, which was after her death converted into a tea garden. Her husband's property was divided amongst her German relations, and the countess of Chesterfield.

‡ Sir Cyril Wick to Stephen Boyntz, June 27, 1727. Correspondence. Lord Townshend to the king.

in Latin; and as that was a language in which neither could converse with readiness and propriety, Walpole was frequently heard to say, that during the reign of the first George, he governed the kingdom by means of bad latin *. It is a matter of wonder, that under such disadvantages, the king should take pleasure in transacting business with him, a circumstance which was principally owing to the method and perspicuity of his calculations, and to the extreme facility with which he arranged and explained the most abstruse and difficult combinations of finance.

It has been already observed, that George the First had, by a left-handed marriage, espoused the duchess of Kendal, at the time his real wife, the unfortunate Sophia Dorothy, was still alive. She was the only child of William duke of Zell, by Eleanor d'Emiers, of the house of Olbreuse, in France; was born in 1666, and her hand was courted by the most powerful princes of Germany. His father Ernest Augustus had once designed him for the princess Anne, afterwards queen of England; he actually went to England to pay his addresses, and was well received and approved by the whole court. But he was recalled by his father, who had suddenly concluded a match for him with his cousin.

Memoirs of
Sophia of
Zell.

Sophia, at the time of their marriage, was only sixteen years of age, and was a princess of great personal charms and mental endowments †, yet her attractions did not retain the affections of her husband. After she had brought him a son and a daughter, he neglected his amiable consort, and attached himself to a favourite mistress.

Such was the situation of Sophia, when count Königsmark ‡, a Swedish nobleman, arrived at Hanover. He was a man of a good figure, and professed gallantry; had been formerly enamoured of Sophia at Zell, and was supposed to have made some impression on her heart. On the sight of her, his passion, which had been diminished by absence, broke out with increasing violence; he had the imprudence publicly to renew his attentions; and as George was absent at the army, he made his solicitations with redoubled ardour. Information of his attachment, and of his success, was conveyed to Ernest Augustus; and one evening, as the count came out of her apartment, and was crossing a passage, he was put to death by persons placed to intercept him, in the presence of the elector; and tradition still marks the

* From lord Orford.

† Kimbus.

‡ Brother of count Königsmark, who was accused of having suborned assassins to murder

Thomas Thynne, and of countess Königsmark, mistress of Augustus the Second of Poland.

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spot where this murder was committed. Sophia was immediately put under arrest; and though she solemnly protested her innocence, yet circumstances spoke strongly against her.

George, who never loved his wife, gave implicit credit to the account of her infidelity, as related by his father; consented to her imprisonment, and obtained from the ecclesiastical consistory, a divorce, which was passed on the 28th of December 1694. And even her father, the duke of Zell, who cloated on his only daughter, does not seem to have entertained any doubts of her guilt, for he always continued upon the strictest terms of friendship with Ernest Augustus, and his son-in-law.

The unfortunate Sophia was confined in the castle of Alden, situated on the small river Aller, in the duchy of Zell. She terminated her miserable existence, after a long captivity of thirty-two years, on the 13th of November 1726, in the sixty-first year of her age, only seven months before the death of George the First; and she was announced in the Gazette, under the title of the Electress Dowager of Hanover.

During her whole confinement, she behaved with no less mildness than dignity; and on receiving the sacrament once every week, never omitted, on that awful occasion, making the most solemn asseverations, that she was not guilty of the crime laid to her charge. Subsequent circumstances have come to light, which appear to justify her memory; and reports are current at Hanover, that her character was basely defamed, and that she fell a sacrifice to the jealousy and perfidy of the countess of Platen, favourite mistress of Ernest Augustus. Being enamoured of count Königsmark, who slighted her overtures, jealousy took possession of her breast; she determined to sacrifice both the lover and the princess to her vengeance, and circumstances favoured her design.

The prince was absent at the army; Ernest Augustus was a man of warm passions and violent temper, easily irritated, and when irritated, incapable of controul. Sophia herself had treated count Königsmark with regard and attention, and the lover was hot-headed, self-sufficient, priding himself on his personal accomplishments, and accustomed to succeed in affairs of gallantry.

Those who exculpate Sophia, assert either that a common visit was construed into an act of criminality; or that the countess of Platen, at a late hour, summoned count Königsmark in the name of the princess, though without her connivance; that on being introduced, Sophia was surprised at his intrusion; that on quitting the apartment, he was discovered by Ernest Augustus, whom the countess had placed in the gallery, and was instantly assassinated by persons whom she had suborned for that purpose.

It

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to discover and trace the circumstances of this mysterious transaction, on which no person at the court of Hanover durst at that time deliver his opinion; but the sudden murder of count Königsmark may be urged as a corroboration of this statement, for had his guilt, and that of Sophia been unequivocal, would he not have been arrested and brought to a trial for the purpose of proving their connection, and confronting him with the unfortunate princess.

Many persons of credit at Hanover have not scrupled, since the death of Ernest Augustus and George the First, to express their belief that the imputation cast on Sophia was false and unjust. It is also reported, that her husband having made an offer of reconciliation, she gave this noble and disdainful answer of haughty virtue, unconscious of stain: "If what I am accused of is true, I am unworthy of his bed; and if my accusation is false, he is unworthy of me. I will not accept his offers."

George the Second, who doated on his mother, was fully convinced of her innocence. He once made an attempt to see her, and even crossed the Aller on horseback, opposite to the Castle, but was prevented from having an interview with her by the baron de Bulow, to whose care the Elector, her husband, had committed her. Had she survived his accession, he intended to restore her to liberty, and to acknowledge her as queen dowager. Her memory was so dear to him, that he secretly kept her portrait in his possession; and the morning after the news of the death of George the First had reached London, Mrs. Howard observed (in the antichamber of the king's apartment) a picture of a woman in the electoral robes, which proved to be that of Sophia.

George the Second told queen Caroline, that in making some repairs in the palace of Hanover, the bones of count Königsmark were found under the floor of the antichamber which led to the apartment of Sophia. The queen mentioned this fact to Sir Robert Walpole*, and in various conversations which she held on this subject, she appeared fully convinced of her innocence; an opinion which the minister † himself constantly adhered to.

* From lord Orford.

† The account of Sophia of Zell, is derived from the MS. Journal of N. W. Wraxall Esq: Etough's Papers, and various communications which I received at Hanover, and Pölnitz's Memoirs. A pretended history is published under the title of *Histoire secrète*

de la Duchesse d'Hanovre, Epouse de George Premier, Roi de la Grande Bretagne. Les malheurs de cette infortunée princesse, sa prison au Chateau d'Ablen où elle a fini ses jours; ses intelligences secrètes avec le comte de Königsmark, assés fin à ce sujet, which is a mere romance.

PERIOD THE FOURTH:

From the Accession of GEORGE the Second, to the Resignation of
Lord TOWNSHEND.

1727—1730.

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-FIRST:

1727.

*Accession and Character of George the Second.—Education—Character—Person
—Conduct—and Influence of Queen Caroline.—Account of Mrs. Howard,
afterwards Countess of Suffolk.*

GEORGE the Second, son of George the First, by Sophia, princess of Lunenburg Zell, was born at Hanover the 30th of October 1683, and principally educated under the direction of his grandmother, the electress Sophia. Being at a very early period initiated into the profession of arms, he made the campaign of 1708 with the allied army in the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. He greatly distinguished himself as a volunteer at the battle of Oudenard, where he charged the enemy at the head of the Hanoverian dragoons, and had his horse shot under him*. In 1708, he was created duke of Cambridge, and knight of the garter; and at the accession of George the First, was so elated, that he said to an English gentleman, "I have not one drop of blood in my veins which is not English, and at the service of my father's subjects†." He accompanied the king to England; soon after he had taken his seat in the privy council, was created prince of Wales; and during the king's absence in 1716, was appointed guardian and lieutenant of the realm.

* Rimius's Memoirs of the House of Brunswick.

† Polnitz, vol. iv. p. 230. 232.

The unfortunate misunderstanding which took place between him and his father, has been already related; and although a reconciliation was effected through the interposition of Devonshire and Walpole, yet it was more apparent than real: the king gave a strong proof that his jealousy was not abated, by never again consigning to him the government of affairs during his absence. Notwithstanding this cause of dissatisfaction, the prince, from the period of the reconciliation, seldom formally opposed his father's government; but passed a retired life, confining himself principally to a small circle of select friends, with whom he lived in habits of strict intimacy: of these, the earl of Scarborough and Sir Spencer Compton were the most favoured.

George the Second was, at the time of his accession, in the 45th year of his age; and bore the character of a prince of high integrity, honour, and veracity. His countenance was pleasing, dignified, and expressive, with prominent eyes, and a Roman nose. In person he was well proportioned, but much below the middle size; to which the ballad on the seven wise men alludes speaking of Richard, afterwards lord Edgumbe, who was very diminutive:

“ When Edgumbe spoke, the prince in sport
Laugh'd at the merry elf;
Rejoic'd to see within his court
One shorter than himself.

I'm glad (cry'd out the quibbling squire)
My *lowness* makes your highness *higher*.”

He possessed one great advantage over his father, that he was not ignorant of the language and constitution of England, although his knowledge of both was limited. He was naturally reserved, except to those who belonged to his household, or were admitted to his familiar society, fond of business, and of great application whenever application was necessary; well acquainted with the state of foreign affairs; and his observations, and replies to the notes of his ministers, dictated by the occasion, prove good sense, judgment, and rectitude of intentions*. His temper was warm, vehement, and irritable; prone to sudden emotions of anger, and not easily appeased. He was slow in deliberation, cautious in decision; but his opinion once formed, he became inflexible, and impatient of remonstrance. He was strictly economical, punctual in the discharge of his expences; so peculiarly methodical in all his actions and occupations, that, to use the expression of a nobleman

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much about his person, "he seemed to think his having done a thing to-day, an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow *." He was rigidly attached to etiquette and punctilious forms, and fond of military parade; without the smallest taste for the arts, or love of science; like his father, he gave no patronage to literature, unless from the suggestions of his queen, or the intercession of his ministers. Cold and phlegmatic in his general appearance, he at the same time possessed a high degree of sensibility; of which he gave many proofs, particularly on the death of his queen, and the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, which would appear incredible to those who were not about his person, and who are not acquainted with his domestic character. The love of women was his predominant weakness; but it did not lead him into any excesses which affected his public character, or interfered with the interests of his kingdom. He had seen, and lamented, that his father had been governed by his mistresses; and was so extremely cautious to avoid a similar error, that the countess of Yarmouth, who was the only one among them who possessed any real influence over him, could seldom venture to exert her interest in public concerns. She once requested Horace Walpole to procure a trifling place for one of her servants, but charged him not to mention to the king that it was at her request; "because (she added) if it is known that I have applied, I have no chance of succeeding †."

Conduct to
queen Caro-
line.

But his conduct was far different in regard to queen Caroline, of whose judgment and good sense he had the highest opinion, and in whom he ever placed the most implicit confidence. Some of the French writers call history *la fable convenue*, and not without some degree of reason; for most histories are written either by authors who have been themselves interested in the events which they relate, and gloss over the transactions of their own party, or are composed by writers who have not access to original papers, know little more than common occurrences, and derive the principal source of information from uncertain publications, traditional information, gazettes, and news-papers. The personage whose character I am attempting to delineate, will afford a striking example of the truth of these observations; for it is a remarkable fact, that the historians of the reign of George the Second, scarcely mention the name of queen Caroline, who almost entirely governed the king during the first ten years of his reign; who bore her faculties so meekly, and with such extraordinary prudence, as never to excite the least uneasiness even in a sovereign highly tenacious of his authority, but contrived that her opinion

* Lord Hervey to H. Walpole, Oct. 31 1735.

† From Lord Walpole.

should appear as if it had been his own; who solely occasioned the continuance of Sir Robert Walpole in the ministry; who patronised and promoted Herring, Hoadley, Clarke, Hare, Sherlocke, Butler, and Pearce; and without whose recommendation or concurrence, scarcely any situation in church or state was conferred.

Carolina Wilhelmina, daughter of John Frederic, Margrave of Anspach, by the princess of Saxe-Eysenach, was born in 1683. Having lost her father when she was very young, and her mother marrying John George the Fourth, elector of Saxony, she was left under the guardianship of Frederic, elector of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia; passed part of her early days at the court of Berlin*, and received her education under the superintendence of her aunt, the accomplished Sophia Charlotte†, sister of George the First. From her example and instructions, she imbibed that politeness of

Her education, character, and person.

* Polnitz.

† Sophia Charlotte, the second wife of Frederic, was the daughter of Ernest Augustus, elector of Hanover. This elegant and accomplished princess was born in 1668; and in 1681, having espoused Frederic, then electoral prince, became, on his accession to the throne, the great ornament of his splendid court. Her features were regular, yet expressive; her form, though below the middle stature, was elegant and graceful; her demeanour dignified and polite; and her conduct ever irreproachable. She never interfered in affairs of state, though always ready, when called upon, to aid with her counsels, journey, and correspondence, the views of the king. Her understanding was highly cultivated; she spoke the principal languages of Europe with such ease and fluency, that she usually addressed herself to foreigners in their respective tongues; she was well versed in history, conversant in different branches of natural philosophy, and not unacquainted even with scholastic divinity. Though her learning was so profound, that she was styled the Female Philosopher, she was not only extremely diffident, but careful to avoid the affectation of wishing to display her multifarious acquirements. She was no stranger to the polite accomplishments, fond of dancing, and did not disdain to be an actress in plays which were performed by her command; she excelled in music, sung and composed with taste; and was the great patroness of science and the arts. She drew Leibnitz to Berlin, and astonished that great philosopher with the extent of her capacity, the

depth of her researches, and the solidity of her observations. She died at Hanover in 1705, on a visit to her mother the electress Sophia, in the 37th year of her age; and displayed on her death-bed the utmost calmness and resignation. To the king her husband she wrote a tender letter, thanking him for his care, and recommending her domestics to his protection. To her brother, who was disconsolate at her approaching dissolution, she said, "Nothing is so natural as death; I have long considered it as a debt; and though I am young enough to have lived a few years longer, yet I feel no regret in dying." When La Bergerie, a Calvinist minister, offered his spiritual assistance, she said; "Friends are proved in times of necessity; you offer your assistance at a moment when I can no longer serve you; accept my thanks, which are all that I can bestow." Then turning to him, as he was going to exhort her, she continued; "For twenty years I have seriously examined my religion; I have perused the books which treat on that subject with too much attention to be in the smallest doubt; you can say nothing to me which I do not know; and I can assure you, that I depart in tranquillity." Her physician representing to her that she increased her complaint by speaking; "Adieu then, La Bergerie (she added); I remain your good friend." Observing one of her attendants weeping, she exclaimed, "Why do you weep? could you think that I was immortal?" And then stretching out her hand to her brother; "Dear brother, (she cried) I am suffocated;" and in an instant expired.

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demeanour and dignity of character, those sentiments of philosophy, that ardent love of learning, and fondness for metaphysical knowledge, which merited the eulogium of Clarke and Leibnitz.

She gave an early instance of her attachment to the protestant religion. The fame of her beauty and accomplishments attracted the notice of the archduke Charles, son of the emperor Leopold the First, and afterwards Emperor himself, who made a tender of his hand. Not allured by the splendor of the family into which she might have been adopted, she declined the offer without hesitation: "But Providence (observes Addison) kept a store in reward for such an exalted virtue; and, by the secret methods of its wisdom, opened a way for her to become the greatest of her sex among those who profess that faith to which she adhered with so much Christian magnanimity *."

Caroline espoused, in 1705, George the Second, then electoral prince of Hanover. She was esteemed handsome before she had the small-pox, and became too corpulent. Tickell did not flatter her in his poem of Kensington Gardens, when he said;

" Here England's daughter, darling of the land,
Sometimes, surrounded with her virgin band,
Gleams through the shades. She, tow'ring o'er the rest,
Stands fairest of the fairer kind confest;
Form'd to gain hearts that Brunswick's cause deny'd,
And charm a people to her father's side †."

She had a hand and arm greatly admired for its whiteness and elegance, a penetrating eye, "and a smile celestial ‡," an expressive countenance, great sweetness and grace, particularly when she spoke. But these charms of her person were far surpassed by the endowments of her mind. She possessed quickness of apprehension, a natural good understanding, which had been duly cultivated; and obtained a considerable knowledge in many branches of useful and polite literature §.

Her levees were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while she was at her toilette; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household: the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room. She had a happy turn for

* Freeholder, No. 21.

‡ Tickell.

† Tickell's Kensington Gardens, p. 258.

§ Rimius.

conversation, and a readiness in adapting her discourse to the persons with whom she talked; possessed peculiar talents for mirth and humour, excelled in mimicry, and was fond of displaying it; was pleased with making a repartee herself, and with hearing it from others. Her conduct, during the unfortunate misunderstanding which took place between George the First and her husband, when prince of Wales, was so prudent and dignified, that the late king always behaved to her with marks of due respect and affection, though he never cordially loved her. Yet notwithstanding her courtesy, affability of deportment, condescension to men of letters, and fondness for social intercourse, she had a high notion of the regal station, and was partial to the etiquette of a court; she seldom forgot that she was a queen, and always kept up a due state both in public and private. She would occasionally dine with Sir Robert Walpole at Chelsea; but even her visits to a favourite minister were subjected to form and etiquette: she sat down to table with lady Walpole, the royal family whom she brought with her, and the lady in waiting: Sir Robert always stood behind her chair, and gave her the first plate; then retired into another apartment, where dinner was served for him and the queen's household *.

Queen Caroline was fond of conversing and corresponding with men of learning, and particularly with divines, whom she often perplexed with questions concerning the doctrines of the different churches, and consulted with a view of settling her faith. Hoadley, Clarke, Hare, and Sherlocke, were among the number to whom she principally applied. She carried on a correspondence on these subjects, by means of her bed-chamber woman, Mrs. Clayton, afterwards lady Sundon, who had acquired a powerful ascendancy over her. The divine whom she most particularly noticed, and by whose conversation she often owned that she was most instructed, was Dr. Clarke, whose profound learning, in all branches of sacred and profane literature, was scarcely ever equalled, whose piety was unquestioned, and whose playful manners and placid temper rendered him as amiable as he was learned. Dr. Clarke had only the rectory of St. James's, which was given him by queen Anne, and the mastership of Wigston Hospital; and queen Caroline proposed placing him on the bench, an honour which Clarke invariably declined. Finding that he persisted in his refusal, she desired Sir Robert Walpole to try the powers of his rhetoric, which had never been employed in vain on a similar occasion; the minister obeyed; and in a conference at Kensington palace, used every argument in his power to prevail on Clarke

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to accept the proffered dignity; when Clarke declined, he continued to press it; and the conference was so long, that the candles were burnt down in the sockets; and the pages came into the apartment to know if fresh lights were not wanted *. But the rhetoric of the minister had no effect, and the queen was highly disappointed, that she was prevented from placing Dr. Clarke on the bench of bishops.

Queen Caroline maintained a correspondence with Leibnitz on the most abstract sciences, in which she supremely delighted; and in the course of this literary intercourse, the German philosopher having insinuated some suspicions that the foundations of natural religion were in danger of being hurt by the doctrines of Sir Isaac Newton, she applied to Clarke for an answer to this suggestion. The answer brought on a reply, and the reply a second answer, until the controversy was carried on with all the spirit and learning which those great philosophers could throw into such dry subjects as the principles of natural religion and philosophy, and free-will and fatality. They submitted their respective arguments to the princess as to an umpire; and vied in unfolding their systems in as conspicuous a manner as the nature of so intricate a subject would allow. The princess was highly flattered with this arbitration, and permitted Dr. Clarke, whose opinion she seems to have embraced, to dedicate to her the account of the controversy. In this dedication, the learned author has not omitted to pay a tribute to her desire of knowledge and love of truth, in a strain of panegyric which could hardly be avoided on such an occasion. Nor was it solely dictated by flattery; for Whiston † informs us, that he often heard Clarke speak with admiration of her marvellous sagacity and judgment, in the several parts of the dispute.

But although this accomplished princess possessed considerable influence over George the Second, she had acted with so much caution, and behaved with such moderation and prudence, that she was considered at the time of his accession, by the party in opposition, as a mere cypher, and the whole power and influence over the king was supposed to be lodged in the hands of Mrs. Howard, afterwards countess of Suffolk.

Character of
Mrs. How-
ard, Coun-
tess of Suf-
folk.

Henrietta, sister of John, the first earl of Buckinghamshire, was eldest daughter of Sir Henry Hobart ‡, of Blickling, in Norfolk, and espoused Charles Howard, younger son of Henry, fifth earl of Suffolk, whom she accompanied to Hanover before the death of queen Anne. Having ingratiated herself into the favour of Caroline, then electoral princess, she accompanied

* From Lord Orford and Etough's Papers.

† Whiston's *Historical Memoirs of Clarke*.

‡ Collins's *Peerage*.

her to England, and became her bed-chamber woman. If we were to draw an estimate of the understanding and character of Mrs. Howard, from the representations of Pope *, Swift, and Gay, during the time of her favour, we might suppose that she possessed every accomplishment and good quality which were ever the lot of a woman.

The real truth is, that Mrs. Howard was more remarkable for beauty than for understanding, and the passion which the king entertained for her was rather derived from chance † than from any combination of those transcendent qualities, which Swift and Pope ascribed to their court divinity. She had been long wholly unnoticed by the prince, who was enamoured of another lady that was more cruel to the royal lover than Mrs. Howard. This lady was the beautiful and lively Mary Bellenden, daughter of lord Bellenden ‡, maid of honour to queen Caroline, when princess of Wales, and a great friend of Mrs. Howard. Gay alludes to her, in his ballad entitled Damon and Cupid, as one of the reigning beauties:

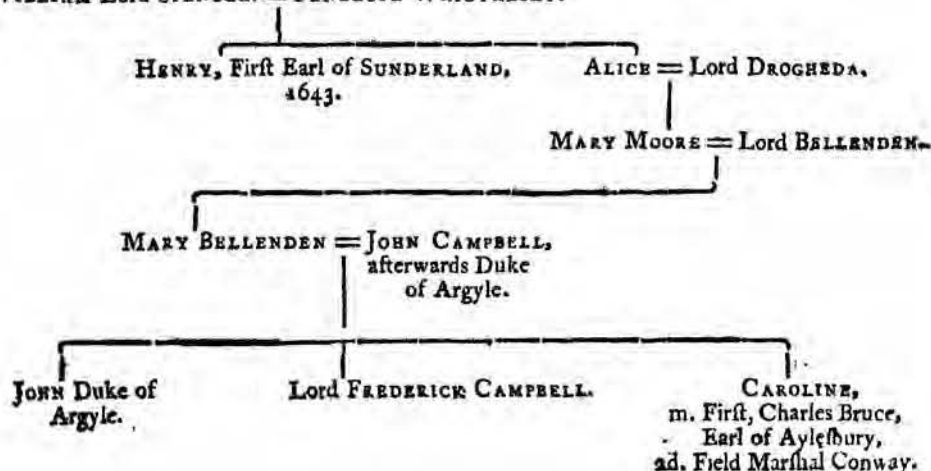
* See Pope's Letters to Swift, October 25th, 1725.—Miscellanies.—Swift's Character of Mrs. Howard.—Gay's Epistle to Pope; and other parts of their respective works.

† From lord Orford.

‡ Sir William Bellenden, created a peer after the restoration of Charles the Second, died unmarried, making a conveyance of his estate and honour to John Ker, a younger son

of William, the second earl of Roxburgh, who then changed his name to Bellenden, and took the arms. He married Mary, widow of William Ramsay, third earl of Dalhousie, and daughter of Henry Moore, first earl of Drogheda, by Alice his wife, daughter of William lord Spencer, by Penelope, daughter of Henry Wriothesly, earl of Southampton.

WILLIAM LORD SPENCER. = PENELOPE WRIOTHESLY.



“ So,

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

" So well I'm known at court,
" None asks where Cupid dwells;
" But readily resort, "
" To *Bellenden's* or *Lepell's*."

She is also thus described in an old ballad, made upon the quarrel between George the First and the prince of Wales, at the christening, when the prince and all his household were ordered to quit St. James's :

" But *Bellenden* we needs must praise,
" Who, as down the stairs she jumps ;
" Sings over the hills and far away,
" Despising doleful dumps."

This lovely and elegant woman rejected the addresses of the prince, and espoused, in 1720, John Campbell, then groom of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales, and afterwards duke of Argyle. She was highly favoured by queen Caroline, and universally admired as an accomplished pattern of good sense, and exemplary conduct.

The prince, after having communicated his passion for Miss Bellenden to Mrs. Howard, and being rejected, became enamoured of his confidante.

The queen's
behaviour
to Mrs.
Howard.

Lord Chesterfield has observed, in the unfavourable portrait * which he has drawn of queen Caroline, *that she even favoured and promoted the gallantries of the king*. But this severe representation is totally devoid of truth, and proves little knowledge of her real disposition. It was a principle with her not to disgust the king with remonstrances, or to appear dissatisfied with his attentions to other women. But certainly never wife felt or lamented a husband's infidelities more than herself ; although she had too much good sense and prudence, and too much respect for her character to treat her rivals with marks of ill humour, or to shew, by her outward behaviour, symptoms of jealousy and displeasure. She was always able to disguise her feelings and conceal her uneasiness. It was thus that her behaviour to Mrs. Howard led many to suppose that she was in high estimation ;

* Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, also in Miscellaneous Works, vol. 3.

and Swift, Pope, and Gay repeatedly call her the chief favourite of the queen.

To her particular friends, queen Caroline was not wanting in complaints of the king's infidelities, and she used to call his favourite, by way of banter, her sister Howard, and this expression was considered by the friends of the mistress as a proof of the queen's partiality and kindness, whereas it was in reality the strongest mark of aversion and contempt. But, in fact, the forced complacency of her outward behaviour, was a violent effort of prudence and discretion, and she never failed to oppose the rise of those who paid their court to the mistress. Among many instances which may be enumerated, I shall select those of Gay, Swift, and Chesterfield.

Gay began paying his court to her when she was electoral princess, and while he accompanied the earl of Clarendon as his secretary to Hanover. But the embassy lasted only nineteen days; and being disappointed of his hopes of preferment by the death of queen Anne, the poet turned himself towards the rising sun, and soon after the accession of George the First, drew the character of Caroline in a high strain of panegyric *.

The princess, not insensible to praise, received Gay, soon after her arrival in England, with great kindness, and gave him hopes of promotion. From this period he commenced courtier, paid a regular attendance, and was honoured with many marks of her patronage and protection. He continued, however, his attendance at court for twelve years without obtaining a solid reward of his assiduity. At her command, he wrote his fables for the duke of Cumberland, and being of a sanguine disposition, formed high expectations of promotion when the accession of George the Second would permit his patroness to provide for him. When that event took place, his hopes were greatly magnified on the queen's telling Mrs. Howard, in allusion to the fable of the Hare and many Friends †, that she would take up the hare. But his expectations were by these means raised so high, that he considered the offer of the place of gentleman usher to the princess Louisa, though above £.200 a year, as an insult, and rejected it with scorn.

Swift was convinced that the minister had prevented the bounty of queen Caroline from being shewn to the author of the Hare and many Friends, and he observes, alluding to it in a copy of verses addressed to Gay;

" Fain would I think our female friend sincere,

" Till *Bob, the poet's foe*, possess her ear, &c."

Chapter 31.

1727.

Jealousy of her.

Gay disappointed in his expectations from her protection.

* An Epistle to a Lady, occasioned by the Arrival of the Princess of Wales.

† Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 170.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730

In another place, Swift asserts, that it was principally owing to the dedication, prefixed to the Pastorals, in honour of Bolingbroke, and to some expressions in his fables, which displeased the court. He repeats this accusation in his letters and works, and had even the rudeness to hint it to Sir Robert Walpole himself, when he dined with him at Chelsea *. Gay was of the same opinion, and in the second part of his fables, which were not printed till after his death, is full of sarcastic and splenetic allusions to the minister. But as Walpole was neither of a jealous or vindictive disposition, there is no reason to give credit to the aspersions of his enemies, and to suppose that he used his influence over queen Caroline, for the purpose of injuring Gay, particularly when another and a more natural motive of her conduct may be suggested.

In fact, Gay was the innocent cause of his own disgrace, for he thought that Mrs. Howard was all powerful at court, and that he, whom Swift humorously calls † one of her led captains, should rise by her recommendation. Pope also, in a letter to Swift, alluding to Mrs. Howard, says, *Gay puts his whole trust in that lady whom I described to you*, and whom you take to be an allegorical creature of fancy. And Gay thus expresses himself to Swift, "Mrs. Howard has declared herself very strongly, both to the king and queen, as my protector ‡." But in these words, they unconsciously declare the cause of his disfavour. The queen's jealousy of the interference and credit of the mistress, obstructed his promotion; and his own indiscretion afterwards, destroyed every hope. Soon after this disappointment, he produced the Beggar's Opera; and both his conversation and writings were so full of invectives against the court, that all expectations of farther notice from the queen were obviously relinquished.

Swift.

Swift also proved the ill policy of attempting to ingratiate himself with the queen through the medium of Mrs. Howard. With a view of changing his preferments in Ireland for others in England, which the princess seemed to express an inclination to promote, he maintained a correspondence with Mrs. Howard, whom he praised in the most fulsome manner, and courted with the most affected assiduity, by letters when he was absent, and by constant personal attendance when he was in England. But as soon as the efforts of Mrs. Howard proved unsuccessful, Swift turned his satire against her, on whom he had heaped such unbounded encomiums, imputed his failure solely to her want of sincerity;

* Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 169.

† Swift's Works, vol. 19. p. 252.

‡ Swift's Works, vol. 16. p. 168.

and reproached her in very bitter and disrespectful terms. Lady Betty Germaine, and his friend Gay, in vain endeavoured to justify Mrs. Howard, and to prove that she was not to blame; but the misanthropic Swift, when he had once formed his opinion, was not easily convinced by any arguments. He says, in a letter to lady Betty Germaine, "For these reasons, I did always, and do still think, Mrs. Howard, now lady Suffolk, an absolute Courtier." When this character was shewn to lady Suffolk, she mildly observed, "It is very different from that which he sent me himself, and which I have in his own hand writing *."

Lord Chesterfield

The earl of Chesterfield is another remarkable instance. He had long coveted the post of secretary of state, and an arrangement had been made in his favour. After an audience of the queen, to which he was introduced by Walpole, and thanking her for her concurrence, he had the imprudence to make a long visit to the mistress; the queen was informed of the circumstance, and his appointment did not take place †. At another time, he had requested the queen to speak to the king for some trifling favour. The queen promised, but forgot it; a few days afterwards, recollecting her promise, she expressed regret at her forgetfulness, and added, she would certainly mention it that very day. Chesterfield replied, that her majesty need not give herself that trouble, for lady Suffolk had spoken to the king. The queen made no reply, but on seeing the king, told him she had long promised to mention a trifling request to his majesty, but it was now needless, because lord Chesterfield had just informed her, that she had been anticipated by lady Suffolk. The king, who always preserved great decorum with the queen, and was very unwilling to have it supposed that the favourite interfered, was extremely displeased, both with lord Chesterfield and his mistress. The consequence was, that in a short time lady Suffolk went to Bath for her health, and returned no more to court; Chesterfield was dismissed from his office, and never heard the reason until two years before his death, when he was informed by the late earl of Orford, that his disgrace was owing to his having offended the queen by paying court to lady Suffolk ‡.

* From lord Orford.

† Enough.—From the communication of Sir Robert Walpole.

‡ Her husband having succeeded to the title of earl of Suffolk, on the death of his brother in June 1734, she became countess of Suffolk. At the period of her retirement from court, she was a widow, her husband

having died on the 28th of September 1733, and she espoused, in July 1735, George Berkeley, fourth son of Charles, second earl of Berkeley. Lady Suffolk lived to an advanced age, not dying till 1767; she left no issue, an only son, which she had by her first husband, dying in 1745 unmarried.

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-SECOND:

1727.

Rumours of a Change in Administration.—Intrigues of the Tories, Pulteney, and Bolingbroke.—Character of Sir Spencer Compton, who declines the Office of prime Minister.—Continuation of Townshend and Walpole, by the Intervention of Queen Caroline.—The good Effects of her Influence over the King.

Rumours of
a change of
ministry.

THE news of the king's death had no sooner reached London, than a general belief was current that the administration would be totally changed. It was credited, that Sir Robert Walpole had irretrievably offended the new king, when prince of Wales, as he had been frequently heard to protest, that when he came to the throne, that minister should never be employed.

Intrigues of
Pulteney.

Pulteney, before their open rupture, had informed the prince of Wales of some disrespectful expressions used on a former occasion, and told him that he was sold to his father's ministers, by persons who considered nothing but themselves and their own interest, and were in haste to make their fortunes *. Since their quarrel, he had undoubtedly exaggerated this representation, and, as he continued on good terms at Leicester House, naturally used his whole credit against Walpole.

Of Boling-
broke and the
Tories.

Bolingbroke and the Tories had also caballed at Leicester House, and were supported by the whole weight and influence of the favourite, Mrs. Howard. Swift also, in a letter to his friend Dr. Sheridan, mentions the hopes of the Tories, and the certain dismission of Walpole.

In fact, Walpole himself was at this moment convinced of his removal, and yet was well satisfied that his exclusion could not be of long continuance. In conformity with these sentiments, he said to his friend Sir William Yonge, "I shall certainly go out; but let me recommend you not to go into violent opposition, as we must soon come in again †."

In this moment of probable disgrace, Walpole was deserted by many of his friends; and Sir Spencer Compton, whom the king had already avowed

* Answer to one Part of an infamous Libel.

† From Sir George Yonge.

Chapter 32.
1727.Walpole
supported by
queen Caro-
line.

his intention of appointing minister, became the idol of the day. But the event turned out otherwise, and the public expectations were disappointed.

It is now well known, that the continuance of the new administration was solely owing to the influence of queen Caroline; and writers of great credit, but not acquainted with the interior situation of Leicester House at that period, have not scrupled to ascribe her patronage of Sir Robert Walpole, solely to the offers which he made to obtain from parliament a jointure of £. 100,000 a year, when Sir Spencer Compton could only venture to propose £. 60,000, as if motives of sordid interest had *alone* induced the queen to protect the minister; and as if her conduct was derived from instantaneous impulse, unconnected with any previous communication or intercourse. The offer had doubtless its due effect; but a number of circumstances combined to influence her in favour of Sir Robert Walpole.

The queen was by no means ignorant of his character and abilities. While he was in opposition to government, from 1717 to 1720, he had continued in the highest favour with the prince of Wales. During this period, a woman of her good sense, could not fail of distinguishing that capacity for business, those powers of intellect, which raised him to the head of his party; and his wife and able conduct upon the failure of the South Sea scheme, naturally increased this prepossession in his favour.

He had, in conjunction with lord Townshend, gratified the prince of Wales, by obtaining from the king the garter for the earl of Scarborough. And count Broglio, the French ambassador, observes * on this occasion, "That ministers not unfrequently procured places for those persons who were attached to the prince, from the consideration that the time might come, when such a conduct would turn out to their advantage."

The duke of Devonshire, who had always been the great friend and supporter of Walpole, had continued on good terms with the princess of Wales. He had strongly impressed her with sentiments of high regard for his abilities and ministerial capacity, and had represented him as the person who had principally counteracted the intrigues of the Jacobites, discovered the plot of bishop Atterbury, and whose good offices were essentially employed in preserving the family on the throne. Nor can a stronger proof be alledged of the height to which this confidential intercourse was carried, than that the resolution which he had once formed to resign, was communicated by the duke of Devonshire to the princess, and that she persuaded him to relinquish the design †.

* Count Broglio to the king of France, 24 July, 1724. Correspondence, Period III.

† Osbourn's Remarks. Correspondence, Period IV.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

But the principal cause which secured to him the protection of the queen, was his prudent behaviour in regard to Mrs. Howard. He had penetration sufficient to foresee, that George the Second would be governed by his wife, whom he adored, and of whose abilities and good sense he had formed the highest idea, and not by his mistrets, of whose judgment he never entertained any favourable opinion. The minister had always treated the princess of Wales with the highest respect, and declined paying court to Mrs. Howard; a mode of conduct, which, according to the opinion of superficial observers, would inevitably bring on his disgrace, but which, in effect, contributed to his continuance in office. A contrary mode of proceeding had inspired the queen with an invincible aversion to Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and the Tories. Hence she used all her influence with the king not to change the administration.

Walpole's
first inter-
view with
George the
Second.

The account of the king's death was brought first to the minister at Chelsea, in a dispatch from lord Townshend, who had accompanied George the First to the continent. He instantly repaired to the palace at Richmond. The king was then retired, as was his usual custom, to his afternoon's nap. On being informed that his father was dead, he continued for some time incredulous, until he was told that the minister was waiting in the antichamber with the express. He at length started up, and made his appearance half dressed; but he still retained his unbelief, until the dispatch from Townshend was produced. Walpole having knelt down, and kissed his hand, inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the declaration to the privy council? "Compton," replied the king with great abruptness, and Walpole quitted the apartment under the most mortifying impressions. He immediately waited on Sir Spencer Compton with the king's commands, who, unacquainted with the etiquette and forms of expression used on the occasion, avowed his ignorance, and requested the minister to draw up the declaration. Walpole complied, and Compton conveyed it to the king*.

Character of
Sir Spencer
Compton.
1695.

Sir Spencer Compton was second surviving son of James earl of Northampton; after having received a liberal education, and improved himself by foreign travel, he was introduced into parliament at an early period, and deserted the principles of his family, who were Tories, by adhering to the Whigs. He was made treasurer to the prince of Denmark, appointed manager for the trial of Sacheverel, was chairman in several important committees of elections and privileges, in which he acquitted himself with much

* From lord Orford.

satisfaction.

satisfaction, and made himself master of the forms and proceedings of the House. At the accession of George the First, he was appointed treasurer to the prince of Wales; and his constant adherence to the Whigs, his intimate acquaintance with Walpole, his numerous connections, and a character he had acquired for dispatch of business, secured him the place of speaker without opposition. With that honourable office he united, in 1721, the post of paymaster of the forces, and treasurer of Chelsea Hospital. He was created knight of the bath on the revival of that order. Compton was not distinguished for brilliancy of genius, or eminence of abilities. His formal and solemn manner contributed to the support of his authority as speaker, and seemed to denote extent of knowledge and profundity of thought, while his assiduity in business, and punctuality in accounts, rendered him respectable in the opinion of George the Second, who being extremely regular in all his proceedings, loved regularity in others, and esteemed it one of the most essential requisites in a minister. Such was the person whom George the Second had selected; and as the monarch was usually deemed inflexible in his resolutions, the appointment seemed irrevocably fixed.

Walpole passed the two days which immediately followed the accession of the new king, in great agitation and concern, and held several meetings with his friends at Devonshire House, to consult on the best mode of proceeding. Scrope *, secretary to the treasury, who was admitted to one of these conferences, described the whole company as without the smallest expectation, absorbed in gloom and consternation. Either the next, or the following day, Scrope repeated his visit to the desponding minister, and found no alteration in his mien and appearance. He first encouraged him in general terms to hope, and then added reasons for that encouragement, which he had from one, whose name he could not divulge. His friend had informed him, that queen Caroline was displeased with Compton, who had been deficient in deference and respect, and had conceived a high opinion of Walpole's ability for finance. She used to converse with George the First at chapel, on political subjects; and once in particular, having observed that a want of proper funds would oblige him to disband his Hanover troops, he replied, "No, for Walpole can convert stones into gold †." This anecdote recurred to her recollection; she communicated it to the king, and exerted herself to abate his predilection for Compton, and influence him in favour of Walpole. The truth of the information soon appeared; the queen was now assiduously employed in removing the prejudices of the king. She represented the folly and hazard of dismissing a well established ministry,

* Minutes of Scrope's Conversations with Etough. Correspondence, Period IV.

† See chapter 30.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

and of forming a motley cabinet of Whigs and Tories; and artfully took an opportunity of hinting the imprudence of placing a man at the head of the ministry, who could not draw up the declaration to be laid before the privy council, but was compelled to have recourse to him who was about to be dismissed; she also hinted to him, that Sir Robert Walpole had agreed to carry through the house of commons, an augmentation of £. 130,000 to the civil list.

These representations had their effect; and with them, many other causes co-operated to change the king's sentiments. Sir Spencer Compton found himself unequal to the weight of government, and was not eager to take upon him so responsible an office. He was convinced, that he could not bear up against the opposition of Sir Robert Walpole, who had so much weight in the house of commons, and who would be supported by the united interests of Newcastle, Devonshire, Townshend, and the great leaders of the Whigs, unless a Tory administration was formed. George the Second was averse to throw himself into the hands of the Tories, and yet could not form a new ministry, which promised stability, without taking that step. Pulteney, the only man of great weight and influence among the Whigs in opposition, was by no means attached to the Tories, and would not have heartily coalesced with them. Bolingbroke was so extremely unpopular, that his re-establishment in the house of lords, and his admission into the ministry, would have occasioned great murmurs and discontents among those who usually supported government. Lord Carteret, the only man of abilities who was cordially inclined to join the Tories, had little personal consequence, was not the leader of any party, and did not possess the smallest influence in the house of commons.

The situation of foreign affairs also no less contributed to confirm the king in his resolution not to remove the ministry. The treaty of Hanover had been recently concluded, and the negotiations for the consummation of that alliance were in great forwardness. They had been planned and were conducting by lord Townshend, in co-operation with France. The opposition had warmly resisted the treaty, and might have introduced a new plan, which must have deranged and overturned the whole system of foreign politics. Cardinal Fleury, who then governed France, was intimately connected with Horace Walpole; he had adopted the pacific sentiments which influenced the English cabinet, and deprecated the change of that system which had kept Europe in peace for so long a period. When the news of the king's death reached Paris, Horace Walpole requested and obtained an immediate conference, which took place at Versailles on the ensuing day. In this conference,

serence, the French minister conveyed, in the strongest terms, professions of friendship from Louis the Fifteenth to George the Second; and in his own name declared his firm resolution to maintain the good understanding between the two crowns. He also expressed these sentiments in a letter which he wrote on the same day to Horace Walpole. Immediately after the conference*, Horace Walpole quitted Paris, without waiting for leave of absence, repaired to London, and delivered his letter to the king in person. The king was at first extremely dissatisfied with him for quitting his station so abruptly; but during the conference, which lasted two hours†, he gradually softened, as Horace Walpole explained, with great address, the relative situations of England and France, effaced the ill impressions that he had entertained of his and his brother's conduct, and confirmed the sentiments of the French cabinet, which were contained in the letter from cardinal Fleury. Accordingly, the king wrote, with his own hand, a letter‡ to the cardinal, in which he declared his resolution to pursue the same measures as were pursued by his father, and to continue the same ministers who had conducted those measures.

Under these circumstances, the offer which had been made to Compton, was the only remaining impediment to the continuance of Walpole. The manner of surmounting this difficulty was previously concerted. The queen having, in the presence of Walpole, repeated to Compton the intimation that the king intended to place him at the head of the treasury; Walpole instantly declared his ready acquiescence, and gave assurances of his best assistance and support. Compton was extremely affected at this instance of his master's kindness, and shed tears, as he declared his incapacity to undertake so arduous a trust§.

While this scene was passing in the closet, the door of Sir Spencer Compton's house in St. James's Square was besieged by persons of all ranks, who crowded to pay their court to the new minister. As Walpole was passing through the square in his carriage, he said to a friend who was with him, "Did you observe how my house is deserted, and how that door is crowded with carriages? To-morrow the scene will be changed: that house will be deserted, and mine will be more frequented than ever."

* *Memoires de Montgon*, tome 4. p. 401, 403.

† Enough From Horace Walpole, Period V.

‡ Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Robinson and the earl of Waldegrave. *Correspondence*. Montgon mentions the conference between

Fleury and Horace Walpole, and asserts that cardinal Fleury wrote a letter to the king of England; but this letter was to Horace Walpole. *Memoires de Montgon*.

§ Communicated by Sir Robert Walpole to bishop Weston. *Enough Papers*.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

As his continuance in office was the work of the queen, it was through her that it was first made known to the public. On the first drawing-room which she held at Leicester House, lady Walpole, among others, presented herself; but as there was a great crowd, and her husband was supposed to have received his dismissal, no one retired, till the queen perceiving her at some distance, beckoned to her, and said, "There I am sure I see a friend;" instantly the whole company made way. She approached the queen, and kissed her hand; her majesty spoke to her in a most gracious manner, and lady Walpole, in relating the anecdote to her son*, from whom I received it, added, "and in returning I might have walked upon their heads, so eager were they to pay their court to me."

From this moment Walpole was courted, and Compton in his turn deserted; and the ministry, with very few alterations, continued in their former offices. On the 24th of June, the very day in which Swift said the ministry would be changed, Walpole was re-appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and lord Townshend again received the seal of secretary of state. An attempt † was finally made by the party, through Mrs. Howard, to prevail on the king to confer an earldom on lord Bathurst; but that measure being thwarted by the influence of the queen, they relinquished all hopes of success, and Bolingbroke retired from London in disgust.

Queen Caroline possessed great art in bending the king's mind to the purposes which his English minister thought advantageous and necessary, and in counteracting the Hanoverian cabals. She always affected to retire when the minister came into the closet, declared she did not understand business, and only remained as if to obey the king's commands, and not out of inclination or curiosity. She never appeared to listen; never gave her opinion unless solicited, and then delivered it with a modesty and humility which captivated and charmed the king. She was extremely fond of power, though she affected the contrary, and preserved her influence over the king by consummate discretion. She was a friend to peace, and appreciated and enforced the pacific system of Sir Robert Walpole, as the only means of preserving the interior tranquillity, and preventing a rebellion; as the great cause of the national prosperity, of the increase of commerce, and of the improvement of manufactures and agriculture.

The interposition of queen Caroline, and the assistance which she gave to the ministry, in regulating the conduct of affairs, was of the highest advantage both to them and the country. She was not unacquainted with the

From Lord Orford.

† Ibid. ~

constitution

constitution of England; and he often prepared and smoothed the way towards obtaining the king's consent to measures which he had first opposed, because they often ran counter to his German prejudices, or to his passion for military glory.

Chapter 33a
1727 to 1729

From the time of his accession, to the hour of her death, the king had always appointed her, during his absence, regent of the kingdom, and an act of parliament was passed for the express purpose of exempting her from taking the oaths. He uniformly expressed as much satisfaction, that the affairs of government were conducted by her, as when they were conducted by himself; an honourable testimony of his confidence, which she amply merited by her consummate good sense and discretion. The reliance which George the Second placed on the queen, is evidently proved by some expressions in a letter from Da Cunha, the Portuguese minister at the Hague, to Azevedo in London. "As to your journey to Hanover, I have already given my opinion; it is certain neither the king will do any thing without the queen, nor the queen without the king: and therefore, in point of dispatch of business, London is Hanover, and Hanover is London *."

CHAPTER THE THIRTY-THIRD:

1727—1729.

Walpole obtains an Increase of the Civil List, and a Jointure of £. 100,000 for Queen Caroline.—Meeting and Proceedings of the New Parliament.—State of the Opposition.—Important Discussion on the State of the Sinking Fund and National Debt.—Report of the House of Commons on that Subject.—The King refuses to make Charles Stanhope a Lord of the Admiralty.—Foreign Affairs.—Transactions with Spain and the Emperor.—Alliance with Brunswick.—Act of the Pardo.—Congress of Soissons.—Treaty of Seville.

IN consequence of the re-appointment of Townshend and Walpole, not a single member of the cabinet council was removed, excepting the earl of Berkeley, first lord of the admiralty, who was replaced by Sir George Byng, viscount Torrington, the confidential friend of Walpole; and the power of the minister was increased by the nomination of several of his friends to

New ministry confirmed.

July 3d 1736. Orford Papers.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

subordinate offices in the treasury, admiralty, and other boards of government. The wisdom of continuing the administration, was proved by the unanimity with which affairs were at first conducted in parliament; and the accession of George the Second, which the Jacobites abroad and at home had impatiently expected as the signal of a new revolution, took place with the most perfect tranquillity. They founded their principal hopes on the removal of the minister. The secretary of lord Orkney, had observed to the exiled bishop of Rochester, that if the project to destroy Sir Robert Walpole was successful, he had more hopes of seeing the Chevalier restored, to the satisfaction of himself and subjects, than from any Alberoni or foreign assistance in the world. Atterbury himself also acknowledged that the king knew his interest too well to encourage any attempts against the minister*. The general despondency which they now testified, was equal to the ardour of their former expectations, and sufficiently proves that he was considered as the great support of the protestant succession, and the bulwark of the religion and constitution.

Disappointment and inactivity of opposition.

June 15th.
Proceedings in parliament.

The opposition seems to have been stunned with the re-appointment of the minister, whose disgrace they had fondly anticipated, and the business was carried through the house of commons almost with perfect unanimity. The day after the arrival of the express, with official intelligence of the death of George the First, the parliament assembled in conformity to the act of settlement, and was prorogued by commission to the 27th. On that day, the king came to the house of peers, and in his speech from the throne, after expressing his concern for the death of his father, his determination to preserve the constitution inviolable, and to secure to all his subjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights; he gave his full sanction to the late measures. The address of condolence and congratulation, moved by Sir Paul Methuen, and seconded by Walpole, was carried without opposition. It was drawn up in such terms as sufficiently proved that he thought himself secure of all the influence and power which he had hitherto possessed†. On the 3d of July, he proposed that the entire revenue of the civil list, which produced about £.130,000 more than the £.700,000 granted to the late king, might be settled on his majesty during life. Although this motion was considered as the price of his continuance in office, yet no one ventured to oppose it, except Shippen, who, after a long speech, moved, that no more than £.700,000 should be settled; but as

* Secret Intelligence from Paris, September 24th, 1727.—Walpole Papers.

† Journals.—Tindal, vol. 20. p. 4.—Historical Register, 172.—Chandler.