

## ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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tions; this I did to give myself time to take all measures possible to practice upon the brewers, and to provide against the bad consequences of the distress, if it should happen, and in all events to render the rogues the more manifestly inexcusable, resolved at the same time, whenever they began to leave of brewing, to begin all sorts of severe methods to terrify and punish.

*Tomults in  
Scotland.*

1725.

I found it impracticable to do any thing with the brewers before they desisted from brewing, because they were convinced by their advisers, that their conspiracy would have the effect they intended, and that I durst not proceed farther against them. Some of them, I believe, were sensible of their being in the wrong, but either by secret oaths or other engagements, were so linked together, that the most moderate among them thought themselves under a necessity of at least showing some regard to their mutual promises or oaths. Many of them had this farther terror upon them, that if they deserted their brethren, they would lose their whole trade in this town, and that all their customers would leave them. But above all, the thing which united them most was, that they believed, and do so to this day, that I am acting against the secret inclinations of the king only to support sir Robert Walpole, that he is next sessions of parliament to fall, and that one Mr. Poultney would have all in his hands, in conjunction with Dundas and the duke of Roxburg. Thus, instead of being considered as one having the favour of the ministry, they think I am acting a desperate game, out of private views and resentments, and for which I am very soon to suffer; however, as nothing of this nature was unforeseen, when I left London, it neither has nor shall make the least impression upon me.

They commonly brew here three times a week, Munday, Wednesday, and Fryday, in this town and the adjacent places subject to the town's duty, about 8 or 900 barrels each brewing. On Fryday night last, I had notice sent me, that they had all left off, except Bailie Simpson, who submitted at first; but I had intelligence, that they had the Wednesday preceding brewed a double quantity, and that they kept their brewhouses so ready, that they could begin to brew upon a minute's warning, having all their fires made up ready to light, when they pleased. I had further intelligence from different quarters, that the most substantial of them had great difficulty to prevail with the poorer sort to desist from brewing the Fryday night, and that they had prevailed upon them only by assuring them that they would desire to engage them no farther than the Wednesday after, and if their scheme (which they affirmed to be infal-

lible)

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lible) did not then answer their purpose, that they must submit: I had on Saturday some hopes of the leaders giving up the rest, but whether they got, as I have heard, a private express confirming them in their resolutions, or whether they did it only to amuse me, and make me lose time till the distress should come on, I cannot tell; however, as I could not get my brethren that day together to advise the execution of the warrants, and having some reason to suspect one of them to have altered his way of thinking, besides the clamour of the church, if they had on Saturday night been deprived of the spiritual assistance from the pulpits on Sunday, I resolved to be quiet till Monday, when I got together lord president, lord Newhall, lord Royston, and lord Milton. All the rest were out of town, but lord Cullen, who, when he should have come to us was asleep, and his servants would not wake him.

Upon our meeting, I acquainted my brethren with the great merit they had with the king and the ministers, by their seasonable interposing their authority against the conspiracy of the brewers, that I understood there were warrants signed by my lord president in name of the court of session for the imprisoning them for their contempt, if they should not submit by the 10th of August, that these warrands had been delayed in hopes that there would be no immediate occasion for them till the time of the meeting of the court, but that now since the conspirators had actually began their attempt to starve this town, I thought we could be no longer answerable to the king, to the court of session, or to our country, if the leaders of this sedition were not immediately imprisoned. My lord president said, that he had those warrands signed in hands, and was of my opinion, that they should some of them be put in execution, only desired to have our advice for that end. Lord Newhall declared against it, and said it being now out of session time, we could do nothing, that those warrants were intended only in terrorem, and that he did not believe the imprisoning any of the brewers would do any good. I answered, that although the court of session was not now sitting, those warrants were signed in court, and that it was impossible they could be executed, but out of term time, because they were conditional, viz. unless the brewers submitted before the 10th of August. Now if the term ended the last of July, either those warrants were illegal, or they could now be executed; that as a member of the court of session, I could not justify myself to the parliament, if I should be thought guilty of suppressing the orders of the court, made on so solemn an occasion for the publick

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Well good, and therefore I hoped my lord president would deliver warrants  
 against five of them, whom I was informed were the leaders and seducers of the  
 rest. I was forced to take upon me, on this occasion, more than fell to my share,  
 for I ventured to say, that those warrants would have had all the effect we de-  
 sired in terrorem, if the brewers had not suspected or known that there would  
 be some difficulty in putting them in execution, and that if the lords of the ses-  
 sion layd aside those commitments, I thought they had nothing to do but to  
 plead guilty, when the court met, to the indictment which Dundas had drawn  
 against them, and which they burnt by the hands of the common hangman.  
 Lord Royston and Milton supported me, and the president (not sorry, I believe,  
 to see Newhall in the wrong box) declared that he would deliver out to the  
 proper officer, warrants against those brewers whom I had named, and accord-  
 ingly, I believe, they are now all in prison. They will immediately be charged  
 with indictments for their conspiracy, and the tryals may begin after the ex-  
 piration of fifteen days; I think their crime considered in all its circumstances,  
 deserves a very severe punishment, but how far I shall persuade my brethren  
 to go, I can't tell. I will in this, as well as every thing else, carrie my head as  
 high as possible, so that the people shall either think I am playing the better  
 of the lay, or that I am distracted.

Tumults in  
 Scotland.  
 1725.

Wenfday, August 25. We have already seperated some of the brewers  
 from the combination, for on Munday last, these brewed, viz. Bailie Simpson  
 (who complied at first) Mrs. Elliot, Maggy Johnson, Mr. Mackie, Mr. Angus  
 (brews this night). Peter Campbell, the corn merchant, has hired a brew-  
 house, and actually brewed on Munday, and will continue. I make no doubt  
 but we shall get the better of this conspiracy here, upon which all the malsters  
 in Scotland depend; the Edenburg brewers are the chosen champions for the  
 cause, and therefore *coute que coute* they must be subdued. I am no ways ap-  
 prehensive of any insurrection here or any where else; the distress of this  
 town is the only inconvenience I foresee in the prosecution of the present mea-  
 sures, I say *this town*, because in all other places of Scotland, the publick  
 brewers serve very few private families. As for the danger of wanting bread  
 here, I have heard all that can be said on that subject, and think it a mere  
 jest, for bread can certainly be made without yeast. I know how to do it my-  
 self, and as my friend Peter Campbell has turned brewer, I'll turn baker, if  
 nothing else will convince them; the bakers here are well affected, and so I  
 think there's nothing in it. If the want of ale turns into too great a grievance

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to be supported, and that the combination does not cease, as I believe it will; the magistrates of Edenburg (who dare do little openly) have agreed to let their officers connive at the importation, from the country around, of ale, not only without subjecting these country brewers for all they brew to the town's duty, but without demanding any thing for what they shall import. In this event, I believe the dragoon horses must fetch in the drink; for the neighbouring country places have been made to believe, that these brewers of Edenburg are so formidable, that they sent us word, that though they are willing to endeavour to supply the town, yett they dare not send their own servants and horses.

The state of Aberdeenshire is very extraordinary. I am informed from thence, that the earl of Rothes's clerk, who is likewise clerk to the justices of the peace, has suppressed these fourteen days the new commission of the peace, and that some of the maltsters who at first allowed entrance to the officers of excise, now think fit to refuse. This latter part of the news I have from the board of excise. Thus it is that the king is served in this country, and these are the difficulties I meet with daily in other shapes, over and above that of introducing a new tax, which though unreasonably, unjustly, and extravagantly opposed here, yet is not the most popular thing to do in any place whatsoever, and am very much of opinion, that if things continue on this foot, with respect to the administration of Scotland being *felo de se*; neither customs nor excise, nor hardly any law will have force in this country. But let all that be as it will, as long as I have the law in my hand, and fifty men to support me, I wont give the least way to any insult, nor shall I boast of any merit in the matter, when there are so many of the king's subjects, who for sixpence a day (in point of firmness) do more.

One of the leaders of the brewers, who is now in the tolbooth, had the impudence to desire one to propose to me, that the lords of the session should privately agree to connive at three of their number suspending these commitments, and the justices of the peace should adjourn the consideration of the suit of the board of excise against them till the parliament met. I answered, that no three lords of the session durst suspend their commitment, and that I should, as a justice of the peace, this day declare in publick, that the brewers here were persons whose actions called more for the vengeance of the law than the least favour from the government, that I foresaw they would at last be compelled to beg for mercy when it would be too late. I have the prisoners disposed



disposed in different prisons to prevent their encouraging one another, or influencing the rest by any joint advice, and I'll endeavour to hinder any of the brewers having access to them. This afternoon the justices of the peace met, where the brewers who were summoned offered a petition, a copy of which I send to Mr. Walpole. We had about twenty justices present. I connived at the absence of the magistrates of Edenburg, who are in the commission, in regard to their approaching elections, though they offered to attend if I pleased: I spoke to the brewers, by way of answer to their petition, and there being present a vast number of people, I said every thing I could think of, not only for the sake of the brewers, but of the audience too.

Turns in  
Scotland.

1725.

I must tell you one thing of the spectators, which I did not expect, nor indeed could have hoped for, which was, that they behaved themselves very decently during the whole proceeding, nor could I observe the least murmur or impertinence. One of the brewers mentioned the objection about the stock in hand, which I stated at large to my brethren justices, and they unanimously overuled it. All the excuse the brewers made for not giving bond for the duty, was their poverty, and that they must first pay their creditors, of whom they had bought their corn. We gave judgment against them for the double duty, and they have appealed to the quarter sessions, as they are allowed by act of parliament; foreseeing this appeal, and that six days are to be allowed them, between the first sentence and the appeal being heard; we yesterday adjourned the quarter sessions to Thursday sennight, at which time these judgments will be made final.

I had forgot one other defence the brewers made, viz. that the gaugers had not done them justice in measuring their malt, or rather that the brewers did not know whether the measuring was right, upon which Mr. Baron Kenedy told them, that he believed the board of excise would be so indulgent to them, as to order the malt to be gauged over again in presence of themselves or any they should appoint, and asked them, if in that case they would give bond for the tax; to which they answered, no, for they had not money. Mr. Dodswel, who is secretary to the excise, is extremely usefull and able in his business; if it were not for him, that board could do nothing; the two commissioners, however skilful they may be in the lower parts of their business, are far from being able to conduct the management of the excise here, which requires authority, spirit, and a proper behaviour, suiting an office that ought to carry respect with it in this country. Instead of all this, the whole town knows

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knows that they are frightened out of their wits, that they lie in different places, cording as the panic seizes them, and before this mutiny began, they had hired a little hut jointly, for which they pay five pounds a year, and have deserted a shilling ordinary, because it was too dear. These are circumstances that may seem trivial, but in a country like this, where by a long series of no administration, the mere letter of the law has little or no weight with the people, it must be supported, by the concurrent influence of every thing that any ways tend to the dignity, authority, respect, and reputation of those in office.

August 26, Thursday. Our work goes on pretty well, I believe I shall have three more brewers light their fires to night, and one of them is the most considerable in the town, so that I make no doubt of dragging them all in very soon, and I hitherto persist in having no apprehension of publick disturbances: if any happen, they shall be too soon over to make any noise. I had this day a letter from Chelsea, by which I see my friends the brewers here, will in a little time be informed of the state of their affairs. Adieu.

They threatned so hard at Dysart, that if Logie or his brethren came there, they should be destroyed, so that Logie sent a protestation, and I could not desire gentlemen of distinction to go to be drub'd, or perhaps murdered. I am told they had gathered great numbers of people in and about the town to be ready for mischief as occasion should offer; I did not think it very safe to have any troops sent from hence in the condition we are in; besides they would have said, that the army was made use of to choose magistrates. There met yesterday eight of the other side, and though twelve was a quorum, those eight have presumed to have a magistracy elected, and have put them in possession; whether they should be proceeded against by a suspension here, or by complaint above, I have not yet had time to consider.

#### EARL OF ILAY TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Relates the means which he took to suppress the combination of brewers.*

SIR,

Edenburgh, Friday, August 27, 1725.

Campbell  
Papers.

I Forgot by the last post to inclose this petition of the brewers, which they offered at the late meeting of justices of the peace. Yesterday they made an application to the magistrates, desiring them to intercede with me, that their brethren might be set at liberty, and that nothing should be exacted of them before the parliament met. The magistrates were very sensible how impertinent

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minent this application was, but thought it better that I should return an answer than they: accordingly, I was this day attended by the magistrates and town council, when the petition was read. I thereupon acquainted the town council, that all mild methods had been pursued to induce the brewers to an obedience to the laws, but that now they had made so bad a use of the lenity of the government, that I would let them know that they should soon feel the consequence of their crimes, that this city was now in all the distress which their conspiracy could bring upon it, and I would take that time to show them how little I was to be intimidated; that instead of releasing those in prison, who would this day receive their indictments for their crimes, I would on Saturday have five more of the most criminal imprisoned and indicted, the nature of their crimes and their punishment, I should soon pronounce to them in another place; that their wicked designs had failed of success, for I had taken care that the town should be supplied with drink, and that already ten or eleven of their trade had submitted, and did brew: these I should probably recommend to the lords justices as proper objects of his majesty's mercy, but for the rest, who plead compassion even during the time of their criminal obstinacy, I thought it an insolent application, and that in compassion to the innocent, I would execute the laws against the guilty.

Turnbulls in  
Scotland.

1725.

In about three hours after this, one of them lighted his fire, and fell to brewing, and two of the name of Campbell, whom I sent word to, that they should be more severely handled (if possible) than any others, promised to brew this night. I know for certain they are all disconcerted among themselves, and I think the neck of the whole plot is broke. This day at noon, there came some barrels of drink from the country, people came in the street, and desired to buy drink, upon which the fellow tap'd the barrels, and in a very little time retailed out all his ale, without the least disturbance, and to the great satisfaction of his customers. The rogues now are sensible that they can neither starve the town, nor raise any tumult, but blame me for letting ale come in free of the town's duty; I am forced to allow the magistrates to excuse themselves, by saying they dare not hinder it, for fear of me. I don't yet hear of above one baker, who pretends to be distressed for want of yeast, and he is one Hay, of lord Tweddale's family.

Upon the surrender of the seals, there will be an immediate necessity for a deputation here for the keeping the signet, because it is out of that office that all summonses for law suits proceed. Before the union, the office of secretary

was

## MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

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**Period III.** was constituted by commission under the great seal, and in it the office of  
 1720 to 1727. keeper of the signet was inserted. I don't know whether the duke of Montrose  
 1725. and the duke of Roxburg had a separate commission for that effect, nor can I  
 enquire here at present, least they should know in the offices the reason of my  
 enquiry, but the moment the news comes in form, and is public, I'll send you  
 word. I would recommend one Reanold Campbell, one of the justices of the  
 peace here, to be the deputy keeper of the signet, and though you may depend  
 upon it, I shall not in the sequel of Scotch affairs, be partial to that name, yet  
 upon this occasion, I industriously do it, as a measure useful. I send you in-  
 closed a pamphlet written by Mr. Hugh Dalrimple, second son to the lord  
 president, and with it an infamous copy of verses, privately handed about by  
 the enemy: the Dalrimples, all but the earl of Stairs, and one sir John Dal-  
 rimple, concur zealously with me in every thing. Lord Stairs is in the country  
 amusing himself with improvements of ground, gardening, &c. That sir John  
 is one of the clerks of the session during life, and a jacobite: he had the im-  
 pudence the other day, upon our giving orders in the quarter sessions of the  
 peace, for letters to be writ to our absent brethren, to return a nonsensical  
 impertinent answer. Lord Torphicken, whom you lately made one of the po-  
 lice (800*l.* a year) does not attend the justices of the peace, nor did he return  
 any answer to his letter; I am not sorry for it, he having more from the go-  
 vernment than his services can deserve, though he were on the right side.  
 Mr. Campbell of Glasgow, a very rich man, and Daniel's enemy, is to come  
 here next week, to talk to me about the affairs of that town: he is certainly a  
 very honest man, and by letter has given me the strongest assurances of his  
 friendship. I am afraid I plague you with tedious letters, but I cannot well  
 otherwise give you any true notion of affairs here.

### SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Suppression of the combination in Scotland, owing to the good conduct of lord  
 Ilay.*

MY LORD,

London, September 3, 1725.

Hardwicke  
 Papers.

*Copy.*

IT is with the greatest satisfaction that I give your lordship the following ac-  
 count of the present state of affairs in Scotland, and as this great happy  
 turn is intisely qwing to the industry, ability, and resolution of lord Ilay, I  
 can never say enough in his commendation, or do him justice in relating his  
 great

great dexterity in the conduct and management of this nice and difficult point. And that his majesty may be more fully apprised of the particular transactions in getting through this whole affair, I beg your lordship's patience, if I take it a little further backward, in order to explain it the better.

Tumults in  
Scotland.  
1725.

Your lordship has been already acquainted that the resolution concerted was to begin with prosecuting the brewers before the justices of the peace, for non-payment of the duties charged upon the stock in hand, which was accordingly done, and the brewers thereupon, pursuant to their combination, leaving off brewing immediately, lord Ilay ordered, that four of the chief and principal offenders should be immediately committed upon the warrants of the lords of session, left in the hands of the president, for contempt and disobedience to their orders, and the authority of the court; and as soon as they were committed, directed inditelements and informations to be exhibited against them for their criminal combination, which now they had full evidence of, by having actually left off their brewing. And the town of Edinburgh was actually for about a week under all the distress, that they could possibly put them, eight brewers only, by the management of lord Ilay, out of 65, continuing to brew, and the consumption of ale in Edinburgh, is computed at least at 2,500 barrels per week. But for their further relief, lord Ilay prevailed with one Peter Campbel, an eminent and rich old merchant, to hire two very large brewhouses, and brew all that he possibly could, and compelled the magistrates of Edinburgh not to hinder the country brewers from bringing drink into the town, of which they had not benefit till the 27th of August, when ale was publicly retailed in the streets by country brewers, without any disturbance, and all that was brought immediately sold, and this was the condition of Edinburgh from about the 20th of last month, to the 28th.

On the 21st, his majesty's orders for dismissing the Scotch secretary arrived here, of which I sent an immediate account to lord Ilay that day, that he might have the benefit of that resolution as soon as possible, which I was very sensible he wanted, and persuaded he would find a very good account from. The express arrived at Edinburgh the 26th, on the 25th the brewers petitioned the justices of the peace, before whom they were summoned, and in a strong manner insisted, that all further proceedings should be superseded till the meeting of the parliament, when they hoped and questioned not to obtain redress. That application being rejected on the 26th, they applied in a body to the magistrates of Edinburgh to intercede with lord Ilay for the liberty

**Period III.** of their brethren that were committed. Lord Ilay took that opportunity of  
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 1725. being attended on the 27th by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh, and did then publickly, in a full assembly, speak to them with a very becoming spirit, and seasonable resolution, and rejected their application for the liberty of their bretheren with scorn and indignation, which had that effect, that three brewers more immediately after lighted their fires, and fell to brewing.

On the 27th, late at night, upon the report of lord Ilay's rejecting this application in such a manner, the brewers sent a messenger to desire the quarter session of the justices, where the penalties for non-payment are to be levied by distress, might be adjourned to October next, to which an immediate answer was returned, that nothing would be accepted or heard, but an entire submission and an immediate return to their duty; upon which, in their assembly, they fell into debates, and various opinions began to arise among themselves, and at last unanimously agreed to be determined by a question, *Brew or not*. Which being put by the chairman, he began to take their votes *seriatim* at the right hand; but his right hand man, thought it an hardship upon him to be obliged to speak first, the left hand man thought so too, and they could get nobody to give his vote first. At last one Gray declared he thought they had nothing now left to do, but to return to their trades; that he would not be bound by the majority, but began the vote, and voted *brew*. He was immediately followed by another, upon which two warm ones hoped they would hold out, till their bretheren were set at liberty, but these not being supported, the assembly broke up, and such of them as had their things in readiness, fell to brewing that night; and on the 28th at noon, above 40 brewhouses were hard at work in Edinburgh, and ten more at Leith. Lord Ilay has since sent a peremptory order to the brewers, not to hold any more assemblies at their peril. The brewers under confinement have taken till the 31st, to consider what methods they shall take. It is expected, they will then comply with the order of session, and give security for carrying on their business, upon which they must be set at liberty, but the prosecutions for the criminal combination will still remain good, and I am at present of opinion, should be carried on, to make some examples, if lord Ilay is of opinion that can be done, without raising new mutinies and disorders; or at least, that after conviction, they should be obliged to the king for their pardon, if that is thought adviseable.

The trials of the rioters at Glasgow, and the conspirators at Edinburgh, will be put off for a fortnight, from the date of the last letters, upon some necessary

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ecessary precautions. But I think I may now congratulate your lordship upon seeing an end to a very troublesome and hazardous affair: the success is entirely owing to the last wise resolution his majesty was pleased to take, and it is plain to a demonstration, that without that alteration, all the art of man could not put at end to these disorders, which had their rise and support from the countenance and protection which they expected and received from hence. I forgot to acquaint your lordship, that I sent down 1,500*l.* to lord Ilay, to answer any expence that should be necessary to carry on his majesty's service. I am confident he will manage to the best advantage. By all letters from Scotland, the affair of the highlands is like to succeed to his majesty's wishes. Urquhart sends me word from thence, that there will be a total submission and surrender of their arms. I am, my lord, with great truth and affection.

Tumults in  
Scotland  
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SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Warmly commends lord Ilay.*

MY LORD,

London, September 3, 1725.

I Do not send your lordship copies of lord Ilay's letters to me, not only because they are very long, but as they are sort of diaries or journals of all his transactions; they contain many things, which from the circumstances, frequently varied, and would rather create confusion, than give you a clear idea of what has been done. But if your lordship observes any inconsistency in the accounts that have come from the duke of Newcastle and me, it is occasioned by his grace writing from such accounts as the advocate sent up to Mr. De-lafaye, and his grace not having seen lord Ilay's accounts to me, and there having been some difference of opinion betwixt lord Ilay and the advocate about the methods of proceedings; lord Ilay preferring in point of time the more moderate measures to be first put in execution. We have had some difficulty to manage, without giving the advocate distaste, or discouraging of him by abating all that zeal and warmth, which he had engaged himself in; this made lord Ilay's correspondence with me, differ a little from the advocate's accounts, who was not previously let thoroughly into all the measures that had been concerted: but all is well, and the facts are as I state them in my other letter.

Hardwicke  
Papers.  
Copy.  
Private.

Indeed, my lord, I cannot say enough in commendation of lord Ilay; to set himself up in direct opposition to the spirit and wishes of the whole country, to throw off all popularity at once, and run the hazard of not succeeding, which

Period III. 1720 to 1727. 1725. you may depend upon it, he had not done, if the duke of Roxborough had not been removed, was a desperate and resolute undertaking, and he has conducted it with admiration, and I think I can answer for him, he will not be unreasonable in his demands, or give the king or his servants any uneasiness by proposing unnecessary charges, or aiming to ingross the whole power of Scotland into his own hands. These matters have already been so fully explained betwixt him and me, that I think we need be under no apprehensions upon that account. There must be a deputation for a keeper of the signet in Scotland, under Mr. Tilson and Mr. Delafaye. Lord Ilay recommends very earnestly one Mr. Reonald Campbel, a justice of the peace there, that has now signalized himself upon this occasion, to that post, worth betwixt 2 and 300*l.* per annum. He says you shall not find him partial to that name, but says this will be of particular service, and indeed I think he should be gratified in it.

The surrender of Wood's patent has had so good an effect in Ireland, that the lord lieutenant promises every thing will go well there, but I have other accounts that I more depend upon, which give the same assurances; so I think we have once more got Scotland and Ireland quiet, *if we take care to keep them so.*

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

*Highly commends his conduct and zeal.*

MY LORD,

London, Sept. 4, 1725.

Campbell  
Papers.

I Am favoured with your letters of the 26th of last month by the post, and of the 27th and 28th by expresse, and not only return your lordship my most sincere thanks for your successful endeavours in surmounting the great difficulties, which few men but your lordship would have dared to undertake, and fewer would have been able to accomplish; but do assure you, I have done you all possible justice in my accounts to the king of this whole proceeding.

I intirely approve the measures you have taken, and cannot but think you judged very rightly in beginning where you did; but I do not know whether you observe what I think I discover in the advocate's letters, that he rather wished you had begun with the criminal prosecutions, and seems to think there is an abatement of that zeal with which he started. But as he is to be managed, and by no means to be distasted, I dare say, your prudence and temper will conduct it so, that he shall not be dissatisfied, nor imagine that any  
such



such intimation was given you from hence: to contribute all I can to pre-serve him in good humour, I write to him now, in a manner that I hope will please him. I have now wrote to lord Lauderdale, according to your directions.

Tumults in  
Scotland.

1725.

I have commended Mr. Campbell to lord Townshend to be deputy seal keeper, in which the duke of Newcastle has joined with me; and I dare say it will be as you wish; and for your other recommendations, I think you have such a title to command me, that you may be sure I will take due care of them.

I hope you have wrote hither, as you hinted before, and pray don't be sparing in personal compliments. I wait your lordship's commands in the further progress of the great and difficult task, and think there can be no doubt but if some of the most guilty and leading offenders can be convicted and punished, without creating new mutinies and new disorders, that some example should be made, or at least, that they should be tried and convicted; and if afterwards your lordship should think them objects of the king's pardon, you may have the grace of procuring it, and the obligation be your's.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Sends warrants for secret service money to be signed by the king.*

MY LORD,

London, September 7, 1725.

I Have nothing to trouble your lordship with this post, having no particulars from Scotland since my last, but general accounts that every thing is like to go on very well, and 'tis now hoped that the malt tax will be levied and collected without any further dispute. The occasion of my troubling you now, is to transmit to your lordship the three enclosed warrants and receipts for money to be issued out of the secret service, which will be wanted at Michaelmas, or at least no more of it shall be issued than shall be absolutely necessary. The unexpected sums that have been paid since his majesty's departure, which your lordship is acquainted with, make it necessary to send over these warrants, that it may be in my power to answer some payments that become due at Michaelmas, and to be able to answer any unforeseen services; but I hope the whole will not be wanted before the king's return. Be pleased, my lord, to present them to his majesty to be signed, the dates are left blanks, to be filled up at the times that the money shall be wanted. His majesty will remember, that the receipts are to be signed at the top with G R at bottom. You will observe,

Hardwicke  
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. observe, that I am preparing to get my business dispatched with an eye to  
 1720 to 1727. some October hunting, or you had not heard of me so soon upon this account.  
 1725. I am very truly and affectionately, my dear lord, your lordship's most faithful  
 humble servant.

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

*Expresses a high sense of his obligations, and his inclination to follow his  
 advice.*

MY LORD,

October 7, 1725.

Campbell  
Papers.

I Am afraid your lordship will think I have been a long time silent; but I hope you know me too well, or that I have more of your good opinion, than for your lordship to think, that any neglect proceeds from a want of that regard that is due to you, or a just sense of the services you have rendered, and the obligations that I shall ever own, you have in particular laid upon me. But I have forbore writing out of choice, and I wish you had not mentioned what your letter begins with; because it makes it impossible for me to acknowledge the receipt of a letter which I cannot produce.

I am fully convinced by the account you give me, that Mr. Burnett must not long continue a commissioner of the excise; but I think the alteration of that commission may wait our meeting together; and for me, I think, you have a right to direct me in all these things; which makes me confident, that you will not think any delay in the execution of your commands, is playing the minister. You shall find me sincere and ready to do what you think advisable, and without a grain of more discretion than you shall think necessary from circumstances. I think myself authorised to act as you desire concerning lord Kirkubright, having spoke to the king on that subject before he left England; and you shall have a list of our pensions. I wish you a good deliverance in the great work you have undertaken.

I am, with a great deal of reason, and very sincerely, my dear lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant.

SECRET

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

471.

1725.

Period III.  
1720 to 1727.

1725.

SECRET CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR ROBERT WAL-  
POLE, LORD TOWNSHEND, AND THE DUKE OF NEW-  
CASTLE.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Remonstrates on account of the large sums of money drawn upon the exchequer  
for the purpose of gaining Sweden.*

MY LORD,

London, July 20, 1725.

I Was no less surprized than concerned at the news which your lordship's dis-  
patches brought us, and shall trouble your lordship no further about them,  
than with all possible deference and submission to offer my humble opinion to  
his majesty, about that part which more immediately concerns the office, I have  
the honour to serve his majesty in.

Hardwicke  
Papers.

*Coppy.*

I observe your lordship has sent Mr. Poyntz orders to draw for 50,000*l.*  
or even 100,000*l.* I hope his majesty will be so good as to believe, I would  
not, upon any account, make any unnecessary difficulties, when his service or  
interest is concerned; but as I am convinced, that it is impracticable to answer  
such large sums, without very manifest and great prejudice to his majesty's ser-  
vice, I do hope I shall be forgiven, if I humbly beg, that immediate orders  
may be sent to Mr. Poyntz, not to exceed 50,000*l.* in the whole, and to be  
as cautious and sparing in drawing that, as 'tis possible for him to be. I am  
afraid, as the present circumstances of our revenue now stand here, this demand  
can no ways be answered, but out of his majesty's civil list revenues. The  
bank cannot by law make any public loans, but upon parliamentary securities,  
of which we have none, but tallies upon the land and malt tax, reserved for  
the payment of the forces, which cannot be deposited but by the consent of  
the pay-master, and are appropriated for the service of the current year. If  
the pay-master should make no difficultys in borrowing money upon these  
tallies, this transaction with the bank and pay office, would immediately make  
those apprehensions public, which 'tis thought adviseable should be kept pri-  
vate; and therefore the civil list alone, must certainly bear the whole burden  
of

Period III. of this charge, be it more; and I think I need not make use of many words to  
 1720 to 1727. prove that 50,000*l.* is as much as can possibly, without the greatest incon-  
 1725. veniences and difficultys imaginable, be supplied that way. I have this day  
 accepted Mr. Poyntz's bill for 6,000*l.* which will be paid to-morrow, and  
 with 4,000*l.* paid before, makes 10,000*l.* I hope I shall be forgiven, for  
 presuming to give my opinion in this free manner, which proceeds from no  
 motive, but an unfeigned duty and concern for his majesty's service and  
 interest.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Expresses his concern, that his opinion about Sweden should be misinterpreted.--*  
*Thinks it necessary to secure that kingdom at any expence.*

Hardwicke  
 Papers.  
 Copy.

(Hanover, July 27, 1725.) I Don't wonder you was surpris'd at the intelligence I transmitted to the duke of Newcastle from Mr. Poyntz; for though we had always reason to apprehend danger from the czarina, with regard to Sweden, upon which subject I had the happiness of reasoning some hours with you at my owne house, before I left England; at which time, the point with relation to assistance by money, was very fully examined; yet I must own, till I received that very dispatch from Mr. Poyntz, I was not under the least apprehension of affairs in the kingdom taking the sudden turn therein represented. I am sorry you take offence at an expression in my letter, which may look like a complaint of our having been too frugal. I don't see how you could turn that, as if it was meant at you, since after that conversation we had together, the same orders you now complain of, were sent to Mr. Poyntz, with this only difference, that he was then allowed to draw in case of great danger or necessity in general; and in the last orders, he was tied up not to do it, unless the duke and duchess of Holstein came with the Muscovite fleet to demand admittance into the kingdom of Sweden, and the use of one or more of their ports for that fleet; and that the king and senate of Sweden had resolution to refuse that demand, and to implore the assistance of England.

These conditions were so strong, and the situation in Sweden seemed to be such at that time, that we could hardly flatter ourselves they would have courage enough to venture on such another denial, even with all the promises Mr. Poyntz could make them; and therefore you will give me leave, in my turn, to be surpris'd, that you could imagine that this money was already drawn for upon  
 you

you. And I must assure you, that I think the point was so essential, of refusing entrance both to the duke and the Muscovite, in case it should have been demanded, that I would not for any consideration in the world, notwithstanding the difficulties you have represented, have been the author of recalling those orders, and of leaving it to be said, that Sweden would have refused that admittance, if England would have supported them with such a sum of money. But I think it needless to dispute about a matter, which is now entirely over. I always thought Mr. Poyntz was too frugal at first, for tho' he has drawn for 10,000*l.* he has still near 8,000*l.* of it in his hands, and our interest has increased in proportion to the sums he has distributed; and I am firmly persuaded, that the disappointment the czarina has met with there, is chiefly owing to his abilities and dexterity, and the sums he has disposed of. I laid your letters before the king; and you may depend upon it, I represented all you offered, as the highest care of doing the best for his majesty's service.

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1725.

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Recommends Mr. Law.—Remonstrates against the expence of sending an ambassador extraordinary to Paris.*

(London, July 29—Aug. 9, 1725.) Mr. Law has wrote to your lordship to desire that he may have some sort of commission from his majesty to any prince or state, not to be made use of, but to be kept as a protection in case of necessity. By what he says to me, I really think, he believes it may be of service to him, and I promised to use my interest with your lordship for the obtaining it.

Hardwicke  
Papers.  
Extra B.  
Copy.

I am sorry to hear you think of sending an ambassador extraordinary to France with a compliment. The expence to the king will be very great, and I think, of very little advantage to the person. The plate for an ambassador, and an allowance for equipage money, the quarters advance, and the weekly appointments, will, in a little time, come to a great many thousand pounds, which I think may as well be saved, and 'tis better for the king to give lord Waldegrave 2000*l.* than to make an expence of three times that sum; out of which he cannot with credit save 1000*l.*

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1720 to 1727.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1725.

*Lays the articles of the treaty of Hanover before the lords of the regency, who approve the measure, and express their resolution to support and enforce it.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, September 10—21, 1725.

Walpole  
Papers.*Very private.**Copy.*

I Had the honour of your lordship's very private letter of the 31 August—11th September, by Molloy the messenger, and I have endeavoured to execute his majesty's commands in the best manner I was able, and with the utmost secrecy and caution. I accordingly, in concert with sir Robert Walpole, appointed a meeting, which we had yesterday, with my lord chancellor, the earl of Berkley, and the earl of Godolphin, who, in the absence of the duke of Devonshire, who is out of town, were the only persons to whom we thought proper to communicate matters of so great secrecy and importance.

Before I acquaint your lordship with the result of our conference, and lay before his majesty the humble opinion of us, his servants here, upon the present situation of affairs, I must observe, that yesterday morning, before our meeting, I had the pleasure to receive from Mr. Walpole at Paris, a duplicate of Mr. Stanhope's letter to your lordship of the 4th instant, N. S. whereby I found that the language and behaviour of their catholick majesties, with regard to the king our master, and the continuance of the correspondence between the two nations, were very much altered, since Mr. Stanhope's last audience. Whether this change be real, or not, or if so, whatever may have been the occasion of it, as I thought it might be of consequence, in order to forming the opinions of the lords upon what I was to communicate to them, I did at last acquaint them with so much of Mr. Stanhope's letter as related to the disposition of their catholick majesties concerning the affair of Gibraltar, and the manner, in which they were now willing to explain the peremptory and extraordinary demand they had formerly made of it in Mons. de Grimaldo's letter.

I shall now proceed to give your lordship a particular account of our conference, which I begun by laying before the lords (having the letters before me, to justify my accounts) a particular relation of our present situation, with respect to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, and in it I endeavoured to shew, how unprovoked the behaviour of the latter was towards his majesty, and his people; and how it was intirely owing to the dictates and suggestions of the court of Vienna, whose resentment the king had drawn upon himself, upon no  
other

other account, than his endeavours to procure for the court of Spain, the advantages they were justly entitled to by their treaties.

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1725.

I acquainted the lords, that no sooner was this separate treaty concluded, in that extraordinary manner, between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, than an offer was made by the emperor, of his mediation to accommodate differences between England and Spain, which offer, his majesty, with all the justice and reason imaginable, very peremptorily refused, there being no difference, but what has been since created by the court of Vienna itself, between the two crowns. That this offer (which appeared afterwards to have been the voluntary act of the imperial court) and his majesty's refusal of a mediation for accommodating differences not subsisting, and to engage his kingdoms in stipulations and guarantys not known, which, if guessed at, would be attended with consequences, that must be most fatal to the peace and tranquillity of Europe, was immediately followed by a peremptory demand of Gibraltar at the court of Madrid; and by such a behaviour and avowed discourses of the Spanish ambassadour at the court of Vienna, and even of the ministers of his imperial majesty, as could leave no room to doubt, but that the latter were taking all occasions to work up the court of Spain to come to an actual breach with his majesty. That the king had, upon this occasion, taken the most prudent measures to be informed of the true sentiments of the court of Spain, whether the extravagant discourses of Ripperda to every body that came near him, of the king and kingdom (and here I took particular care to inform their lordships of what he constantly threw out with regard to the pretender) were by order of his court or not; and though at first indeed their catholick majesties seemed to disown any thing said by their minister at Vienna, that was unbecoming, or might tend to a breach between the two crowns; yet at last, by a letter from Grimaldo, Mr. Stanhope was given to understand, not only that Gibraltar must be immediately restored, but, if it was not, the good correspondence between the two nations would be forthwith broken off, and all the concessions, with relation to our trade to the Spanish West Indies, would be set aside.

I did also, in as short a manner as I could, explain to their lordships the inducements of the court of Spain, which was solely under the direction of the queen, to act this extravagant and unjust part towards his majesty, which could be only the marriage of her catholic majesty's son, with one, if not the eldest of the arch-dutcheffes. I did not fail also to acquaint their lordships

Period III. 1720 to 1727. with the orders that the king had, from time to time, sent to Vienna and Madrid; and the firmness that his majesty had shewn for the honour of himself and his people, by rejecting, in so peremptory a manner, the demand of Gibraltar. 1725.

I must now do the lords the justice to say, that they received this communication with the greatest resentment at the ungratefull and unparalleled behaviour of these two courts, and at the same time expressed their gratitude for his majesty's firmness and resolution, which they thought, by the alteration that seems at present to be in the court of Spain, had already had a very good effect, and did not doubt but, if that court should return to their former mad way of talking, or, in pursuance of that, should put any of their wild schemes in execution, such prudent measures would be taken by the king, as would secure the honour of the nation, and prevent any mischief that might happen to his people. Their lordships were all of opinion, that the court of Spain, notwithstanding the suggestions of that of Vienna, considering the strict union there is between his majesty and France, the declaration that has been of late given by his most christian majesty, even with relation to Gibraltar, and above all, the great and powerfull alliances that the king is now forming, would not venture to come to an open rupture, by which, they must evidently see, that they themselves would be the losers; though it was yet uncertain to what cause, the present change of their catholick majesties, was to be attributed, or whether indeed, it may not possibly have been with a view only to amuse and prevent his majesty from taking such measures, as may effectually secure him and his subjects, against all attempts for ever; yet, considering the season of the year, and how rash the seizing any effects of our merchants in the West Indies would be, on account of an apprehension that court must be under of reprisals to be made upon them, it is the opinion of his majesty's servants here, that the utmost resentment that their catholick majesties will at present shew, will not go farther than resuming their former extravagant way of talking.

But as the king has been pleased to command us, to give our humble advice, what may be proper to be done for the security of his subjects, in case the madness of the court of Spain should carry them so far, as to make any attempt upon the effects of our merchants in the West Indies, or elsewhere upon his majesty's subjects; their lordships are, in that case, humbly of opinion, that immediate orders should be sent to make reprisals upon the Spanish galleons, and that without making a previous demand of the restitution of the effects

of



of our merchants. In this their lordships were all very clear, that such a proceeding would not only be justified every where, but was absolutely incumbent upon us. And upon this occasion, I acquainted them with what I had written to your lordship the 3d of September upon this head; but as I had not then presumed to give my opinion either for or against it, their lordships desired I would this day inform you of their sentiments upon it. My lord Berkeley acquainted us, that if the Squadron now in the West Indies was not thought sufficient for that purpose, two or three more ships might be sent thither, either now, or when his majesty pleased, without giving the least alarm, and only on the common pretence of protecting our trade. If the king thinks any attention is to be given to this notion of reprisals, I had the honour in my letter of the 3d instant, to acquaint your lordship in what manner lord Berkeley thought it might be done, without making any noise, or having any ill consequence.

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1725.

Their lordships were also of opinion, that if his majesty approved of it, it might be proper to send immediate orders to Mr. Stanhope, that in case the court of Spain should alter their conduct, and return to their former violence and extravagance, he should then declare to them, that if his catholick majesty should be induced to take any unadvised step, by seizing the effects of our merchants, or making any other attempt upon us, in that case they must expect the king would take the first opportunity of revenging the injuries done to his subjects.

Their lordships did also consider what you hinted with relation to the fitting out 15 or 16 men of war. My lord Berkeley acquainted us, that such a number of ships would always be got ready in a month's time, if it should be thought proper; and that, in any season of the year, they, or part of them might be sent away to the West Indies, if necessary. But as your lordship will see that the opinion of the king's servants here, is, not to wait for the demanding the restitution of the effects of our merchants, in order to make reprisals; one of the uses proposed by your lordship in fitting out this Squadron, will, in their opinion, be better answered, by sending to the commodore of the king's ships in the West Indies, to make reprisals, in case any of the effects of his majesty's subjects should be seized by order of the court of Spain. However, in case of a breach, which the lords think will actually be made, when once the effects of the merchants are seized, it may not be improper to order  
such

Period III. such a Squadron to be fitted out, which both my lord Berkeley and sir Robert  
 1720 to 1727. Walpole said, might be done without much expence.

1725.

Thus, my lord, I have acquainted you with the sentiments of the king's servants here, upon the subject of your letter, and upon the advices which were communicated to them. If, notwithstanding that, his majesty should think any other measures more adviseable, I am sure, that their zeal for the king, as well as their resentment for the injuries threatned by the court of Spain, is such, that they will, with the greatest chearfullness and unanimity, execute and support whatever his majesty shall think proper to have done.

I must also do them the justice to assure your lordship, that they have the most gratefull sense of the early concern that his majesty has shewn for the security of his subjects, against all events that may possibly happen; and they are also of opinion, that nothing more can be done now, nor even till the next spring, than what I have had the honour to lay before your lordship. I must beg leave, as from myself, to add, that it would be the highest injustice to impute any thing, that might possibly happen on the part of Spain, to his majesty's absence from hence, or to imagine, that every thing has not been done on the part of the king for the security of his subjects; when on the contrary, those that are informed of the great success that has attended his majesty's endeavours abroad, in the forming the best and strongest alliances for the preservation of the publick peace and tranquillity, must reckon it a very happy incident, that the king should be at this time, where this great work could be best accomplished.

I must now return your lordship my thanks for the communication of the several papers you have been pleased to send me. Nothing sure could be properer, than the manner in which you proposed to induce the states general and the king of Sweden to accede to our treaty. I find by Mr. Walpole's letters to your lordship of the 4-15th instant, that they are in the main approved by France, tho' monsieur de Morville made some difficulty with relation to the communicating the separate article about Thorn, to the Swedes and the Dutch, which I very much wonder at, because that must, in my opinion, be as agreeable to them as almost any part of the treaty.

As to the manner proposed in France of transacting with the king of Sardinia by a separate treaty, I cannot, for my own part, see the necessity of it; tho' on the other hand, provided that prince be secured, it is not very material

rial which way it is done. Count Maffei shews a very good disposition, and by the accounts I have had of him from Mr. Walpole, I doubt not but he will do what he can to bring in his master. Period III.  
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1725.

As to the elector of Bavaria, I cannot but think the securest way to gain him, will be, to send back monsieur St. Saphorin to Munich, who, during his short stay there, was able to begin that negotiation with so much success.

The only circumstance in all our affairs, which I dislike, is what Mr. Walpole mentions of a defensive alliance between the emperor, Portugal, and Spain. It would have been very lucky, if we could have prevented any coalition of this kind; however, nothing can be stronger than the orders which have been sent to Mr. Dormer on that head. I shall write to him on Tuesday, to inquire whether there is any foundation for this news, and to use his utmost endeavours to prevent that crown from entering into any new engagement without the concurrence or participation of his majesty. The difference between that court and France, has been an unlucky incident at this time: that added to the new alliances that are forming between the families of Portugal and Spain, I conclude has been the occasion of this new step, if it be made.

I was sorry for the account Mr. Walpole gives of Cederheim's discourse to monsieur Gedda at Paris. It cannot be true in all its parts; but what he mentions of the negotiation between the emperor and the czarina, may have a good deal of foundation. However, as we have secured Prussia, if we can get Sweden, I think his majesty need be little concerned at whatever measures may be taken by any other powers in the north.

I beg your lordship's pardon for troubling you with so long a letter, which my desire of being as exact as possible in my relation, has been the occasion of.

P. S. As I find by Mr. Walpole's letter to your lordship, that the Dutch minister at Paris, has again complained of major Hargrave's behaviour at Gibraltar, I believe it may be proper to send orders to colonel Kane, who is now upon the spot, to inquire into the affair of the Dutch prize, which was carried into Gibraltar, and to send a full account of all the circumstances of that transaction, as well as to examine into the other complaints that have been made against major Hargrave, by either the Spaniards or the Dutch.

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

1725.

*Hopes to secure the accession of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel to the treaty of Hanover.—Sends an intercepted letter from Petersburgh, which seems to prove that a scheme is in agitation between the czarina, the king of Spain, and the emperor, to support the pretender.—Farther proofs of the project.—Is convinced that the emperor is deeply engaged in it.—Proposes to send more ships to the West Indies.*

MY LORD,

Hanover, October 4, 1725.

Walpole  
Papers.

Very private.

Copy.

I Received the honour of your grace's private letter of September 14, by Randal, the messenger, this morning, which I immediately laid before the king, who was extremely pleased to find, that your grace and my brother Walpole concurr so entirely with his majesty's sentiments in relation to the measures to be taken in order to engage the landgrave of Hesse to accede to the new alliance. I fear prince William of Hesse, and Mr. Diemar have not found his highness so forward to accede upon the terms they proposed to me, as they imagined they should, for they have not yet been able to obtain his final consent. I received, however, on Tuesday night, a very comfortable letter from baron Sparre, whom the landgrave sent for to consult upon this occasion; in which he assures me, his highness will certainly consent to Diemar's proposal, and only waits to know the sentiments of his son, the king of Sweden, upon it. Your grace and my brother Walpole, may depend upon it, I will be as good a husband of the money as possible, and will draw as sparingly as the necessity of the service will allow.

The copies of letters from Muscovy, which I sent you last Tuesday (and which I can assure you are genuine) compared with the advices we have received all this summer from Vienna, Madrid, Stockholm, and very lately from Mr. Walpole at Paris, open a scene, that, I am persuaded, you will agree with me, might not only have been dangerous, but even fatal, if it had not been discovered in time. I don't know what to do with the person that putt these papers into our hands. He was sent by the jacobites with letters of consequence to Petersburgh, and recommended by them to be placed in the army there, but not liking the country, was sent back with those dispatches to France and Spain. But by the letters I have received from the chaplain of the factory at Peterburgh, I have intelligence, that they had begun to suspect his fidelity, before  
he

he failed from thence, and had sent to seize him after he was aboard. However, they missed their aim, and the man is now at Amsterdam, where he delivered the letters of which I sent you copies. But I am afraid he can scarce be of any further use to us in betraying their correspondence. Nevertheless, I have given him 100*l.* and promised him a pardon, and further rewards, provided he can give us any information, how we may intercept their letters; assuring him, that if he dares go on himself, and deliver the originals, and put the answers into our hands, he shall have a reward suitable to so great a service.

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Your grace will observe, that one of the letters is from sir Henry Sterling, who has been the pretender's known agent at Petersburg these several years past. There is very little cant used in the letter. *By goods* he certainly means arms, and by the *factory*, the court of Petersburg. The three first ships are those, who touched at the island of Lewis, and I cannot but think they left part of their cargo there. The not intending to attempt any thing at present, but to have every thing ready against next spring, is exactly conformable to what Bassewitz and Cederheim the Swedish minister at Petersburg write, as your grace will have been informed by letters, of which Mr. Walpole will have sent you an account in his of September 13-24, and what is said in those extracts of the czarina's resolution not to break off the negotiation by giving a flat refusal to the proposal made by us and the French court, with regard to the reconciliation and alliance, but rather to amuse us with the hopes of agreeing, that they may gain time until their measures are taken, agrees perfectly with that part of the letter, where sir Henry assures them of the unalterable good wishes of the *factory* (i. e. the court of Petersburg) who, says he, are as desirous to contribute to establish your trade, as may be, and admonishes them not to neglect the least time to set all engines at work against the next season, and tells them, that the *factory* have given their ill wishers no provocation as yet upon which they can lay any stress; so that he hopes their goods may pass without any treacherous designs.

Count Golowin, the Muscovite minister at Stockholm, is one of the most noted jacobites of all Russia; the captain of the ship that brought him, is one Surocole, who was in the rebellion with the late lord Marr. But what gives me the greatest apprehensions, that sir Henry Sterling is not quite in the wrong as to their strength in Sweden, is looking back upon Mr. Poyntz's letters of the 9th of June, and 6th of July, which were writt not long after the

Period III. 1720 to 1727. three Russian men of war passed the Sound. I believe your grace will judge from them, that there is great reason to think, that not only Mr. Reichell, the Holstein minister, but even the Swedish secretary Mr. Hopken, is deeply engaged in this scheme. I send your grace extracts of those letters, least you should not have them by you. As to William Heals, who is mentioned in this letter, he is one, who has been long employed in carrying messages for the jacobites. Your grace must have seen his name frequently in the Leyden correspondence. What sir Henry says about prince Kurakin, and prince Dolgorucki, I dare say is true, for your grace may remember, that a little before the czar's death, prince Kurakin had orders to solicit the court of France for their assistance towards restoring the pretender, and had likewise a credential letter from the pretender. Tho' this letter is directed for Messrs. Butler and Kelly, yet I verily believe it is writt to the duke of Ormond; for in the close of it, where sir Henry speaks in commendation of the bearer, he says, *he would have been provided for here, but the desire he has to be near your favours, makes him refuse the offers made.* Which last words make it probable, that the letter is addressed to some person of credit and authority.

The great sum mentioned as requisite to carry on the work, shews not only, that sir Henry's correspondent is a person of some consequence, but likewise that there are considerable powers engaged in the scheme; for besides the money paid for the arms already carried to Cadiz on board the three men of war, he requires 120,000*l.* more at least. The powers concerned are without doubt, the emperor and Spain; and a proportion of the vast sums Spain has remitted to Amsterdam within these few months, is certainly employed in this service. I have had frequent advices from good hands of their having remitted four millions of crowns, but I have all the reason in the world to believe, that they have a credit for above half that sum, with one Andreoli, and another banker at Amsterdam.

There can be no doubt, but that Spain is deeply engaged in this scheme. These letters, and the whole conduct of the king and queen of Spain shew it. The great civilitys that are paid to the duke of Ormond; their seizing Cammock at this juncture, to be sure, upon suspicion of his being a spy of ours; the three ships already sent, and the two others, which it appears by these letters the czarinna is sending thither upon the jacobite account, besides the impossibility that any power, except Spain, should furnish the sum of money required, leave us no room to doubt that they intend, in conjunction with the czarinna,

czarina, to make an attempt upon us next spring. And I am convinced, that the modest stile in which the queen of Spain talkt last to Mr. Stanhope upon Gibraltar, was intended only to amuse us, and to avoid coming to a rupture immediately. Period III.  
1720 to 1727.  
1725.

As to the court of Vienna, we may certainly conclude they have their share in this project, since Spain is so evidently engaged in it; the queen having done nothing for some time, but by their directions. It is not, however, from this general way of reasoning only, that I am convinced the emperor is concerned in it. For I have been for some months thoroughly perswaded that Spain and the court of Vienna, when they concluded the late treaty, entered into a strong engagement in favour of the pretender, by a secret article. I acquainted your grace some time ago with this intelligence, which I had from so good hands, that I no more doubt the truth of it, than if I had actually seen the article.

Your grace will communicate what I now write to you, to my brother Walpole, and to him alone. We have six months before us to take all proper measures for defeating the wicked intentions of our enemies, but it is of the last importance, that this discovery should, if possible, be kept an absolute secret. His majesty must endeavour, while he is in these parts, to gain Sweden; if we can secure that kingdom to our interest, and the Dutch, and the landgrave accede to our treaty, we may, in my opinion, laugh at all these designs. The only thing, that will be necessary for your grace to do at this juncture, will be to send particular orders to general Wade, that the strictest search be made in the highlands, and in the island of Lewis for the arms that the Muscovite ships are supposed to have left there. You will likewise press him to set all hands at work to get the barrack of Killiwemen and that of Inverness in a good posture of defense. Your grace will take care to do this without discovering to the general the particular reasons, that move his majesty to desire that these works may be finished with all expedition.

His majesty has further commanded me to acquaint your grace, that, since this discovery, he is more inclinable to come into what was proposed by some of the lords of the council in relation to the sending three or four ships more to strengthen the squadron commanded by captain Scott in the West Indies; being sensible that it will be no great expence to the public, and at the same time that it will be a great check to the Spaniards. If your grace and my brother Walpole are of the same opinion, his majesty would have you acquaint

Period III. **1720 to 1727.** my lord Berkeley, that the king has altered his sentiments upon that head, and that he would have three or four ships gott ready as soon as possible, and sent to the West Indies. These ships may, before they proceed upon that voyage, be made use of towards seizing the two ships mentioned to have been at Petersburg, when these letters were wrote; if we can gett notice of them as they pass the sound, for I fancy they are not yet out of the Baltick. Your grace sees they are the czarinna's ships, she lends them, and it is probable, by the accounts given of them, that they are men of war. We may perhaps meet with them upon our coast, or upon that of Scotland, but it will be, in my opinion, to little purpose to send any ships out to cruise for them, till we have had some previous notice of them; such a step would alarm, and would not be attended with any success or advantage. I am, &c.

*Intercepted letter from sir Henry Stirling, agent of the pretender, at Petersburg, superscribed to messieurs Butler and Kelly, merchants, at Madrid.—Enclosed in the preceding dispatch.*

SIR,

St. Peterbourg, July 25, 1725.

I'VE the favour of your's of the 23d of May, inclosed by our friend in Paris, with an account of his receiving the contents of my bill of the 28th of April, which gave me pleasure. I hope the remainder will be as carefully answered: when required, you shall be furnished with most part, if not all the goods required before the latter end of the season. I hope the three first ships and goods are arrived without damage; there is one more ready to sail, and two preparing, which will be clear before the end of this month. I have already assured you of the unalterable good wishes of this factory, who are as desirous to contribute to establish your trade as may be. I cannot but repeat, that you must not neglect the least time to set all your engines at work, and answer the next season. It is required, that a proper person be immediately sent to Stockholm, who will meet a sure friend of our's there, sent by this factory, who will facilitate the accomplishment of the needful; as soon as I have an account of his being on the way, I'll meet him. There must be one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling at least, ready to be answered where required, to do matters effectually, besides the price of the present goods required. This I think proper to hint, for one of our factors from there, signify'd such to me; and it's proper, whoever you send, be advised on this point.

William



# ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

485.

William Heas goes away from this for Stockholm immediately, to view the goods there, which are in good order, as I am told. Matters are carryed on here with all imaginable discretion, but the guilty conscience of our ill wishers, gives us just reason to apprehend dangers, yet as they have no provocation to lay any' strefs upon, I hope our goods may pass free from any treacherous designs.

Period III.  
1720 to 1727.  
1725.

Prince Dolgoruky and prince Kourakin have instructions to close with such as you appoint to treat with them. Our friend Thomas Gordon inclosed my letter of the 4th of last month, to be forwarded by his friend in Bourdeaux: nothing else besides the afore said, seems necessary at present to be inserted. The bearer can acquaint you with some remarks; he has answer'd the character you writ of him, and would be accordingly provided for here, but the desire he has to be near your favours, makes him refuse the offers made, for which reason I think he deserves the greatest esteem. I conclude with my best respects to you and yours.

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Proposes to send a spy to Peterburgh, under the appearance of a jacobite.— Objects to the intercepting Russian ships under the bare suspicion of carrying arms.—Deprecates a war, which nothing can justify but the dread of an invasion in support of the pretender.*

MY LORD,

October 2—13, 1725.

YOUR lordship's letter to the duke of Newcastle of the 14th instant N. S. came to us last night, and I agree with you so intirely in your reasonings about the intercepted letter from Peterburgh, that I had resolved to give you my thoughts upon the subject, and in the same way of thinking before we received your's. This discovery is of the last importance, and I think, if this channel of intelligence is lost, nothing should be spared to secure some other method of being informed of what is doing.

Hardwicke  
Papers.  
Copy.

You observe, that part of their security is, that we have nobody at Peterburgh, and as we have six months before us, if we could settle an intelligence, we may certainly prevent the mischiefs that are intended. The Russian factory, I understand, are all jacobites, and upon that principle, were so easily induced to join in the clamour against captain Dean, but we may from thence infer, that they are, or some of them to a degree informed of what is doing.

May

Period III. May I try fir Nathaniel Gould (governor of that company) with all possible caution, whether he can procure any intelligence from thence, or whether any body could be sent as upon the companies affairs, who might take the character of a jacobite, and endeavour to dive into the secret. Something at least, I think, should be attempted.

1720 to 1727.  
1725.

I was very clear in my opinion, not to order any ships to be fitted out and sent to the West Indies. The season of the year, when all the trade in those parts is expected to come home, the time for making any reprisals upon Spain in these seas, being so far off as May, when the flota or galleons are soonest expected, and the impossibility of preventing the alarm, and giving lord Berkeley a supposition that there is some secret concealed from him, convinced me, not to give any orders liable to those objections, which I think at the same time can be of no service, and we should rather keep our naval force at home, than send it abroad. I take it for granted, that by this time some more of the ships may be come away from Russia; and if they should be intercepted, without farther evidence or satisfaction to the world, I am afraid to seize or stop Russian ships trading to Spain, or sailing under that pretence, with all their proper documents to that purpose, would be such an act of hostility, as would make us deem'd the aggressors, in case of a rupture, and that is one thing, I think, we should avoid. And if *we are to be engaged in a war, which I most heartily deprecate, 'tis to be wished that this nation may think, an invasion by a foreign power, or an evident design of such an invasion, the support of the pretender, and the cause of the protestant succession, are the chief and principal motives that obliged us to part with that peace and tranquillity, and the happy consequences thereof, which we now enjoy.*

I begin now to think with his majesty's leave, to go into Norfolk, which I hope I may be permitted to do about the 20th of this month; it would be of some service to know by that time, when we may expect the happiness of seeing his majesty here, and about what time 'tis proposed that the parliament shall set.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Thirty or forty ships of the line will be ready next spring.—Is convinced that an invasion is designed.*

# ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

487.

MY LORD,

London, October 12—21, 1725.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1725.

Hardwicke  
Papers.

Copy.

THE duke of Newcastle and I dined yesterday with lord Berkley, where we communicated to him the contents of the last intelligence, and discoursed fully upon the subject. The result was to give orders to the commissioners of victualling to contract for and provide victuals for 10,000 seamen, which will be declared in council on Thursday to be the number of men for sea service for the year 1726, and as the orders for victualling have been for the same number of men for several late years, and the quantity of victuals reduced only by private intimations, this may and shall be done without giving any alarm, or notice taken, and when this quantity is provided, it will be very easy at any time betwixt this and the latter end of January, to make up the complement for 2 or 3000 men more, if necessity shall require.

I have procured a list of all the navy, with such ships mark'd as are ready or may very soon be ready to put to sea, and it may certainly be depended upon, that 30 or 40 ships of the line of battle may be easily got ready to put to sea in March or April next, without giving any new orders before Christmas, and lord Berkley was very explicitly of this opinion, so that there is no occasion to give any orders now, or for his majesty to determine at present, for what service, or in what seas the fleet shall serve, in which there will be many inconveniences. For as I fear there will be no difficulty in fitting out a fleet, but in procuring men, this difficulty will increase, if 'tis known that the fleet is designed for the Baltick, so great an aversion have all the sailors for that service. There will be likewise time to consider in what other parts any other part of the fleet may be most usefully employed, according to intelligences and circumstances of time and things.

I must confess the apprehensions of some design next spring, obtain so much with me, that I think it deserves the greatest attention, and we cannot be too watchful to trace and discover all that can possibly be known. The design at present appears to me in this light: the difficulty that Spain is under to furnish ships or to equip them, has made it necessary for Russia to supply the ships, and at the same time to send with them such quantities of naval stores, as may be sufficient to equip such ships as may be had in Spain. For I do not apprehend that the three Russian ships that touched in Scotland, did land, or designed to land any arms or warlike stores in Scotland.

The movements and disposition that had lately been made in the Russian fleet, by sending so many ships to Revel, has the appearance of a fleet's being designed

Period III. <sup>1720 to 1727.</sup> designed to come early from thence, and to sail at the same time with the embarkation design'd from Spain, one probably for Scotland, the other for the west of England; and if the emperor engages in the design, the land forces, that must have the greatest share in the execution of this project, must be had for Flanders, by way of Ostend, and these are the events which it seems to me, are chiefly to be guarded against; and if any thing, like this, is the scheme, the conclusion seems very plain, that a sufficient fleet, sent early enough to the Baltick, and another to be employed in our own seas, as occurrences shall direct, and to guard our own coast, may probably defeat the project. But if in the mean time, any measures could possibly be fallen upon, that might divert the attempt, that is of all things to be most wished for and desired.

• Afterwards  
lord Edge-  
cumbe.

LORD CARTERET TO RICHARD EDGECUMBE.\*

*Makes overtures of friendship to sir Robert Walpole.—And offers his best services to forward that end.*

SIR,

Dublin Castle, September 29, 1725.

Hardwicke  
Papers.

*Copy.*

I Return you my most sincere thanks for your letters of the 21st and 23d instant, in which you give me so good an account of your proceedings in the affair with relation to your friend, which I recommended to you, and which I have extremely at heart. If I was not fully bent upon cementing that friendship, I would never have applied to you about it; I know your just and tender attachment to the person concerned; I know your penetration likewise, so as not to venture to impose upon you, if such a thought had been in my heart; but I trusted to that relation of blood which subsists between us, and to that uninterrupted civility and acquaintance, that has been between us ever since we appeared in the world; and that you would be glad to facilitate my coming into that friendship, which you yourself are so happily engaged in. It was upon this foundation, that I applied to you, and I will give any tokens of sincerity that you shall require, and think proper for me to do. I find you mention—the only measures that can create a confidence, &c. If I knew specifically what they are, I would answer with the utmost frankness, being resolved not to let this opportunity slip, upon which I must regulate my future conduct. If that friendship can be obtained, I shall think myself happy, and be for ever faithful to it; if not, you will bear me witness, that I endeavoured it. As I know it will be agreeable to you to do good to us both, so I desire  
you

you will continue to cultivate the disposition in your friend, that you mention; and I will, on my part, do what you shall think becomes me to convince him of the truth and sincerity of my intentions to establish a lasting amity between us. I hope to hear from you again.

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1720 to 1727.

1725.

Our matters here, as to the parliament, go on very well, but as that body is always to be watched, and never to be answered for, I can only say, that I have no reason as yet to apprehend any disturbance. The state of Prat's account, will be closed before the commissioners, so as they may report upon it on Saturday next; and people here grow much cooler, since it is probable, as Gardiner told me to day, that the deficiency upon Prat's account, will not exceed 35,000*l.* to which his estate and security having been applied, hardly any thing will remain deficient. I shall use my best endeavours to quiet all noise and clamour, and I think I shall succeed, for the king's service, and the future quiet of this country. Prat's account will be brought down to the day of his dismissal; and he has a notion, that his friends, when the public business in the parliament is over, may have weight enough to get 10,000*l.* remitted to him. I think this very chymical.

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Encloses the preceding letter to Mr. Edgecumbe.—Carteret makes overtures of friendship and union, which he judges it prudent to accept.*

MY LORD,

October 12—21, 1725.

I Am now to give your lordship an account of a transaction, which being carried so far, I thought necessary to acquaint you with it, and hope, considering all things, you will think I have done right. Upon Mr. Edgecumbe's return from Ireland, he came commissioned from lord Carteret to make me the most ample tender and offer of services, that words could express, and recommended it most earnestly to him as a common friend to do all the good offices he possibly could, to procure a good understanding and reconciliation betwixt us, upon such assurances of sincerity as nothing can exceed. And altho' in the report of two different and very long conversations upon this subject, I did not observe many things new, but rather a repetition of what his lordship had frequently said to all of us upon the like occasion, the manner in which he broke this to Mr. Edgecumbe, the earnestness with which he pressed him to undertake it, and his beginning thus by a third person, a formal

Hardwicke  
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

Period HI. 1720 to 1727.  
1725. negotiation, to which I was under the necessity to give some answer, prevailed with me so far to receive and entertain his proposal, as to send him a civil but very general answer, which I did not then know but might end there. But the last post brought a letter from his lordship to Mr. Edgewood of which I send your lordship a copy inclosed. By that you'll see and judge how much he is in earnest, or how desirous at least he would be thought to come to terms and temper with us.

Upon this, I was of opinion, that I should encourage him to hope for our friendship; and as you will see by the words he has mark'd in his letter to Mr. Edgewood, what my first answer was to him, I now explained that, that upon condition he would enter cordially and sincerely into the king's measures in conjunction with us at present in the administration, and without any reserves, I was ready to agree with him, and as he knew with whom I was so far engaged as to do nothing but in concert, this must be understood to extend equally to those with whom I was engaged; and that to render this reconciliation more perfect, I would by the first opportunity acquaint your lordship with it, and did not doubt of your concurrence upon the same conditions. By this means, my lord, we shall hinder him from entering into any engagements with Roxborough, Pulteney, &c. we shall have the use of him and his assistance in the house of lords next winter, where his behaviour may make him so desperate with them, that he may have no resource. I say nothing of his sincerity, so as to answer for it; but we know him enough to watch him, and be upon our guard. I think the stroke of Roxborough has frightened him into this temper, from which he sees we could do, what he thought we could not; and if we keep him and Berkley, who both reason and talk alike from the last measure, I think we have all that are worth having of that clan. You'll let me know what you think of this transaction.

#### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Intrigues of Spain and the emperor in favour of the pretender.*

MY LORD,

Gohrde, November 4—15, 1725.

Walpole  
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

I Send your grace by this messenger, a copy of Mr. Poyntz's dispatch, and of the advices sent by Cederhielm from Petersburgh to Stockholm. Your grace will see one article among those advices which confirms, in the strongest manner,

manner, the design mentioned in the letters intercepted from Petersburg, and all our suspicions in relation to the intrigues of the courts of Vienna and Madrid in favour of the pretender. Your grace will likewise find a very extraordinary article in the circular from Madrid, which I received yesterday, relating to the three Muscovite ships at Cadiz. Their sending them now to Ireland can be in no other view, than preparatory to the Spaniards beginning their attack upon us in favour of the pretender early next spring. His majesty thinks that no time should be lost in sending proper orders privately to lord Carteret to take the most effectual care, that those ships upon their first arrival in any ports of that kingdom, be seized and searcht with the utmost exactness and rigour; and that the officers employed do take care to secure all the small arms they shall find aboard, and likewise all papers that do not appear to relate to trade; and to prevent as much as possible those on board having any correspondence with the people of that country.

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The ships being ships of force, and our not knowing to what port they are designed, will make the execution of the orders to be sent difficult, and their success precarious. Your grace will therefore consult lord chancellor, lord Berkley, and such others of the regents as you shall think proper in this affair, and take care that without loss of time, such orders be sent to the lord lieutenant in particular, and such directions in general given, as shall appear to them proper for the seizing and searching the abovementioned ships, and securing all the small arms that shall be found on board them; as likewise all papers that may be of any consequence to his majesty and his government.

If any other pretence could be found for giving these orders, so that the true reason might yet be kept secret, it would be of infinite advantage. However, if that cannot be done, your grace and the other lords will see the importance of having the orders themselves kept a secret, and every thing relating to them transacted with all the privacy the nature of the thing itself, and the good and success of the service will allow of.

#### SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Imputes the bad state of affairs in Ireland to the Brodricks.—Makes a few observations on the draught of the king's speech.—Stocks affected by rumours of war.—Recommends caution.—Opposition.*

Period III.

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1725.

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

MY DEAR LORD,

London, Nov. 29—Dec. 10, 1725.

I Believe your lordship is not at a loss to account for my long silence, being inform'd that I have been in Norfolk, where the fineness of the season detained me a week longer than I propos'd, but I have now taken my leave of all rural diversions for this winter.

Your lordship's letter, with a draft of the king's speech, came to us yesterday. I will certainly consider it in the best manner I am able, and be ready to give you my poor thoughts upon it by letter, or upon your arrival. But it is necessary that I should suggest to your lordship, that if the parliament is to be opened in that manner, and the measures are to be put in execution, which seem resolv'd by the tenure of your lordship's several dispatches transmitted to the duke of Newcastle, which I have perus'd since my return from the country, it will be adviseable, if his majesty can order his affairs accordingly, that the parliament should set about the middle of January. For the opening of the parliament in that manner, will immediately affect the credit in some degree, which in such cases being always worse at first, than after a little time and consideration, may probably make it necessary for me a little to vary my schemes of the supply, and not venture upon the strength of credit, which I have hitherto depended upon.

This leads me to tell you, that the rumors of war begin now to obtain pretty much, and have their effects upon the stocks, which, as 'tis unavoidable, we must expect and provide accordingly, but at the same time, not to take any steps which are not immediately necessary, and which in point of time, will be as effectual to all intents and purposes. I speak this in regard to fitting out ships, and manning squadrons, for 'tis most certain, that in three months, all that can possibly be wanted, may as certainly be got ready as in twelve months; and one or two such squadrons as are talk'd of, may certainly be had and got ready in all particulars, except seamen, which will at all times be an unequal difficulty, as well, altho' delayed till the beginning of the next year, as if orders were immediately given.

It is fit you should likewise be acquainted, that the Pultney's build great hopes upon the difficultys they promise themselves will arise from the foreign affairs, and especially from the Hanover treaty. I had a curiosity to open some of their letters, and find them full of this language. The last foreign mail brought a letter from count Staremberg to William Pulteney, giving him great expectations of the materials he should furnish him with, when it might be



be done with safety, and very strong in general terms upon what is transacting with you. *Wise Daniel* fills all his inland correspondence with reflections of the same kind, and gives all their fools great hopes of doing wonders: their two only topicks are the civil list and the Hanover treaty; but I cannot learn, they have gained a man but righteous fir Joseph.\* \* I am, with great truth and affection.

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1720 to 1727.  
1725.

\* Jekyll.

If great care be not taken, the vacancy of the see at Chester will make an irreparable breach betwixt our two governing prelates, of York and London. The first in the strongest terms espousing Dr. Gilbert, the other most determined against him.

*Lord Townshend's sketch of a speech for the ensuing session.*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

THOUGH the state of my dominions abroad, made it necessary for me to pass some months in those parts, yet I hope you will find, that I have not been less attentive to every thing that may tend towards supporting the honour and interest, and securing the peace and tranquillity of my kingdom.

The distressed condition to which some of our protestant brethren abroad are reduced, the engagements entered into by some powers, which it is justly to be feared, may deprive my subjects of very considerable branches of their trade, in prejudice of the rights and privileges long since acquired to them by the most solemn treaties, made me think it a duty incumbent upon me, to lose no time in concerting proper measures with some neighbouring powers; and I have accordingly made a defensive alliance, which I hope will, with your support and assistance, be an effectual security against the encroachments that are daily made upon our trade.

I have already given the necessary orders for laying this treaty before you, and I doubt not but that I shall soon be able to acquaint you, that more powers have acceded to it.

I have reason to believe, that the pretender (who is ever ready to sacrifice to his own views all the most valuable interests of this kingdom) is using his endeavours, and not without some prospect of success, to obtain the assistance of some of those very powers who have enter'd into engagements so prejudicial to the trade of this nation.

It is the farthest from my intentions to put my subjects to an expence, by taking any unnecessary precautions. I have an entire confidence in the af-  
fection

Period III. 1720 to 1727. fection of my people, and in the fidelity and bravery of my army. I must, however, recommend it to you, to enable me to have a strong fleet at sea early next spring, which you must all be sensible, may not only be necessary towards preventing or defeating any attempts from abroad, but will give me a proper strength and weight in all foreign negotiations.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Inculcates the necessity of vigorous measures in order to reduce the emperor to reason.*

DEAR BROTHER,

Hanover, December 7—18, 1725.

Walpole  
Papers.Copy.

I Have received the favour of your's of the 29th November, and am glad to find you have had so much good weather, so fine a season, and so much diversion in Norfolk.

I was perfectly aware of the objections that would occur to you upon the rough sketch I sent you of what I thought proper for his majesty to say at the opening of the parliament; it may be softened as to some expressions, but I am persuaded I shall be able, when we meet, to convince you that nothing can prevent a war, in the present state of things, but vigorous resolutions on the part of our parliament, which cannot be, unless occasion is given from what the king shall say to them from the throne.

The emperor's views at this juncture are as extensive and as dangerous to Europe in general, and to our country in particular, as ever those of Lewis the 14th were; and if we do not in time shew the world that we are determin'd to oppose him, if he does not depart from them and grow reasonable, and resolve to live with his old friends as formerly, we shall be involved in difficulties and expences, and perhaps in engagements which may carry us too far. A war will be inevitable, and we left alone with France to bear the weight of it, according to such proportions as the French shall think fit to impose upon us: whereas shewing a spirit now will secure us friends, prevent Portugal and other powers from joining with the emperor and Spain, and consequently convince the imperial court of the folly and madness of their scheme, and bring them once more to their right senses.

As to the Pulteneys, with regard to our treaty, I think we need not be much afraid of them; they will not be able to reason better against it, than those

those do from whom \* they have their instructions, and you see all they can say in the two memorialls given in at the Hague by the imperial minister there.

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1725.

The affairs in Ireland are in a very bad way, but I shall not trouble you with my sentiments upon them till we meet. I intend to leave this place on Friday next, in order to pass four or five days at the Hague, before the king gets to Helvoetsluys. His majesty has not yet fixed the day he intends to set out from this place, but I believe it will be the 28th or 29th instant, N. S. I am, with the greatest truth and affection, &c.

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THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDLETON.

*Opposes Daniel Pulteney's motion for appointing a committee to examine the public accounts from 1714.*

(Feb. 10, 1725-6.) YESTERDAY came your's of the 26th of last month. I think it very plain that what passed the first day of our meeting by the claim laid in of examining minutely into the several estimates had its very full effect: for upon delivery of them, we were told that the calculations were made as low as possible, and for it proved, for I really think a thousand pounds could not upon the whole with colour of reason have been excepted against, for that by common consent, they were allowed, for trivial a sum not being worth contending. A very long debate happened yesterday upon a motion of Mr. D. Pulteney (which you'll see in the votes) for appointing a committee to examine the public accounts from the year 1714, to which a negative was given by a majority of a great many above a hundred. I was with the majority, though some of my best friends (from whom I seldom differ, divided for the question) because I thought it extremely ill timed, though the thing in itself (generally speaking) is highly reasonable; taking it in either view, was what I formed my judgment upon, supposing no debt should have been incurred in that time, which could possibly have been avoided, the enquiry was of no use. Taking it in another view (which I believe would have been the case) I thought it very improper

Midleton  
Papers.

\* Alluding to the emperor and his ministers, with whom the Pulteneys kept up a constant correspondence.

Period III. to shew the world our nakedness. People abroad would naturally conclude us  
 1720 to 1727. very willing to ruffle the government whenever wee had opportunity for doe  
 1725. doing, and might from such a notion bee induced to goe into a war, which they  
 would nott have adventured, uppon any other consideration. Credit has for  
 some time passd been in a sinking condition, and in my opinion would have grown  
 worse; lett people think what they will, this is our main support, take that  
 away, our case will bee bad. I suppose I shall be sayd to bee turned courtier,  
 butt I despise every suggestion of that kind. I never was for a minority, be-  
 cause they are foe, nor will I bee against them as such, which to deale plainly,  
 was in my opinion, the foundation of this matter. I contented myselfe with  
 giving my vote, without speaking in the debate: the torys were generally with  
 the minority, some few, butt nott many whigs. You may perhaps bee sur-  
 prized by our votes, which you have and will see, whereby it will appeare wee  
 raise above three millions, till you understand the matter, for above one third  
 of itt is onely turning as much which wee owe into another shape, and this al-  
 teration is apparently a great saving to the nation: 'twere too long to enter into  
 the detaile of itt, butt assure yourself 'tis foe.

I am told by an eminent merchant, whose correspondence is great, and  
 very good, that they are of opinion, that there is noe likelyhood of the empire  
 or Spaine going into a war this yeare, whatever they may doe hereafter, for  
 which they give this good reason, that they are in noe measure prepared for itt.  
 I am fully perswaded we shall nott bee the aggressors; for 'tis very plaine, that  
 whatever our house sayes, wee are nott inclinable to itt, and I thinke 'twill bee  
 in-noe bodyes power to reconcile a majority to itt. Whenever it happens, I am  
 confident Portugal will not bee partyes; they will find great advantages by a neu-  
 trality, and are not over fond of rendering Spaine more considerable then itt is.  
 The Dutch had long under consideration the same point, wherein their lost  
 trade turned the ballance. The attorney general told mee, that there last Irish  
 bills were to bee reported this day. I thinke we are winding up our bottoms  
 as fast we can.

Since writing, I have been in company with a very knowing and consider-  
 able tory (but a Hanoverian) who desired mee to explaine the motion, which  
 I did, and told him what induced mee to vote as I did. His answer was, this  
 is a very ticklish time, I thinke you judged the matter perfectly right, for itt  
 could now be of noe use, butt might be attended with fatall consequences,  
 especially for that the commencement of the enquiry was to bee from the  
 king's

king's accession to the crowne. This was in my mind during the debate, and if I had spoake, I should have mentioned itt, butt considering how apparent it was what might be the successe of the question, I was unwilling to say any thing of this kind, considering that some whoe had argued for the question, are I am very sure, as heartily in his majesty's interest-as any subject hee has.

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1725.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO BISHOP FREJUS.\*

*Congratulates him on his elevation to the office of first minister.*

\* Afterwards  
Cardinal  
Fleury.

MONSIEUR,

à Londres ce 8—19, de Juin, 1726.

JE ne doute pas que la justice que sa majesté très chrétienne vient de rendre à votre excellence en se reposant sur elle du soin de ses affaires, ne soit applaudie de tous ceux qui sont zélés pour le bien public, et pour la gloire de la France, et je vous supplie de croire, que c'est avec un plaisir extrême, que je prens cette première occasion pour vous en faire mes complimens très sincères.

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

Mais l'estime particulière que j'ay pour votre personne, et la haute idée que j'ay conçue de votre merite ne tirent pas leur origine d'un événement de si fraîche date: il y a long tems, monsieur, que je sçay avec combien de zèle, et d'application vous travaillez pour la tranquillité de l'Europe, et pour la gloire, et l'union des deux couronnes, qui, dans cette conjuncture delicate, en est le plus ferme et solide soutien; et la grande marque de confiance dont sa majesté très chrétienne vient de vous honorer, m'assure que la reussite en sera glorieuse, et que le succès de vos soins repondra à leur assiduité.

J'ose vous assurer, monsieur, que le roy mon maître prend beaucoup de part à votre avancement, et sa majesté se promet d'un ministre aussi droit et éclairé que votre excellence la continuation et même l'accroissance, s'il est possible, de cette bonne intelligence qui regne si heureusement entre les deux couronnes, laquelle seule, peut être, pourra tenir en respect des puissances, qui veillent avec une attention très vive, pour profiter de notre disunion. J'ose promettre que rien ne manquera de la part de sa majesté pour resserrer les Noeuds de cette amitié encore plus étroitement.

Voilà des sentimens, monsieur, que je croy avoir en commun avec toute l'Europe sur cette occasion, mais l'amitié et la bienveillance dont vous honorez mon frère me mettent en droit de m'interresser encore plus particulièrement, et plus sensiblement en tout ce qui vous régarde, et je prie votre excellence

Period III. 1720 to 1727. cellence d'être persuadée, que nous tâcherons, l'un et l'autre de nous en rendre dignes par une affection plein de reconnoissance et d'un attachement tres sincère.  
1726.

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1726.

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INTERCEPTED LETTERS FROM SEVERAL FOREIGN MINISTERS, WHICH PROVE THAT THE KING'S GERMAN MINISTERS WERE CABALLING WITH THE EMPEROR AND THE OPPOSITION AGAINST THE TREATY OF HANOVER.

COUNT PALM TO THE EMPEROR.

*Bothmar disapproves the treaty of Hanover.—The king averse to the English ministers.*

Walpole  
Papers.

Official trans-  
lation.

(London, April 23, 1726.) IT is the general opinion here, that the ministry has put itself into a necessity to effect the recalling of the patent of the Ostend company, or its being transferred to some other place, or else to resolve upon a rupture, because they have too much obliged and engaged themselves to the parliament. Count Bothmar himself, who continues still to be for a good understanding between the king and your imperial majesty, laments the violent proceedings. He believes that in case it had been possible to prevail with your imperial majesty to come to some temperament upon the affair of the commerce of Ostend, before the parliament had taken cognisance of it, it would have never gone so far, and possibly means had been found out for accommodating the whole affair; but at present, he thinks that it will be difficult to compose this matter.

The king himself does in my humble opinion not much like (or is much disheartened with) the conduct of his English ministry, but he is got into their hands in such a manner, that he is obliged to conform in every thing to their will, and it would perhaps please the king, if by a natural consequence of events he could get rid of that subjection.

POZOBUENO \* \* TO RIPPERDA.

*Embarrassments and alarms of the king of England lest his German dominions should be attacked.—The Hanoverian party averse to the treaty of Hanover.—Encourage these alarms.*

Period III.  
1720 to 1727.

1726.

\* Spanish  
embassador.

Orford  
Papers.

Translation.

(London, May 16, 1726.) THE king of Great Britain suspects more and more, that if the king of Prussia conceives that the treaty concluded at Vienna between the emperor, Russia, and Sweden, will be prejudicial to his interests, he will recede from the treaty of Hanover, and on this event, the king's German dominions will be exposed to invasion should a war be occasioned by the treaty of Vienna. This reflection has considerably agitated the king's mind; for it is evident, that his wishes tend to the preservation and augmentation of his electorate; and his inclination is so great, that he cannot dissemble it. To this inclination may be attributed the resolution which, it is said, he has taken, that at the least cause of suspicion from the king of Prussia, he will instantly repair to Hanover, to keep Frederic William to his promises, and to place himself at the head of his troops, should any invasion from the emperor or the czarina render it necessary. It is feared that the czarina will form an enterprise in favour of her son-in-law the duke of Holstein, and it is added, that the duke of Mecklenburgh will command the Russian troops at their debarkation.

Besides these subjects of disquiet, the king of England feels no less chagrin in having lost the confidence of the emperor, whom he so much loves and esteems, considers the treaty of Vienna as offensive and prejudicial both to the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, and to the British commerce; and if his inclination first leads him to preserve his hereditary dominions, yet his interest obliges him to endeavour to maintain the commerce of England, which is his chief wish, the loss of which he is convinced would effectually prove the ruin of all.

The king is no less troubled with the suspicions which he entertains, that the emperor is resolving to annul the treaty of Hanover, as opposite to the constitution of the Germanic empire. The Hanoverian party here encourage these suspicions, and insinuate that an electoral assembly will be convened, for the purpose of declaring the treaty unconstitutional and of exhorting the king and Frederic William as electors of Hanover and Brandenburg to retract it,

Period III.  
1720 to 1727.  
1726. and in case of refusal to put them under the ban of the empire. The confidential friends of the king speak with regret of this convocation of the electoral assembly, which is threatened to be called in the month of July; and a hint thrown out by the empress in a letter to the duchess of Kendal, that it appears from the treaty of Hanover, as if the king had no longer occasion for the emperor's friendship, has tended to confirm the king in this opinion, that he has lost the emperor's confidence.

## POZOBUEÑO TO RIPPERDA.

Orford  
Papers.  
*Translation.* (London, May 23, 1726.) THE account I transmitted to your excellency last week of what passed between the king and the duchess of Kendal, lord Townshend and sir Robert Walpole in regard to the letter from the empress of Germany, has been confirmed to me from another quarter. I also know by the same channel, that Fabrice, chamberlain to the king as elector, his favourite, told the imperial resident that the king was uneasy on account of the situation in which he stands with the emperor, and he added, that Fabrice after abusing lord Townshend as overbearing and violent in his resolutions, declared that he would never speak to him in future. The resident attempted to appease his anger, but in vain, for Fabrice protested that he feared no one, because in all he did and said, he consulted only the interest of his master, and he requested the resident to furnish him according to his promises with those papers, which prove the ill consequences of the treaty of Hanover in regard to the emperor and empire, and which give the reasons that induce the emperor to protect and support the Ostend company; and promised not to omit the first opportunity of laying them before the king in the same manner as he had done those which the resident had before entrusted him with.

He also proposed to the resident an interview with the duchess of Kendal, in which interview he might give his reasons, which would be well received, and might produce good effects. For he was well informed that the duchess desired peace, from an apprehension of being exposed to certain misfortunes which threaten her; her principal care is to prevent those misfortunes from happening unexpectedly. To obtain that end she would use all her efforts; for, if a rupture with the emperor should take place, she would be precluded from carrying her designs into execution, which is to retire into Germany, and convey away the large sums of money which she possesses in England. Fabrice

con-



concluded that the motive which induces the duchess of Kendal to lean to the opinion of Walpole, to avoid a war, is not, as she declares, because it is the interest of England, but from self-interest. That the misunderstanding between Townshend and Walpole daily increases, and that it was for some concealed purpose that Walpole lately paid a visit to Pulteney, his antagonist in parliament; after having been three times refused. Fabrice imagines that Walpole is so desirous of getting rid of Townshend, that he is capable of reconciling himself with Pulteney, and of placing him in Townshend's post. Fabrice insisted that the resident should determine on dispersing the papers which he intended publishing; he dwelt on the favourable consequences which would result from it, and even went so far as to hint, that in consequence of the misunderstanding between Walpole and Townshend, and the publication of these papers, out of 240 members, who now voted for the court, 200 would join opposition in the next parliament. He promised to inform him what the king would propose to the parliament at the opening of the next sessions. The conference continued two hours. I have not been able to discover, if the proposed visit was consented to by the resident, but I will make enquiries, that I may inform the king as soon as possible. It appears that this conference was occasioned by the altercation which passed between Townshend and Fabrice last week. Fabrice in concurrence with several persons of distinction having endeavoured to prevail on the king not to confirm the sentence of death, lately passed on a criminal, but to commute it for some other punishment; the king consented and declared his inclination to Townshend. But Townshend opposed this resolution; and observed that the criminal did not deserve pardon, because in addition to the offence, for which he was condemned, he had committed several other crimes. Fabrice spoke warmly in favour of the criminal; and insisted that as it was the king's inclination he should be pardoned. Townshend broke off the conversation abruptly by saying, that neither himself nor Fabrice could settle the dispute; and he afterwards stated the sentence to the king as conformable to the laws of England, and represented so strongly the bad consequences that would result from the pardon, that the sentence was confirmed.

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• Spanish  
minister.Walpole.  
Papers.

Translation.

## POZOBUENO\* TO RIPPERDA.

*The duchess of Kendal corresponds with the empress of Germany.—Mentions the misunderstanding between Townshend and Walpole.—Palm's cabals with Pulteney.—Cause of Walpole's visit to Pulteney.*

(London, May 30, 1726.) A Few days after the departure of the last post, I happened to meet with the imperial resident, and, without making the slightest inquiry respecting the conference he had had with M. Fabrice the preceding week, he imparted to me all I wrote to you in cypher, and added, that, although he had yielded to Fabrice's proposal of paying a visit to the duchess of Kendal, he had thought proper to inform him, that he should not pay it very speedily, because the frequent conferences of the English ministers and the French ambassador, with the Prussian minister, had given him cause to entertain some suspicions. Upon which Fabrice had assured him that he might make his mind perfectly easy, for he was well informed there was nothing in these conferences. \* \* \* \* He then proceeded to communicate to me, that he had learned from a safe, and certain quarter, that the duchess of Kendal had copied afresh a letter to the empress, dictated by the Hanoverian minister (which she had previously written in presence of the same minister) omitting the clause inserted in the first letter by the advice of lord Townshend, respecting the abolition of the Ostend company, and that this letter had been sent by a different route, unknown to lord Townshend. The resident also spoke to me of the division subsisting between Townshend and Robert Walpole, which he described as very great; and attributed to it the apprehensions entertained here, that the Dutch will not accede to the general terms of the treaty of Hanover. For though assurances were given last week that they would now dispense with the condition, relating to the Algerines, yet England and France, will not, by any means admit of that article, or of another, more essential; namely, that the Dutch shall be at liberty to go to war, or not, even after the conclusion of a general accession; it is considered as certain, that the republic will not accede to the measures of the two crowns. These arguments are very current here, and have produced a great emotion in the public mind; nor is that emotion diminished by the information that Sweden will maintain the treaties of Vienna. For although general Diemar, produced here, last Saturday, a letter from the king of Sweden, declaring that his minister at Vienna had exceeded his instructions, in signing

signing the emperor's act of accession, and that this step could not affect the good understanding, and treaties with his Britannic majesty; this declaration is not sufficient to hinder a belief from prevailing, that he will accede to those treaties: a circumstance which augments the general suspicion is, the fear which is entertained, that the czarina will go from Peterburgh to Riga, next June. For whatever care ministers may take to conceal every unpleasant fact, and to keep a guarded silence, even with their greatest intimates, yet the nation is apprized that whatever hostilities arise in the north, they will pay dearly for them. They observe that most of the facts disclosed to them respecting our treaties with Vienna, are not truly stated, and that even the treaty of Hanover has not produced the effects they were so liberally taught to expect; they even shew displeasure at the facility with which the parliament has permitted itself to be led by the influence of the minister.

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The resident also told me, that Mr. Pulteney, the oracle of opposition, who is very intimate with him and Staremborg, had given him this information. Pulteney also took great pains to inform him that he was using every exertion to publish a work, before the sitting of parliament, in which he will prove, by the clearest evidence, the misconduct of the present government; taking up the subject previous to the taxation of the catholics, and accusing Robert Walpole of mismanagement of the public money, and official malversation. He will also display the state of the national debt, and the violent temper of lord Townshend, which has reduced the nation to the brink of ruin, and whose manner of acting, he says, seems to shew a design formed by him and Walpole, to sacrifice this king and raise the pretender to the throne.\* Palm further says, that Pulteney afterwards treats of the restitution of Port-Mahon and Gibraltar to Spain, without entering into the difficulties which he knows are made respecting it by the present ministry, rather for their own private ends, than on account of the impossibility of his Britannic majesty's fulfilling his promise, which he says, might be done with the consent of the nation, provided the present ministry were changed. I would not enter into any dispute with Palm on this subject, or shew any curiosity respecting Pulteney's intrigues. I contented myself with praising the address Pulteney shews in attacking his antagonists, with the very same arms they use in their defence.

\* See p. 226.

I have endeavoured to discover the reason why Walpole went to visit Pulteney, and I have learned that it was in order to tell him that he, Walpole, having received information of a design to set his house on fire, it was necessary

fary

Period III. 1720 to 1727. sary for Pulteney, who was his neighbour, to be on his guard, but Pulteney answered, he was under no apprehensions, because the threats did not apply to him, but that if his house sustained any damage by the conflagration of Walpole's, he should rely on the parliament, and on Walpole himself to indemnify him,\* and thus ended the visit which made so much noise, and which having been renewed three times, though Pulteney had been denied, gave rise to many observations similar to those of Fabrice.

## COUNT PALM TO THE EMPEROR.

*Lord Townshend has the principal direction of foreign affairs.—Always opposed the emperor.—Palm consults with opposition.—And at their instigation, advises the emperor to contradict the assertions that he intended to assist the pretender.*

London, December 13, 1726.

Orford  
Papers.

Official trans-  
lation.

In cypher.

IN the present circumstances, when the violent proceedings of *the English ministry* against the Spanish court, have the appearance of an almost inevitable breach of the peace with that court, and when it is to be feared that all Europe may be plunged in a destructive war, I, urged by my duty and zeal, have endeavoured to learn 1°. how the nation is inclined on that head, and 2°. who it is in reality that labours to blow these coals. As to the first, it is most certain that the greatest part of the nation, nay, as I have been told by people of good experience and knowledge, even two thirds of it are discontented at the present ministry, and not only abhor the war with Y. I. M. and Spain, but also the strict alliance and union with France. As to the second, it is no less manifest, that the cause of these measures, so precipitate and tending to a dangerous rupture, can be imputed to none else but the *English ministry*, that is to say, to my lord Townshend. For the king as to himself, is of a peaceable disposition, and not to be brought to proceedings of that nature, unless he has been induced to it by such misrepresentations and false suggestions as have been able to create a suspicion and hearty fear in him.

I have just now said, that the nation is not inclined to a war, especially against Y. I. M. and it is very well known to the publick, that the Ostend commerce is a grievance industriously enhanced by the ministry, to animate the nation, and make them cry out against Y. I. M. fancying that you might

\* See an account of this visit in (Pulteney's) "Answer to One Part of an Infamous Libel," p. 45.

thereby

thereby be induced to gratify them (the ministry) as well in this point directly, as indirectly in other affairs.

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In some of my former, but especially in my reflections upon the answer given to the Spanish court, I mentioned how great a mistake the ministry were guilty of in that answer, and how they committed so false a step, that it is almost impossible for them to make it consist with their honour and security not to make a war. But who is the *primum mobile* in the ministry, 'tis very well known to the whole world, that it can be but my lord Townshend. For his brother R. Walpole, tho' his power and credit be far greater, yet he properly does not meddle with foreign affairs, but receives accounts of them in general, leaving for the rest, the direction of them entirely to lord Townshend. As for others, there is none that has any share in those affairs, besides the duke of Newcastle only. But then it is also known to every body, that this latter is nothing but a figure of secretary of state, being obliged to conform himself in every thing to lord Townshend, who is *propriè autor et anima negotiorum*. Now, as long as his lordship continues in his post, it does not appear how one may expect from England a sincere good understanding and undisturbed alliance; for the known principles of this minister, as well as the present condition of affairs, hurried by him to the brink of a rupture, are an obstruction to such an amicable composition as might be relied upon. As for his principles, it is known that he has always been against the system of Europe, as settled by the quadruple alliance; for he has told upon that head, that had it depended upon him, he would have ordered it so, that the advantages your imperial majesty got by it, should have cost you dearer. (Those were his very expressions.) Since he came to the ministry, experience has convinced that he has, almost upon all occasions, acted against your imperial majesty's interests; of which the steps taken in the face of the whole world, both at Cambray, and since, are evident proofs, and shew his real disaffection. Besides this, nobody is ignorant of what he said in parliament, for in his speeches, he ran into such excesses, that all impartial people could not hear of them without horror. In this situation, it is probable that we can never promise to ourselves any good from him; for should we even resolve to forget his audaciousness and indiscretion, and should he disguise his natural opinion and inclination, yet all that could be negociated with him, would not be lasting, but we should ever run the risk, upon every proffered occasion, of his returning to the maxims formerly used by him, and entirely suitable to his genius.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. As much as this man is an obstruction to a general quiet and reasonable agreement, as easy as it would be to arrive at it, were he no longer in the way, and removed from the direction of affairs. For the nation in general hates him, and the king himself is not well inclined to him by his own choice, but he only keeps himself in power and credit, because he and his brother have in a despotick manner rendered themselves masters of all affairs. It is true they have the parliament on their side; but that is not to be wondered at, for upon the foot that matters have been carried on within these few years, when the members, and consequently the majority are bought with great pensions and employments; it is no great skill to have gained the parliament. But then I have been assured, *from a very good hand*, that if it should be once perceived, that the ministry are not deep in the king's favour, and that his majesty should out of dislike to them, make some shew of changing them, in that very moment there would be a turn, and most of them upon whom the ministry chiefly depend, would pull off the mask, and declare against them. But as long as this does not happen, it is not so much as to be supposed, that the parliament will oppose the government, unless the kingdom should come to be plunged into some visible ruin or danger; for tho' more than the third part have actually opposed, and will still oppose it, yet this can have no effect, because the ministers will always get the better by their purchased majority. The nation itself is not satisfied with the parliament, because every body knows that there has not been one time out of mind, in which the ministers have been so corrupted and devoted to the court.

For though the parliament has approved the measures and engagements taken with foreign powers, and particularly with France, yet the nation in general, high and low, are of a contrary opinion; the close understanding with France, and the hostile proceedings towards your imperial majesty, being disapproved by them. Now, as long as the ministry can produce nothing to convince the nation, that it has reason to fear any hostile act from your imperial majesty, or your allies, that opinion will not be altered, and all the blame returns upon the ministry. From which one may conclude, that as long as your imperial majesty and your allies design nothing in favour of the pretender, and *will make it known so to the world*, the imputations invented on that head by the ministry, will do hurt to none but themselves. For the nation must clearly see how ill they are led on by the ministry. *Some eminent subjects, who are well inclined to your imperial majesty's service, and extremely*  
*opposed*

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*opposed to the present maxims of the ministry, have assured me, not only that the said ministry are extremely putt to it, but also, that if your imperial majesty and the king of Spain should continue with the same steddiness as hitherto, and the nation be convinced besides that all is false and groundless, which they are told in order to prejudice them against the treaty of Vienna, and to render it odious, then the ministry would not long be able to blind the people, and play their cheating tricks: and a declaration of this made to please the nation, and the most sensible part of the people would, in due time, produce a good effect. Now, therefore, to promote this point and your imperial majesty's service, and deprive the ministry of all strength and credit, which they so mightily endeavour to preserve both at home and abroad, the opinion of the well intentioned is, that besides the aforementioned steddiness of your imperial majesty and Spain, a true state of the present matters should be fairly, and with convincing proofs, laid before the king: as to the nation, it may be done by publishing in print, and by word of mouth-information to such as have most credit and influence among them. And to the king, it should be done by a confidential channel; then, if his majesty were thus retrieved by better informations and assurances from his false impressions, and convinced that his English ministers intended to lead him on in so dangerous a way, there is no doubt but he would apply to better councils, and then there would be found some people who would enforce such good dispositions, and break the neck of the present ministry. I know most certainly that the king loves to learn some things in materiâ negotiorum publicorum by other hands than by his ministers; which it may very well be, proceeds from a suspicion he has, that his ministers do not acquaint him with the true circumstances of matters. The king has many times had such informations conveyed to him, which he has taken as kindly as one could expect from a mind so prepossessed as his is, and this gives reason to believe, that what one would desire to convey to him in that manner, would have a good effect.*

## COUNT PALM TO THE EMPEROR.

*Courts Pulteney, as the great and popular leader of opposition are inclined to favour the imperial interest.—Opinions and conduct of the duchess of Kendal and the king's German ministers.—Employs Fabricus to infuse into the king sentiments of aversion to the English ministers.*

Period III. (London, December 17, 1726.) BY my last P. S. I told your imperial  
 1720 to 1727. majesty the several opinions of the king, the ministry, and the nation; by the  
 1726. present I have to mention something more upon that subject. Amongst the  
 In cypher. several considerable subjects in this country that are very well inclin'd for  
 Official trans- your interest, William Pultney is the chief and the weightiest. This man is  
 lation. very rich and experienced, and as every body knows these his eminent quali-  
 ties, and believes that he will sometime or another come to the direction of the  
 affairs, he has a very great party amounting to near the third part of the house  
 of commons. He is also beloved by the common people, and makes so great  
 an opposition to Walpole in the house of commons, that they have often en-  
 deavour'd to gain him, but it has been to no purpose, because he is dissatis-  
 fied with the maxims pursued at present, and not only insists upon a constant  
 alliance and good understanding with your imperial majesty, but also is entirely  
 against the close understanding with France. He had formerly a considerable  
 and pretty profitable employment about the king, but he freely and from his  
 own motive resigned it, when he saw that the ministry acted contrary to the  
 systeme introduced formerly; and he being besides rich and considerable, and  
 caring for no employment, he has aim'd at and acquired the name of a true  
 English patriot. His party consists in the richest and most considerable peo-  
 ple of this nation: nay most of those who at present enjoy posts and pensions  
 from the court, and are oblig'd to behave as creatures of the court, are his in-  
 timate friends, who very frankly own to him, that they are as little satisfied as  
 himself, and only dissemble for their interests sake, but that if the [present] mi-  
 nistry shou'd once totter, they wou'd then soon and willingly throw off the  
 mask.

Now those who are properly his opponents [or adversaries] as well as the  
 basis of the present conduct of the English court, are none but Townshend and  
 the family of Walpole, which however, is not so considerable as to be able to  
 support themselves by their own strength; and are besides this, for the most  
 part, if not all of them, hated by the nation and the common people.

This aforesaid person [Pultney] therefore, I have thought indispensably ne-  
 cessary for promoting your imperial majesty's present and future interest *to*  
*manage by all ways and means*, and he has assur'd me from time to time, that  
 these are his constant principles: *that this nation ought to be at all times in a*  
*close alliance and confidence with your imperial majesty*; for this reason, there-  
 fore



fore I have, pursuant to the 8th article of my instructions made him sensible of what [really] passes, shewing him at the same time the falsity of those reports, and the poyson of those imputations insinuated to the nation by the ministry, to the no small prejudice of your imperial majesty; by which I have gain'd so much, that the suspicious and dangerous views of the ministry [in setting forth those reports] have been of but small effect, the well affection'd having been confirm'd in their good opinion. He has often protested to me, that were the king, for his own person, once brought to other thoughts, and if he did not suffer himself to be thus lead by his ministry, the violent conduct of this court wou'd soon change, and the present dark clouds of discord wou'd disperse with the change of the present ministry, the first step to which [latter] wou'd be to make the king sensible of his real interests, and of the bad measures taken by his English ministry. It seems to be difficult to effect this; for the king is quite captivated and besieg'd by his ministry: he gives credit to most of their sinister impressions, and loves quiet too much to go upon a long search and examination; for which reason it will be vexing to him when he is to rid himself of his ministry.

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The dutchess of Kendal talks nothing upon such subjects with him, partly fearing to hurt his health, and partly too, because she keeps great measures with Walpole and Townshend; she having besides her yearly *pension* of seven thousand and five hundred pounds sterling, another secret pension, as also further perquisites, which latter as well as the chief pension is paid or not paid, according as she behaves well towards the ministry. Her niece the lady Walsingham has indeed great credit with the king, and more spirit than the said dutchess; but as there is no body to represent the affairs to her with vigour, nor she being any ways prompted on [to speak] she is not much talk'd of, and yet I have been confidently told, that she, at a certain time, oppos'd the opinion of the ministry, and sincerely told the king what was his real interest, according to her capacity.

Amongst the king's German ministers, there is none who has credit and resolution enough to exhort him [the king] with vigour. Count Bothmar's inclinations indeed are good, but then he fears lord Townshend and Walpole too much: it also seems partly that he cannot represent matters to the king as it ought to be done, or else that the king does not put sufficient faith in him. The grand marshall of Hartenberg's credit is likewise but small, and tho' the ministers despise him, yet he has no courage nor power to oppose them, and to  
make

Period III. make the king sensible of the truth. The third German minister, Hattorff, is  
 1720 to 1727. indeed belov'd by the king, and dos him good services: but he never enter'd  
 1726. into such affairs, nor will he ever undertake to do it.

But then there is another person whom the king likes pretty much, and whom he sometimes talks to with great confidence: this person is the king's *lord of the bed chamber* [or chamberlain], Fabrice, who frequently takes an opportunity to speak of the conduct of his English ministers, and is so well listen'd to, that the king even told him, he shou'd be glad to be sometimes entertain'd by him with such informations. This person is mightily belov'd at court, and by all the English, Townshend only excepted, with whom he dos not stand well, but the king knows of it, and privately gives him right, in so much that tho' Townshend has done all he could to thrust him away, yet it has been to no purpose, he still continuing in the king's affection and confidence. I have often made a secret use of this person to represent to the king how false all those imputations are, that are sett forth to the prejudice of your imperial majesty, and your allies, and that they tend to nothing else but to break the friendship and alliance still subsisting between your imperial majesty and the king, and to create difference and mischief.

Formerly, and when the ministers still promised to the king, that they wou'd fortify themselves, and that they shou'd be in a condition to execute their designs, the king being then likewise full of the receiv'd bad impressions, those representations [of Fabrice] were but of little effect, but at present when his majesty sees plainly that, shou'd it come to a rupture, the situation of foreign affairs wou'd be dangerous for him, it seems as if he listens with more attention to these exhortations, and that he harbours a suspicion against his English ministers, notwithstanding that they wou'd insinuate to him beforehand, that even tho' it shou'd come to a rupture yet he had nothing to fear for his German dominions, because it wou'd never come to a general war by land, but [that the war wou'd] only consist in burning some Spanish ships, and in some warlike operations in the West-Indies. Thus much I cou'd at present easily judge from Fabrice's discourse, as well as otherwise, that the ministers do all they can to prevent the king's coming to the knowledge of matters.

## SINZENDORFF TO PALM.

*Denies the offensive alliance concerning Gibraltar.—The proposed marriage between don Carlos and an archduchess.*

Period III.  
1720 to 1727.

1726.

Orford  
Papers.

Official trans-  
lation.

(Vienna, December 21, 1726.) WE see plainly by the proceedings against Spain, that England seeks by all means to compell Spain by force, in order to break with us, as St. Saphorin gives out, in pursuance of their allyance. This arrises chiefly from hence, because the ministry cannot support themselves otherwise than by troubling and confounding matters. We must wait to see whether the nation will suffer themselves to be lead away blind'y any longer. Do they say that there is a secret engagement entred into in the offensive allyance concerning Gibraltar? that is the greatest untruth; as the treaty itself shews. Do they say that an agreement is made concerning the pretender? that is likewise the greatest untruth that can be imagined. Let them ask all the jacobites whether they have heard one word from us or from Spain, that could be construed to mean such an enterprize, so long as we don't enter into a war; but then, we shall help ourselves as well as we can. In short the mad English ministry shall never bring us to any thing thro' fear: our measures are so taken, that certainly we shall be able to oppose the aggressor.

As to the commerce of Ostend, we have already made such steps as shew the peaceable desires of his imperial majesty, and we are ready every moment to go farther. Do they talk of a marriage between an archduchess and don Carlos? 'Tis very wonderful that they would prevent by a war now, a case that is so far off from happening; which would not be avoided by a war, were it intended; which is a case put, but not granted. What danger can Europe undergo by that? this only, that this being a prince of the house of Bourbon, the strict union between France and Spain and this house will be promoted. But if France itself, as it seems, opposes this, and don't care that a cadet of that family should rise so high, then this fixes a disunion between France and Spain, which was attempted to be fixed by so long and bloody a war. What then is the cause and reason for making war? the augmentation of 30,000 men goes on; and we are sure of many friends.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1726.

RIVA TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

*Pozobueno the Spanish minister at London on the point of retiring.—Fabricus endeavours to set the king against the English ministers, and to shew that their measures may prove the ruin of his German dominions.*

Orford  
Papers.Official trans-  
lation.

Decyphered.

(London, 27 December, 1726.) POZOBUENO has published, that whoever has any demands upon him, on applying to such a banker, shall be satisfied. This step encreases the fear of a rupture. I saw him yesterday at Palm's, with whom I dined with other company. I told him that your highness had thoughts of sending a minister to Madrid, to renew that good correspondence which your highness's situation had interrupted only in appearance. He answered, that ever since I made him, four years ago, this overture of your good intentions, he remembered he had told me, that a minister from your highness would be well received at his court, and that he would be so, especially now that his king is so good a friend of the emperor's.

Fabrice, a Hanover gentleman, and in high favour with the king, has told me in confidence, that he has had the courage to tell his majesty, that the animosity of the English ministers engages him in affairs, which may prove the ruine of his states in Germany; and that if war should be made, France might, with the mony of England, conquer the Low-Countrys, in which case there will be a necessity to make a new war in conjunction with old friends to take out of the hands of the French the said Low-Countrys; and that France does not, for the sake of England and Holland, shew so much eagernes for a war, but for her own. Fabrice has confidentially told me, that he spoke in this bold manner to the king, and that his majesty gave great attention to it, ordering him to speak freely to him of affairs, as he had already begun. I cultivate the friendship of this person, because I can by that means *brevi manu* learn many things that come from the fountain-head.

1727.

SIR CHARLES WAGER TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Regrets that he has missed the Spanish flota.—Purposes that Portobello, Panama, and other places in Spanish America, should be attacked.*

\*SIR,

Kent, about 15 leagues from Cape Spartel, the 14th March, 1726—7.

Orford  
Papers.

I Doubt not but you will hear with both ears, that admiral Castagneta is arriv'd at Cadiz, with eight millions of picces of eight, and that all the rest of the flota is arriv'd at one port or other, notwithstanding I was sent here on purpose to intercept them. I think admiral Hopson is very lucky, that I came in so good time, to take the blame from him. As to my selfe, I must bear this misfortune as well as I can: but I confesse it is a great mortification to me, tho' I am not conscious to my selfe, of any one wrong step, that I have taken, but so much the contrary, that if it were to do again, I don't see how I could do it better. For I find that I judg'd perfectly right in altering the cruising station, from off Cape St. Vincent, to 20 leagues, W. S. W. from Cape Spartel, for I knew, that they used to escape formerly, by coming about that distance from the coast of Barbary, and that was certainly Castaneta's track now, as near as the wind and weather would give him leave; and tho' that often puts us out of our designed station, as also chasing of ships; yet I happen'd for two or three days together, at the time he pass'd, to be in as fair a way, as I could now choose. He might go by in the night, or as it was then thick blowing weather, he might pass by, at no great distance, tho' not near eno' to be seen. But I need not say so much to you, for I am satisfy'd that I am so much favoured with your good opinion, that you do not suppose, that this misfortune proceeded from any neglect or want of care in me: but I believe I had better have been at Parsons Green, looking after my garden, for I know, that people generally suppose, that it is as easy to intercept ships at sea; as to stop a coach at the end of a street; however, I must bear it as well as I can.

We met with a ship from St. Andero, that was order'd to come in the same track, and avoid the capes, for fear of our squadron: she is a ship of 46 guns, and 280 men, built at St. Andero, and bound to Cadiz, where they seem to be

Period III. <sup>1720 to 1727.</sup> be endeavouring to make up a squadron. But as I suppose most of the ships from the Havana are got into Vigo, or the Groyn, as it is reported, I shall endeavour to prevent their joyning, if possible, tho' if they will attempt it, they will have a chance to escape as these had. I send you inclosed a list of what ships the Spaniards have, or are like to have, according to the several accounts I have had, and I beleive it is near the truth. As to the ships that are said to be now come from the Havana, they may want some refitting, tho' several of them not much, having been clean'd (I beleive) at the Havana. But as I presume they will take no certain resolution till they see what they can make of Gibraltar, in which seige, I am told by a French man that came from thence two days ago, they make but little progress, he says, they make a great fire, but do little damage, but four or five men having been kill'd, and no breach made; that an engineer, and several martrosses, were arriv'd for Port-Mahon, which were much wanted, and I hope the Torbey is not far off, with the Ordinance storeships (they were a little too backward) but I hope will come in good time, as well as the troops from Ireland, who I am told put back. I pick'd up two of their transports, which had three company's and a halfe on bord, and sent them to Gibraltar.

1727.

I am very sorry now, that I sent the two seventy gun ships to admiral Ho-fier, who does not want them; for now he has nothing to look after, but the gal-leons. Some discreet man, with four or five ships, to the South Sea, next winter, may do strange things; the companys at New York and other places with a little help, might be carry'd to Portobel, by the squadron in the West Indies, take that place, and march over to Panama, meet your South Sea squadron there, and be carry'd to Lima, or any where on that coast: these things have been formerly in my head, and that, I suppose, makes them come again now. But you may justly bid me mind my own business better, and not trouble my selfe to make projects for other folks, therefore I ask pardon, and hope that if you find the Spaniards should get a squadron together at Cadiz, superior to what I have (not looking upon a 50 gun ship for a line of battle) I may be reinforced: I have mentioned this to lord Berkeley, and have sent to the duke of Newcastle, and to him the same list I send herewith to you. The Spaniards are generally slow in their motions, so hope they will not have this squadron ready presently, tho' they labour very hard at Cadiz, I hope to no purpose. Perhaps if they find, they cannot easily take Gibraltar, they will turn the seige into a blockade, and proceed on some other project: tho' there does not seem  
any

any appearance of any imbarcation for an army. But I forget that you have not time to read long letters; but hope you will excuse this from, fir, your  
 most obedient servant.

Period III.  
 1720 to 1727.

1727.

HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*Parliamentary proceedings.—Pulteney's opposition ill supported.*

(Paris, May 22, 1727.) AS to our domestick politicks, when I was in England, and I hear of no alteration since, they went as well as could be wished. All questions were carried with a great majority, and with a good will on the part of the whiggs, who have been in a manner unanimous, excepting some few, but very few, not amounting to ten at most, who followed Mr. Pulteney, who has had no success in his opposition, and gott no other reputation than that of endeavouring to sacrifice the publick good to his own private resentment, which resentment against my brother Walpole, is founded upon pique and prejudice unaccountable to us all, as well as to you. My brother Walpole has been extreemly ill of a violent looseness, but I had the satisfaction not to hear of his illness, but at the same time of his being out of danger; the parliament is just at end, and the king preparing to go abroad.

Poyntz  
 Papers.

*Extract.*

SIR CYRIL WYCK\* TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

\* Resident at  
 Hamburgh.

*On the death of George the First.*

MONSIEUR,

Hambourg, Juin 27, 1727.

VOUZ sçavez aparamment déjà la nouvelle tragique du decès du roi, qui mourut le 22 au matin à Osnabrugge d'une apoplexie qui faifit sa majesté le jour auparavant en chemin, entre Delden et Osnabrugge, où my lord Townshend arriva le 23 de grand matin; mais ayant trouvé le roi mort, son excellence reprit d'abord la poste pour retourner à Londres.

Poyntz  
 Papers.

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M E M O I R S  
OF  
S I R R O B E R T W A L P O L E.

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*Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.*

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PERIOD THE FOURTH.

From the Accession of George the Second to the  
Resignation of Lord Townshend.

1727—1730.

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1727.

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

*Condoles with him on the death of his father, and congratulates him on his  
accession.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Osnabrug, June 13—24, 1727.

Period IV. **A**T the same time that I take the liberty of condoling with your majesty  
1727 to 1730. upon the unspeakable loss of your late royal father, I beg leave humbly  
1727. to assure your majesty, that you have no subject in all your dominions, who  
Townshend wishes more cordially than I do, that your reign may be as prosperous and as  
Papers. glorious as any of your greatest and most renown'd predecessors. I came  
Draught. hither, hoping I might be of some use to your majesty's service, and being  
likewise



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likewise desirous to pay this mark of respect to my deceased sovereign. I shall return to England with all expedition, in order to lay myself at your majesty's feet, being with the utmost duty and veneration, &c.

I Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1727.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THOMAS ROBINSON.\*

*The king happy to receive the king of France's professions of friendship.—  
Writes to the cardinal.*

SIR,

Whitehall, June 20—July 1, 1727.

YOU will have received in Mr. Walpole's absence, my two letters to his excellency of the 16th instant, and I doubt not but, in pursuance of his majesty's commands therein contained, you will have delivered into the proper hands his majesty's letter of notification to the most christian king, and that you will also have given the French ministers, and in particular the cardinal, the assurances which the king has directed, of his majesty's firm resolution to maintain, in its full extent, the present union between the two crowns.

Walpole  
Papers.

This being his majesty's intention, the king was glad to receive from Mr. Walpole the same strong professions on the part of the most christian king; and has so just a sense of the obliging manner in which the cardinal, in his letter to Mr. Walpole, has expressed his regard for his majesty's person and government, that the king has been pleased to honour the cardinal with the inclosed letter from himself, which you will deliver to him, and make him sensible of his majesty's great esteem and affection for him, in having condescended to give him this early mark of it.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Uncertain state of the ministry.—The king determined to pursue the same measures in regard to foreign affairs.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, June 20—July 1, 1727.

IN the great concern and hurry we are in here, I am sure you are so good as to excuse my not having wrote to you by the last messenger. We can yett make no certain judgement what turn things will take here: the king is extremely civil to us, and as to foreign affairs, I firmly believe determined to

Waldegrave  
Papers.

\* Secretary to Horace Walpole, and secretary to the embassy during his absence.

Period IV. go on in the same measures, as he has assured the court of France, and particularly the cardinal in a letter from himself. He mightily approves your staying at Paris, till we know where the preliminaries are to be new signed. You will have a new full power sent you. I think it would not be amiss for you to write a letter to the king. If ever it is in my power, you may depend upon me. Lord Townshend and Horace are your humble servants, and I am, &c.

## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Ministry continued.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, June 26—July 7, 1727.

Waldegrave  
Papers.*Private.*

I Had yesterday the honour of your kind letter, with the enclosed for the king, which I delivered in the best manner I was able, and have the pleasure to assure you, that the king received it extream kindly, and order'd me to make his excuses to you for not answering it himself. His majesty was pleased to express himself in the most affectionate manner possible towards you, and said he had a great love and regard for you, and the best opinion of you imaginable. This gave me very great pleasure, and I really believe you are personally extreamly well with the king, for he has also talked of you in the same kind manner to lord Scarborough, who has been very much your friend. Every thing here goes on as well as can be desired, and much to the satisfaction of all your friends. Lord Townshend begs his compliments to you, and hopes you will excuse his not writing. The parliament meets to-morrow: we shall have a short session for the civil list, and then a new parliament will be called, which there is no doubt, will be at least as good as the present. Harry and the ladies are very much your servants, and I hope you believe me, &c.

## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Successful opening of parliament.—Cardinal Fleury writes to lord Townshend.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Newcastle House, July 29—August 9, 1727.

Waldegrave  
Papers.*Private.*

I Hope you will excuse my not having sooner returned you my thanks, for the favour of your letter in your own hand, but you may easily imagine, we are not in a little hurry here. The good news you have sent us, has made the

the opening of our parliament very successful, and I think we have now a prospect of getting out of our affair, and surely the sooner the better, and therefore if the declaration could be signed at Paris, we should like it extremely. I have the pleasure to see both king and queen, prodigiously pleased with your conduct, and indeed it is without a compliment, what every body commends, 'tis impossible to do better, or with more prudence. The king, the other day, talking of the lords of the bed chamber, said, when you came home, he should do something very good for you, alluding, I am persuaded, to the government of Barbadoes. Your behaviour abroad, encreases the esteem and affection of all your friends, which I hope you will think is no small satisfaction to me. The cardinal *has done my lord Townshend the honour to write to him*, and my lord did not know your servant was to go this evening, or he would have answered it, but he will do it by the first opportunity. All the advice I can give you, is to go on, as you have begun, and tho' you have many friends and servants, be assured nobody is more so than your's, &c.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1727.

*Minutes of a conversation with Mr. Scrope, secretary to the treasury, relating to the arrangement of the new ministry on the accession of George the First.*

SIR Robert Walpole waited on the king at Richmond with the account of his father's death. The affair being urgent and important, he was awakened from his afternoon's nap. He came out in great hurry with his breeches in his hand: when Walpole informed him of his errand, he did not believe its reality. The express was then produced. In return for such surprising and agreeable news, Walpole had the very mortifying direction, to send Compton to the new king, in order to be consulted with, as to the proclamation and future business.

Etough  
Papers.

My informer went the next day to sir Robert Walpole, who with the chief of the late king's servants were at the duke of Devonshire's. When it was known where he was, he had an immediate invitation to make one of the company. He found nothing there pleasing and agreeable. All hopes and expectations were given up by every member. Either the next, or the day after, the same person attended on the desponding minister. He bid him hope. But before his encouraging reasons were offered, he insisted on no enquiries being made after his authority. He then proceeded, that he had been well informed

**Period IV.** <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> informed, that the present queen had formerly employed all opportunities of teizing her father, and talking politics. At chapel, subjects of the most important kind were comonly discussed. Either the last or the time before of the late king's going to Hanover, she told her father necessity would oblige him to disband the greatest part of the Hanover troops. He replied, the case was not so; for Walpole could convert stones into gold. As the queen's aversion to Compton was hearty and real, there remained no doubt but this had been urged and reported to Walpole's advantage. He added, his having the strongest assurances, that the queen would improve every method and opportunity to disappoint Compton. This roused up the knight, and more than his most sanguine expectations were soon answered.

My sagacious intelligencer's opinion is, that Compton voluntarily contributed to make Walpole's continuance in his station, so quick and easy. He was frightened with the greatness of the undertaking, and more particularly as to what related to money affairs. As he thus declined it himself, he had no one else to recommend. It was well for the public that such were his then apprehensions: he afterwards thought difficulties about money affairs, to be neither very considerable nor formidable.

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#### NOTES FROM LORD TOWNSHEND TO GEORGE THE SECOND, WITH THE KING'S ANSWERS.

*It is remarkable that not one of these notes is in the hand-writing of lord Townshend,\* but in that of his son Thomas Townshend, or of the under secretary of state. The king's replies are uniformly in his own hand-writing, and generally written on the same paper, which contained lord Townshend's notes.*

#### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

**Townshend Papers.** (July 2, 1728.) FEARING I should not have an opportunity of laying the inclosed draught to lord Chesterfield before your majesty at your arrival here this evening, I take the liberty of sending it now, and in case it should

\* The reason probably was because the hand-writing of lord Townshend was very indifferent, and sometimes almost illegible.

have

## ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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have your majesty's approbation, I propose to send it to night to lord Chesterfield, Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

### THE KING IN REPLY.

YOU will have seen by lord Chesterfield's letter, that the pensionary reasons in the same way, as I allways did, both in relation to the provisional treaty, as of the fear he is in of the princes of the empire submitting to the math,\* in case we should not shew all sort of vigour in opposing it. I think, my lord, you should tell him more strongly, that it is my opinion, and as you conclude this letter, desire his sentiment how to bring those princes into our measures, and how to make every body concern'd in this affair act with the spirit they ought to do. \* Match.

### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(July 26, 1728.) I have not seen the duke of Newcastle's dispatch, and therefore cannot tell how he may have executed your majesty's orders; but if your majesty approves of the inclosed letter, I will send it privately to Mr. Walpole, so as the duke of Newcastle may know nothing of it. Townshend  
Papers.

### THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this letter very well, with an addition of some few words at the end of it.

### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(Sept. 20, 1728.) I Have drawn a declaration in concert with monsieur Hattorff. If your majesty approves of it, I humbly propose that it should be sent to Mr Walpole, with orders to communicate to the cardinal the conversation he had with count Bassewitz, and the terms that were offered by him, and that as your majesty would do nothing without the cardinal's advice, your majesty had thought fit to desire it particularly in this case. By this step I conceive your majesty will have advantages; that if the cardinal advises your majesty to go this length, and desire this declaration, your majesty will be sure that the cardinal is determined to do something in favour of the duke of Holstein; and that it is in such case for your majesty's interest not to be left single; and if the cardinal is of opinion that your majesty should not hearken to Townshend  
Papers.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730. these propositions of count Bassewitz, your majesty will find plainly that France has no intention to recede in the least from their guaranty, or give offence to Denmark. In the first case, Mr. Walpole may have orders with the cardinal's approbation, to talk to count Bassewitz as from himselfe, and to propose his giving a declaration of the nature of the inclosed, in order to procure your majesty's friendship and good offices. And in the second case, that the cardinal appears indifferent as to the duke of Holstein's satisfaction, Mr. Walpole may drop the whole, and take no further notice of count Bassewitz's proposals.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
Papers. (Sept. 24, 1728.) I Send your majesty the inclosed draught of a declaration to be made by count Bassewitz, to which I have added the clause mark'd with dots underneath. By the former paper, the duke of Holstein would not have been obliged to renounce his pretensions upon your majesty, unless the whole satisfaction were obtained. But as it is now turned, the renunciation will be immediate upon your majesty's engaging to act in concert with the most christian king to those purposes therein mentioned. And as it is proper the duke should renounce those pretensions, which really can never avail him any thing, upon your majesty's promising your good offices in his favour; so your majesty is engaged to nothing but in concert with France. And if that crown joyns in obtaining a competent satisfaction for the duke, your majesty will be undoubtedly quit of all shadow of pretension on the part of that prince. And if France should not be hearty and active in that matter, your majesty by your readiness to join, will have deserved this declaration from the duke; which will always stand as a proof of your majesty's goodness towards him, and of the little ground he has for any pretensions upon your majesty; so that in all events, whatever the success of your majesty's endeavours may be, if the duke makes this declaration, he will have quitted all claim upon your majesty for any part of the equivalent for Sleswig, and all pretension to Bremen and Verden.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this form of a declaration much better than the first, and if it is to be obtained, it will entirely secure the possession of Bremen, and free me from any obligation of an equivalent.

LORD

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### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(November 6, 1728 ) I Have put together in the inclosed a few hints for Mr. Walpole, which if your majesty shall approve, and think proper, may be sent to him by the messenger that goes to France this night. The last clause for a general scheme, may, in my opinion, be of great use to your majesty's service, if France will open themselves.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Townshend  
Papers.

### THE KING IN REPLY.

I Believe all you propose may be of very great use, and as there is no likelihood of an accommodation with the emperor, I think it right to be in as great a friendship and intimacy with France as possible; I desire only all this may be kept very private.

### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

I Beg your majesty's pardon for sending you my thoughts upon the affair of Meclenburg in so loose and undigested a manner; but I was so much concerned at that part of the plenipotentiary's letter, that I could not sleep till I had thrown my notions together in the loose way your majesty finds them. But if your majesty thinks they may be of any service, I will communicate them to-morrow to monsieur Hattorf; and the duke of Newcastle may have orders to write to the plenipotentiarys, and without acquainting them with your majesty's sentiments upon the provisional treaty in general, direct them to communicate to the cardinal the inclosed paper, and insist upon his procuring the declaration in the manner desired in it. As to the affair of Sleswig, I have not had time to put any thing in writing upon that head, but will be sure to do it to-morrow morning.

Sydney  
Papers.

### THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this draught very well, and wish you would communicate it to Hattorf, for to see whether any thing more may still be added. I'll speak to-morrow to the duke of Newcastle, whom I have appointed to be here early, to write on this subject to the plenipotentiarys, without declaring my opinion yet as to the provisional treaty.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

*German affairs.—Particularly Mecklenburgh.*

Townshend  
Papers.

I Am humbly of opinion, that the enclosed papers and extracts should be sent to Mr. Walpole by the first opportunity. I cannot but apprehend from the extracts, that Chauvelin is preparing materials in relation to Sleswic, with a view, that may in the end prove prejudicial to your majesty's interests, if not prevented by a seasonable interposition, and application on the part of your majesty to the cardinal. Chauvelin seems to wish that their minister at Stockholm would find means to encourage the senate to insist upon giving satisfaction to the duke of Holstein, and that the Swedish ministers should be instructed to concur with France as to this particular, in whatever they shall think most expedient and right for settling this affair; and in one of his letters to Poussin, he seems to say that the duke's success in this affair, will depend upon the manner in which he is supported by the emperor at the congress.

Mr. Walpole, therefore, should have orders to talk with the cardinal in a calm but serious manner upon this point, and to shew how dangerous a step it would be for the two crowns to enter into this discussion at present; that France having given her guaranty to the king of Denmark for Sleswick, can no more insist upon his giving the duke any equivalent for it, than upon his restoring the dutchy itself, and of what fatal consequence any thing done at this time in favour of the duke of Holstein may be in Sweden, by the strength it would add to his party there; and how inevitably such a step must loose us Denmark, and the advantages the emperor would make of these two events.

That in case he finds the cardinal does not take this general way of reasoning, but still continues to be desirous of getting some equivalent for the duke; he should then let him know, that your majesty speaks only out of concern for the common cause, and for the interest of the two crowns; for that you do not look upon yourself as any way particularly interested in that affair, the king of Denmark having in truth no right to make a demand upon your majesty, with regard to any equivalent to be given for Sleswick, as Mr. Walpole will see by the inclosed paper markt A. And Mr. Walpole should do his utmost to induce the cardinal to declare that your majesty shall not be in any manner affected by any thing that may be done in favour of the duke of Holstein, or given him as an equivalent for Sleswick.

I far-



I farther humbly submit to your majesty's consideration, whether it will not be proper to send the inclosed letter marked B. to Mr. Walpole, with orders to communicate it to the cardinal, that his eminency may see the power the emperor is arrogating to himself over the princes of the empire in the case of the duke of Mecklenberg, by declaring him by his own authority to be mad, and consequently incapable of governing, and by putting the administration of his country into another person of his own naming; and that the court of Vienna intends to introduce the king of Prussia into Mecklenburg, who has already the expectatives of that country. His eminency must be sensible of the dangerous consequence it must be to the Swedes at Stralsund, to the duke of Holstein, and even to the king of Denmark, if ever the king of Prussia should get any footing in Mecklenburg; and the absolute subjection to which the princes of the empire will be reduced, if the emperor is suffered to proceed in this manner, must in the end produce very bad effects even with regard to France itself, as well as to all the rest of Europe. Mr. Walpole will observe to the cardinal, that Bassewitz has been the great negociator of this affair at Vienna.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Agree entirely with you, my lord, in what you think of the designs of Chauvelin, and I believe the best way to prevent it, will be to let Mr. Walpole be informed of all these transactions, and to let him have all the copies you have sent me for his instruction. I think it will be right to, to warn Deikfaw from speaking too freely, and opening himself too much for the future to the French minister in those things that relate to the affairs of Sleswic.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

I Humbly submit it to your majesty, whether the letter, which I have the honour to send your majesty inclosed, be not of consequence enough to be sent immediately by an express to Mr. Walpole at Paris, that the cardinal may see it as soon as possible, and be informed of the king of Prussia's intentions.

Townshend  
Papers.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Shall see you to-morrow, and talk this matter a little over. I am afraid pressing France too much, when we know how cautious they are, when they think

Period IV. think it is to come to extremities, may rather frighten them than make them  
 1727 to 1730. forward: my German ministry have given very private orders to Bothmer at  
 Copenhagen, and to Diekfaw at Stockholm, to try those kings, what they will  
 do in case the king of Prussia should use force in Mecklenbourg, and whether  
 the king of Denmark can be prevail'd with, to send some of his troops under  
 some pretence into Holstein. If you speak to Hattorff, he'll communicate  
 to you those letters.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
 Papers. (December 3, 1728.) IN order to induce monsieur Schleinitz to joyn with  
 your majesty's ministers in bringing France to make the declaration proposed,  
 I have writ the inclosed letter to him, which if approved by your majesty, I  
 hope will have a good effect; it being in my humble opinion, of the utmost  
 consequence to obtain such a declaration, which will undoubtedly put a stop  
 to those affairs for some months, and at least give your majesty time to turn  
 your thoughts towards other expedients, if necessary.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

THIS letter can be of no use at all, monsieur Schleinitz not being impowered  
 to act from his master in this particular point, and so it will be necessary to  
 press the duke first, to give him directions to concur with the plenipotentiarys  
 in this demand.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. DE SCHLEINITZ.

(Inclosed in the preceding note.)

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall le Decem. 1728.

Townshend  
 Papers. QUOIQUE le grand poids d'affaires m'avoit presque oté l'espérance de pou-  
 voir vous écrire par cette occasion, cependant je ne voulois pas laisser par-  
 tir le courier sans dire un mot pour vous remercier de l'honneur de votre lettre  
 du 28 du mois passé, avec les papiers, qui y étoient joints. La correspond-  
 ence avec une personne de votre distinction m'est trop pretieuse, pour n'y pas  
 donner toute l'attention possible. Et le roy mon maître est si sensible aux  
 services que vous luy rendés, et que vous pouvés encore luy rendre dans ses  
 affaires publiques, aussi bien qu'en serrant de plus en plus l'étroite union  
 entre

entre les deux Maisons, que sa majesté est tout disposée à vous donner des marques réelles de sa bienveillance. Le roy a bien reconnu par les trois papiers <sup>Period IV. 1727 to 1730.</sup> que vous m'avez fait tenir, votre habilité et votre génie supérieur à mettre cette affaire de Meclenbourg dans son véritable jour pour faire toucher au doigt à la cour de France toutes les mauvaises suites de cette manoeuvre dangereuse de la cour impériale. Mais à l'égard d'un plan pour prévenir les inconveniens, qui en sont tant à craindre, sa majesté aimeroit mieux de suivre celui qui fut dressé par monsieur de Hattorff, et que j'ay envoyé il y a quelque tems à son excellence monsieur Walpole. Et les plénipotentiaires du roy vous pourront expliquer les raisons qui ont porté sa majesté à choisir plutôt ce plan, que celui que vous avez proposé.

J'envoie à nos ambassadeurs plénipotentiaires les sentimens du roy sur une déclaration à faire à l'empereur par la France sur l'affaire de Mecklenbourg, et qu'ils ont ordre de vous les détailler amplement. Sa majesté vous prie de vous joindre à ses ministres en portant le cardinal à faire la déclaration requise. Et sa majesté espère que son excellence ne refusera pas à vos instances unies cette demande, qui est si juste et si bien fondée, et qui ne manquera pas d'arrêter les procédés des impériaux à l'égard du Meclenbourg, pourvu que la France y parle d'un ton convenable, comme garante des traités de Westphalie. Le roy se repose beaucoup sur votre concurrence dans cette affaire importante, ne doutant pas que vous ne soyez prêt à vous joindre dans toutes les mesures nécessaires à empêcher les entreprises de la cour de Vienne dans le Meclenbourg.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(April 13, 1729.) YOUR majesty will pardon the liberty I take in humbly submitting to your consideration, the inclosed paper which contains what I think will be proper to be written to Mr. Walpole upon the subject of the letters which came lately from Berlin. Townshend's Papers.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this letter very well, and it may go by a messenger to-morrow, when the rest of the dispatches are ready.

Endorsed

Period IV. Endorsed—" *Lord Townshend to the king, and his majesty's commands.*"

1727 to 1730.

Townshend  
Papers.

BEING under great anxiety upon the present situation of affairs, I have not been able to forbear putting my thoughts together, which I here submit to your majesty, with utmost duty and humility.

#### THE KING IN REPLY.

I Have read over with great attention your opinion about the present situation of our affairs. You know I have a great while ago been uneasy to see them drawn into such a length. You can remember, I very often wish'd to have a time fixt, by which every thing should be settled, and in case of a refusal, to force our enemies to it. I am entirely of opinion the cardinal should be press'd to take these resolutions, and to execute them with vigour, and all possible means should be us'd to persuade him to do it, without which nobody can foresee the consequences of this next session, and what influence the disaffected may have in this parliament.

#### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
Papers.

THE inclosed account of what passed yesterday in the conference I had with the count Kinski, I propose to send if your majesty approves of it, to the duke of Newcastle and to Mr. Walpole, and lord Waldegrave in confidence.

#### THE KING IN REPLY.

IT will be very right to send this account to those abovementioned, and I don't know whether it might not even be communicated to lord Chesterfield, for to lett the pensionary and Greffier know the behaviour of the court of Vienna.

#### LORD TOWNSHEND'S CONFERENCE WITH COUNT KINSKI.

Sent to the king, and endorsed—" *Account of what passed in a conversation between count Kinski and lord Townshend on Sunday the 8—19th of June, 1729, being the day after the count's arrival at Hanover.*"

Weston  
Papers.

COUNT Kinski arrived here yesterday about noon, and this morning made me a visit. He began, after the usual compliments, to tell me, I was without

without doubt informed of what had passed in England between him and sir Robert Walpole, but that he supposed the state of affairs was now so much changed by what had passed of late between his majesty, France, and Spain, that what he had to say, would be out of season. I told him I did not well know what he meant, but could assure him the king had made no proposition to Spain, but jointly and in concert with his allies, and that nothing had been as yet proposed to that crown, but what was perfectly agreeable to the quadruple alliance, the preliminary articles, and even to the provisional treaty, and that as yet we had not received an answer to the letters sent by the courier Banieres. Upon my saying this to him, he answer'd, that he was glad to hear matters had gone no farther; - that by the letters he had received, he found his court still doubted of our sincerity as to renewing of the antient friendship with his imperial majesty. That as to myself in particular, the part I acted in parliament as well as every where else, gave them reason to suspect my intentions as to them; and that their advices from foreign ministers residing in England, confirmed them in those apprehensions. That, however, his court had, upon his representations, given him full powers to transact with me, but that I must in the first place enable him to say, that I thought this place more proper than the congress, or the court of France, for adjusting all matters in dispute between our courts. To this last, I answer'd, that I was by no means a proper judge of that, and therefore could not say I was of that opinion; for to be able to know at what court the negotiation might be carried on with the greatest prospect of success, one must be previously informed, in which of them the emperor and his ministers placed the greatest confidence; that the negotiations had hitherto been carried on by the *entremise* of the cardinal, and the king my master was entirely satisfied with the conduct of his eminence, and therefore would not be brought to take any step towards taking it out of his hands; that the king would do no one thing without the privity and concurrence of France and the states, but that if he, count Kinski, had any thing to propose to me, I could assure him, no use should be made of it against the emperor: but that, in case it was such as the king my master thought might conduce towards establishing the publick peace, he would acquaint his allies with it; and if it should happen to be such as, in the king's opinion, would not tend towards this desirable end, whatever he might say should remain as entirely a secret as if he had never mention'd it. He then said he had nothing to propose on the part of the emperor, but had full powers to settle and agree

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

things

**Period IV.** things jointly with me, and even to sign the provisional treaty, provided other  
**1727 to 1730.** matters might be explain'd between us at the same time; and that he thought we should begin with the disputes that subsisted between us and Spain, and with what related to the succession of don Carlos; that as to the disputes between the emperor and the king as elector, they might be settled after those relating to England were adjusted. To this I answer'd, that the quadruple alliance, which was confirmed by the preliminary articles, and by the project of the provisional treaty, and which the emperor himself had made, as it were, the basis and foundation of the treaty of Vienna, had sufficiently regulated the measures to be taken for the succession of don Carlos. He said, in a very broken and unintelligible manner, that the emperor was not bound to stand by the quadruple alliance upon any other account than as it was confirmed by the treaty of Vienna; but I hope I convinced him he was in an error as to this point. Upon the whole, I told him that I was persuaded his majesty would freely and candidly open his sentiments to him upon whatever points he thought fit to propose, but that his majesty could neither propose nor agree to any thing on his part without first consulting the cardinal and the pensionary. That I should be ready to give him his majesty's thoughts in writing to whatever he should suggest to me in the same manner; that by taking this method, all mistakes might be avoided; but he did not seem to relish this. And by his whole behavior, I am persuaded, that the hint lord Chesterfield gave of his having received orders, whilst at the Hague, not to open himself any farther, is founded; that he will dispatch a courier from hence with what pass'd here, and stay till he hears from Vienna, before he says any more.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

**Townshend Papers.** (October 5, 1729.) I Send your majesty inclosed the draught of an answer which I have prepared to Mr. Dubourgay's dispatch, in which he sent the plan of accommodation deliver'd to him by Mr. Knyphausen, together with some remarks which I have made upon the said plan, in my own name. For as I can't think it at all right, that your majesty should declare yourself upon this affair, during the present dispositions of the court of Prussia; as this letter and remarks are suppos'd to contain my particular sentiments only, and to be written without your majesty's privity, and your majesty will have this advantage from them, that you will be inform'd of the real intentions of  
the

the court of Prussia, without having engaged yourself to any thing. I flatter myself that the use I have made of Mr. Knyphausen's notion concerning the guaranty of Sweden and Denmark, and what I have grafted upon that proposal, may, if it be accepted by the court of Prussia (considering the great inclination of the Swedes to see themselves again masters of Stetin, and what they have lost in Pomerania, and considering the rank your majesty has upon Denmark with regard to the affair of Sleswick) facilitate any views your majesty may have upon any part of the country of Mecklenburg. I send your majesty likewise inclosed a letter from count Plettemberg, in which he desires the use of your majesty's house at Osnabrug for the elector his master. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

I send your majesty the letter to monsieur Chavigny, that your majesty may see whether the alteration which I have made in the article concerning Mecklenbourg be to your satisfaction. If your majesty does not approve of it, that part of the paragraph may be entirely left out, in the manner that your majesty will find it mark'd in the inclosed.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

IN the letter to Chavigny, I believe it will be better to leave out the whole paragraph, as you struck it out. As to the desire of count Plettenburgh of my house for the elector of Cologne, I am very willing to make him the compliment of it. But as to the answer to the proposals that Knyphausen has made, I think there is several points about which I must speak to you, before it goes. I believe the rights of the princes of the empire are not enough preserved, and as to the match, tho' I should be very glad to take care of the prince of Prussia\* in case he should take his refuge to me, I am not willing to have it made a condition of the marriage, that I should maintain him.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(August 20-31, 1729.) MY lord Waldegrave coming to me just as I was dispatching monsieur Dubourgay's servant with the letter I sent your majesty this morning, and my lord having read Mr. Dubourgay's letter to me, which Townshend  
Papers.

\* Afterwards Frederick the second. He was desirous of marrying the princess Amelia, but the king his father insisted on his marrying the princess of Bevern. With a view to avoid this marriage, and to espouse the princess Amelia, he proposed escaping from Prussia, and taking refuge in England.

**Period IV.** <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> lay upon my table, to which mine was an answer, seem'd very uneasy and express'd a good deal of concern, saying he very much apprehended that Kniphausen having undertaken to get this dispute referr'd to two princes (the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttel) who were known to be in such strict friendship, and under such close engagements to your majesty, your majesty's refusing such an arbitration would occasion great discontents in England, and would be attended with very ill consequences there, should your majesty be forced to send for any assistance from thence; and that the more your majesty appeared to be in the right, as to the present dispute, the less reason, they will say, there was for your majesty to refuse the arbitration of the two princes known to be so much your friends. What fell from my lord Waldegrave upon this occasion, had so much weight with me, that I thought it my duty to delay sending the answer till I had acquainted your majesty with his sentiments upon it, being in my own opinion convinced that there is great reason in what his lordship said. I send your majesty the same rough draught, which I took the liberty to lay before you this morning, with those places marked, which must be altered, in case your majesty should approve lord Waldegrave's way of thinking.

#### THE KING IN REPLY.

TO shew the world, that I am willing to do every thing that is reasonable on this occasion, I consent this letter should be sent, but at the same time, care should be taken, that I may have an answer soon; for the moment this matter is quite over, I intend to write to England for my yachts, which I shall not do, as long as there is any appearance of disturbances here.

#### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
Papers.

(December 8, 1729.) I Was last night with the French ambassador, and read the letter which I had drawn by your majesty's order to him. I never saw him so uneasy, and so much out of temper in my life. He complained of the article relating to the elector of Mentz, as not being explicit enough, and desir'd it might be alter'd in the manner I have done in the inclosed paper.

All that I could say to him about the article relating to the subsidies, could not appease him; and finding I would not say any thing more to him on that head, than what was contained in my letter, he told me, he must desire an audience



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audience of your majesty this morning. I have therefore drawn up a paper, which I have communicated to monsieur Hattorf, and which I submit to your majesty, as the substance of what your majesty may say to him at his audience, and order me afterwards to give to him in writing, for the avoiding of mistakes. Your majesty will see that I have not touch'd upon the subsidies, thinking the turn to be given to that matter, had better be done by your majesty as in confidence to him, that your majesty seeing the impossibility of complying with what France desires on this head, either out of the money arising from the civil list, or of even getting it from the parliament, had sent to Hanover to know what could be done there, and that you expected an answer either the latter end of this week or the beginning of next; and that it was impossible for you to say any thing decisive on that point, till you had received the information you had sent for from your treasury there, your majesty having made it the rule of your life, not to enter into any engagements without being previously sure of being in a condition to make them good.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

### THE KING IN REPLY.

I Am very sorry count Broglie would not be satisfied with the reasons you gave him, as to what relates to subsidies being given from Hannover: it is a thing not to be done, it would be a very ill precedent, and I told count Broglie already, when he made me such a proposal in his last audience, that it was with great difficultys, and a great charge to the country, I could keep up my own troops, and it would not, I believed, be required of me to disband my own troops to keep strangers.

### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(December 8, 1729.) I Am under the greatest concern to see that your majesty should imagine from what I wrote, that I had the least thought of your majesty's engaging to count Broglie, that you would pay the subsidys for Hanover. What I propos'd for your majesty to say to him, was not design'd by me or monsieur Hattorff, to lay your majesty under any obligation of that nature, but was only, as we both thought, the most proper expedient, and such a one as cannot possibly be attended with any inconvenience, for gaining your majesty a fortnight's time before you returned a positive answer, which delay is, in our opinions, of the utmost consequence to your majesty's affairs at this critical juncture. All which is humbly submitted to your majesty.

Townshend  
Papers.

LORD

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
Papers.

(February 8, 1729-30.) THE inclosed is the draught of my letter to Mr. Dubourgay. I have shewn it to Villa, who thinks nothing else will be necessary, but that her majesty should be graciously pleased to write a letter to the queen of Prussia upon her illness, confining it to that subject, and not taking any notice of any thing that the king has done, or of the hard usage which either her Prussian majesty, or the prince royal has met with.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

THOUGH I am very much affraid, that my sending somebody to Berlin, will give suspicion both to France and Spain, and that this step will prove usefess even with the king of Prussia himself, and will only make him more violent, and think himself more important and of greater consequence, I will for this time, condescend to it, but for the last time of all. The queen will write in the terms you propose. Hotham must be told that his commission is to last but two or three months, that he is to hear, but take all what is say'd or offer'd ad referendum. He must not yield to any impertinent proposal, allways act with vigour and spirit, and declare from the beginning that he is to stay but a short while there. He must be cautious in not trusting du Bourgay in any thing, try as much as he can to gain the prince royal, and assure him of all my endeavours to assist him. You will order his private instruction to be drawn in this way, and I intend to speak to him myself in private before his journey, to tell him what may be omitted here. I desire you to have three or four different cyphers prepared for him, that he may not so easily be discovered, which he must upon no account communicate to du Bourgay.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
Papers.

UPON receiving your majesty's sentiments upon the remarks I sent you last night, monsieur Hattorf and I have review'd both this morning and last night the said paper of remarks, and are both of opinion that your majesty's observations upon them are very just, and that they are deficient in the several points your majesty mentions, and I take the liberty to transmitt to your majesty a paper of additions to be made to the said remarks, which we hope will answer your majesty's views in every particular.

THE

## THE KING IN REPLY.

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1727 to 1730.

I Think with the alteration I have made, this article may pass; but in relation to the succession of Juliers, if I should give any promise to the king of Prussia, I shall loose entirely the hopes of getting the four electors of the Palatine family, which will be of much more consequence to me than the other. So it is impossible to flatter him of my being either neutral, or favouring his pretensions.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(February 8, 1729-30.) I Take the liberty to lay before your majesty with the greatest submission, what, in my opinion, may be proper to be written to Mr. Poyntz, and to the pensionary, with regard to your majesty's intention of sending fir Charles Hotham to the court of Berlin.

Townshend  
Papers.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Believe it is very necessary to communicate to the pensionary and cardinal, Hotham's commission, as far as it relates to the ill usage of my sister,\* but as yet no mention should be made as to the marriages, it being very distant and uncertain, and France wishing as much to hinder them as the emperor himself. It will be better, whenever he will be there, and proposals are made to him, to communicate them at such a time, that it may not seem, that I am to be led as they please, whenever they have a mind to it. Besides in the way this person has been sent, it will always be in the power of those who have sent him, to disavow him as they have done last summer du Bourgay.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(February 19, 1729-30.) THERE being a cause relating to the magistracy of a burgh in Scotland, upon which the whig interest, as to all future elections there depended, I thought it for your majesty's service to go to the house, which prevented my waiting on your majesty this morning. However, I acquainted the duke of Newcastle with my sentiments upon lord Harrington's instructions. I beg to have your majesty's orders upon Mr. Dubourgay's

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Papers.

\* Dorothy, wife of Frederick William the first, king of Prussia.

letter,

**Period IV.** letter, and to know whether it is not your pleasure, that I should send him positive orders to get the declaration on the part of France made to the king of Prussia as soon as his Prussian majesty returns from Dresden.

I have spoke to several lords about the bill relating to pensions, and find them all zealous against it; but they do insist that it should be opposed in the house of commons, alledging, that since it relates intirely to the members of that house, our friends there ought to shew the utmost dislike to it, in order to justify the lords in throwing it out; and the lords I have spoke to, assure me they will, in that case, join heartily, should it pass the commons, in throwing it out of our house at the first reading.

I send your majesty herewith the draught of a letter in answer to that I received from Mr. Wodward this morning.

#### THE KING IN REPLY.

I Have no objection about the time of the declaration of the French secretary's to the king of Prussia. I approve very well of the letter to Woodward. I am glad to find the lords zellous against the bill that is coming from the house of commons. If there is a possibility or likelihood of throwing it out, I am of opinion, to have it opposed there, but if there should be no hopes of it, it would certainly fix those who are for it against us in other points, and they must be as little used to it as possible.

#### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
Papers.

I Send your majesty a copy of a letter, which is just now decyphered, from monsieur Chauvelin to count Broglie; and humbly submit it to your majesty, whether it might not be sent to Mr. Walpole, in a letter from Mr. de la Faye, a copy of which I also inclose; and whether another copy should not be given to my lord Chesterfield, to send to the pensionary, that he may see how averse the French are, to the giving a guaranty of the emperor's succession; and that therefore what your majesty proposes, is all that can be done at present.

#### THE KING IN REPLY.

THE intercepted letter you sent me, is of the utmost importance. The letter de la Faye is to write to the ambassadors is very proper, as well as your thought of sending a copy of the intercepted one by lord Chesterfield to the pensionary. In the main, I am very glad to see things come to this pass, that  
France

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France must court England, after the long time we have been in the same condition towards them. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

**D**R. Willis has just decyphered, and brought me the inclosed letter, which, notwithstanding the affected obscurity in some parts of it, is most certainly from Seckendorff. Townshend  
Papers.

The bill concerning places and pensions, being to be brought up to the house of lords, I shall be obliged to be there early in the morning. As we expected to have had it yesterday, I thought it necessary to attend then, and was by that prevented from having the honour of waiting upon your majesty. Sir Robert Walpole and the other members of the house of commons, who were at the meeting at my house, together with the lords, the night before last, were of opinion that we ought to let it be read the first time, and endeavour to throw it out at the second reading. We have therefore agreed upon this method of proceeding, and I shall accordingly endeavour to get the second reading of it appointed for to-morrow,\* and then to throw it out.

### THE KING IN REPLY.

THE letter you sent me is not from Seckendorff, but from the prince of Bevern. As to this villainous bill, I have seen a great many lords who are all zealously against it, in every part of it. I don't doubt but you will tear it to pieces in every particular, not only in relation to the gratuities, but also to the oaths, and pensions, knowing very well, that if all the different clauses of it are abused and run down, the commons won't attempt it another time; and the sooner it is thrown out the better.

### LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

**I** Have ordered Mr. Tilson to send this privately by the messenger that goes to France to-morrow, if your majesty approves of it. Townshend  
Papers.

\* The pension bill was thrown out on the second reading on the 20th of March, 1730, which fixes the date of this note.

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## THE KING IN REPLY.

• Duke of  
Wolfenbut-  
tel.

THIS letter is as I could wish it. You have seen by du Bourgay's letter how the king of Prussia puts himself in readiness for an attack. You will too have taken notice of what Woodward writes as to the surprize of a town which can be no other than Brunsvic. I saw Mr. Horace Walpole, and he told me he had seen this letter, and he is to make use of this as of an argument to bring the cardinal to give me the guarantie I have desired of him. This thing nettles me a good deal. The Prussians can be at this place in two days march. There is but four battalions to guard it, which, with the want of fortifications, which are not altogether finish'd, make it very liable to be surpris'd. Should the D. of W.\* be informed of this, and he desire any troops for his assistance, it would be impossible to stay for an answer from France, nor right for me to refuse him, both as to my own security, and to the engagements I am under to the duke. So that every way I shall be now under difficulties, except France gives me very soon a positive declaration, and I see my troops in possession of that town.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend  
Papers.

YOUR majesty has seen that I intended to send Mr. Dubourgay's letter to Mr. Poyntz, but only for his private information; my view being at present to bring the cardinal into the forming of a plan for your majesty's security, under the notion of doing it for the security of the Dutch, and for keeping them attached to the alliance; and when the cardinal has consented to form such a plan, then I humbly think it may be a proper time to take particular care of what your majesty mentions, and to urge these advices as a strong argument for providing against any attack upon your majesty's dominions in Germany, and therefore with humble submission I offer it to your majesty, whether Mr. Walpole should at present make use of that argument to the cardinal. In the mean time if the advices mentioned by Mr. Woodward come confirmed, your majesty may make good use of them with the duke of Wolfenbittel.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

WHAT made me speak to Walpole upon this subject, and wishing it may be done now is, because, if such a surprize should be intended, the winter will  
be

be a proper time for it, because of the frost. And should this be delay'd, a great deal of time may be lost, particularly when I consider the slowness and irresolution of the cardinal, who is always prepossessed against any thing that looks like war, and who has Chauvelin about him, who is always willing to stop any thing that is for my advantage. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

THIS dispatch I have prepared to be sent to the pensionary this night, if your majesty approves of it. Townshend  
Papers.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

THIS letter is writ in the best stile in the world, and hope will have a very good effect. I wish you would only add a word, of the satisfaction I have about the declaration the pensionary has made about Bremen and Verden, and desire him to be steady in this point, as well as those relating to this kingdom, which you have represented very strongly to him.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

THE inclosed is a petition from Hyam the Jew, who was condemned at Kingston, for clipping and diminishing broad pieces of gold. As the man is to be executed this morning, I thought it my duty to lay this petition before your majesty as soon as possible. The crime for which this person is condemned is of so heinous a nature, that I believe your majesty will think proper to let the law take its course in this case. Sydney  
Papers.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

THE ill consequences of this crime are so bad, that I am of opinion it deserves no mercy.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

THE inclosed are draughts of two letters to lord Waldegrave. In case your majesty approves of them, I will have the ostensible one putt into French, that there may be no mistake in translating it. Townshend  
Papers.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like these letters very well, with a final alteration that you will find in one of them.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Harrington  
Papers.

I Am humbly of opinion that the inclosed letter\* ought to be sent to your majesty's plenipotentiarys at Paris, to be communicated to the cardinal, not as intelligence to which your majesty gives any credit, or to which you should be averſe, if it were true; but only that his eminence may be acquainted with the reports that are ſpread. Your plenipotentiarys ſhould take this occaſion of ſounding the cardinal's ſentiments as to the king of Poland, and how far he thinks it might be of uſe to gain him; and whether king Staniflaus's pretentions to the crown of Poland have not ſo much weight in France, as to make all thoughts of bringing the preſent king of Poland into the intereſt of the two crowns impracticable.

I am likewiſe humbly of opinion, that the plan of operations ought to be ſettled previous to all other deliberations; and that your miniſters at Paris ought to inſiſt upon this in the ſtrongeſt manner; and that the ſettling the ſaid plan ought to be made the condition of your majesty's complying with the alteration deſired by the French in the ſecret declaration to be given about Berg and Juliers. It is not pretended by the French, that this declaration can be ſigned by your majesty, till the treaty with the four electors is concluded. Could your majesty get the plan of operations ſettled, I am intirely of opinion, that this ſingle ſtep would free you from all your preſent difficultys; and your miniſters will have the aſſiſtance of thoſe of Spain towards making the cardinal act a right part as to this particular of the operations. I am firmly perſuaded, that upon the firſt news of this plan being fixed, the king of Pruffia would ſubmit, and will not wait 'till the declaration propoſed be made to him, and when the emperor ſhall have loſt him, and ſhall ſee your majesty and your allys in a condition to make good their engagements, he will think it agreeable to his honor as well as to his intereſt, to accept of any declaration that ſhall be made him in the name of your majesty and your allies.

\* Referred to in the duke of Newcaſtle's letter to lord Harrington of March 24—April 4, 1729-30.

But



But if your majesty suffers the negociation for forming the plan, and that of the declaration to go hand in hand, I very much fear that considering the temper and disposition of the cardinal, as well as of the Dutch, no plan of operations will be formed; and in that case any declaration to be made at Vienna, will rather be insulted than agreed to. And your majesty will be next year at the meeting of the parliament under the same difficulties you at present labour, not only with regard to Prussia, but likewise in regard to the affairs in general, and one may easily foresee the evils that must attend such a situation.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Agree with you in every thing contained in this letter, and desire you to communicate your opinion either to the duke of Newcastle or Horace Walpole, that the instructions to the ambassadors may be sent according to your opinion.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

COUNT Broglie having chosen rather to send an express with his last letters, than to write by the post, I very much fear he may not have made a true report of what passed between us. Therefore, as I am to see Chamorel to-morrow morning, I most humbly submit it to your majesty, whether I should not communicate to him the answer I gave to count Broglie, and endeavour to induce him to transmit it to his court.

Townshend  
Papers.

## THE KING IN REPLY.

I Believe it will be very right to inform Chamorel, of what pass'd between you and count Broglie, upon this subject, that he may give a true account to his court.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Endorsed 6 May, 1730—"Account of conference with count Broglie."

THE cause in the house of lords went this day in favour of the protestant interest in Ireland, without one dissenting voice.

Townshend  
Papers.

Monsieur Broglie has been with me, and communicated to me the letter he received from Chauvelin. I told him that I was extremely surpris'd at monsieur Chauvelin's writing him such a letter, and that I was persuaded your majesty would

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1727 to 1730.

would be so when I should acquaint you with the contents of it; that your majesty's conduct had not deserved either the reproaches, or the insinuations contained in that letter; that if we were to compute the expence of fleets and armys, your majesty had born at least your full share of it ever since the Hanover alliance, and that your majesty's ready compliance with the quota proposed by the ministers of France and Spain, must convince the cardinal and garde des Sceaux, that you were still in the same intentions of doing all that could reasonably be expected from you; that your majesty never made their agreeing to the particular plan of the year 1727, the condition of your consenting to leave out the words "*aussi bien que*" in the treaty with the four electors, but that your majesty did indeed insist upon having either that, or some other plan of operations settled, because that being previously done, your majesty could better judge of what use or service the four electors could be to the two crowns. That your majesty, by insisting to have a body of French troops ready to come to your assistance, in case your German dominions were attacked, could not be supposed to intend to leave the defence of those countrys wholly upon France; that the garde des Sceaux must be very well acquainted that your majesty has in those countrys and in the neighbourhood full two and thirty thousand men ready to march; but as those countrys are open and exposed, and as the emperor, and perhaps the king of Prussia, might out of revenge, in case of a war, fall with a great part of their forces upon those dominions, your majesty might insist upon it, not as a favour, but as a right and justice due to you, that France should keep a body of men ready to march to your assistance.

I concluded with telling him that this letter of Chauvelin's seemed to me to be calculated to let us see that France was determined not to enter into a war in support of the engagements taken by the treaty of Seville, or, in case they should be prevailed upon by Spain to engage in a war, to burthen your majesty with so great a proportion of the expences, that it would be impossible for you to support them. That your majesty was determined to do all that could reasonably be expected from you towards supporting your engagements, but if France thought fit to insist, in any project that might be formed, upon laying a greater load upon your majesty, either in troops or money, than you could bear, it would be their fault, and not your majesty's, if nothing were done, and the affairs of the allies of Seville, run into confusion. Monsieur Broglie agreed with me in every thing I had said, and to convince me that he had not

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not given occasion by any thing he had written to the garde des Sceaux's writing him a letter in such terms and style, he shewed me his two letters, to which this was in answer, and I promis'd him at parting, that I would acquaint your majesty with all that had passed.

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1727 to 1730.  
1727.

1727.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Rumour that lord Chesterfield is to succeed him at Paris, and be appointed secretary of state.—Thinks him improper to fill the embassy in France.—Recommends lord Waldegrave for that station.*

DEAR BROTHER,

Paris, August 9, 1727.

I Am infinitely obliged to you for your letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> past. O. S. with so clear and succinct account of matters, in which I think you have shewn all imaginable prudence and address, it is certain that you must continue to go on in the same way, and I hope a little time will render your business more easy, and not so dangerous to your health, which is the chief thing you should be attentive to.

Walpole  
Papers.

Private.

It is already in the Dutch prints that lord Chesterfield is to come hither, which together with what his lordship publishes abroad himselfe, will, I suppose, make the cardinal ask me a thousand questions about his temper, views, and principles, which will be difficult to answer, considering he will stand in the eye of the world, as the person designed by his majesty to be hereafter secretary of state. His thoughts of coming hither, I must own, puts me under a great dilemma; because although as soon as the great affairs of Europe are settled, I shall be desirous of returning home; yet I am sure he is the most improper person, if I rightly know him, to succeed me, upon a foot of having that confidence which is between the cardinal and me, and which is absolutely necessary to be maintained even after I leave this embassy. I most earnestly desire you will continue from time to time to inform me of matters as what will be necessary for me to put things in a proper light, against the various surmises that are sent from England or made here.

P. S.

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1727.

P. S. Lord Waldegrave is indeed designed for Vienna, and I think, must goe thither as soon as we hear from Spain; but his temper and prudence would doe extreamely well at this court, as it is constituted at present.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Hints that lord Chesterfield would be appointed secretary of state.—The cardinal's concern at lord Townshend's illness, and mentions the difficulty of replacing him.*

DEAR BROTHER,

Fontainebleau, November 11, 1727.

Walpole  
Papers.

*Private.*

MR. Robinson, the secretary of the embassy has read to me a paragraph in a letter from his eldest brother, who tells him that a friend of his who knows well the situation at court in England, has lett him know, that if lord Chesterfield should go abroad, and particularly to France, it is in order to be secretary of state, in which case, he, Mr. Robinson the secretary, must serve under his lordship, supposing he can contrive to doe it handfomly with regard to others. As I seem'd to Mr. Robinson to take little notice of it, I did not ask him many questions about it, nor desire him to read it to me a second time. But as this letter is lately received, I thought it might be worth your knowledge, not upon my account, because you know how indifferent I am grown to all service; but it is possible poor lord Townshend's state of health may have given occasion for new caballs among the ambitious. I hope his lordship is not so bad, as I find the ordinary letters make him, because you have never mentioned it to me; but few people that write about him, think he can gett over his illness. Should any thing happen, the replacing of him will be of vast consequence to the management of affairs at home, as well as to the credit and influence of the government among the foreign powers. I can assure you the cardinal mentioned it to me this morning with the greatest concern, but I comforted him, by telling him that I did not doubt but his lordship would recover, tho' I can't say that he agreed with me in that opinion. I am, &c.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND. Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

*Condoles with him on lord Townshend's danger.*

1728.

DEAR TOMMY,

Houghton, Thursday 12 o'clock.

Sydney  
Papers.

I Suffer too much on account of poor lord Townshend to know any satisfaction in being at this distance. I have now sent for horses to meet me on the road, which will bring me almost as soon to town as if I did set out tomorrow. I hope to be with you on Monday by noon. Surely that providence or good fortune which has so often stood us in stead, will once more interpose and save the man, without whom *all* must fall to the ground.

I would not preface any ill tidings; but be assured, dear Tommy, that your own merit and the merit of being descended from such a father, will secure to you and all your unhappy family, whatever is, or can ever possibly be in my power, to soften, what nothing can repair, the loss of such a father, friend, and Englishman. But I will hope still, that this time of trial is far distant, and that it may be so for reasons infinite, believe me, dear Tommy, is the most ardent and most sincere wishes of your's most faithfully and affectionately.

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 1728.
 

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HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Instructs him to obtain the cardinal's assent to the form of signing.—Meeting of the parliament.—General good will of the commons.—Acclamations of the people as the king went to the house.*

MY DEAR LORD,

London, January 24, 1727—8.

I Would not let Mr. Charters return to Paris without assuring your lordship of my sincere respects, altho' I have no news to send you, since you will have been so fully informed from the duke of Newcastle by the messenger that set out last night of all matters: I shall only add in confidence not to be mentioned in the dispatches; that your lordship should use your utmost application and interest with the cardinal that the form for signing the declaration transmitted from hence should be followed, as being plain and simple, and making

Waldegrave  
Papers.

Period IV. making it an act finally for the execution of the preliminaries without being a  
 1727 to 1730. new convention, or containing any thing different from the preliminaries, this

1728.

I thought fitt to give you, which will be managed with your usual prudence. The king came yesterday to the house, and ordered us to choose a speaker, and present him on Saturday; Mr. Onslow was chosen by the most generall concurrence that was ever known, moved by lord Hartington and seconded by sir William Strickland. We had 427 members in the house; most of them sincere and hearty friends and in perfect good humour, and things I am persuaded will goe gloriously to the satisfaction of his majesty and his friends abroad; I went thro' the park by chance, when his majesty passed that way to the house, and the quantitys of people were numberless; and the acclamations of joy the greatest that were ever known; I must own I never saw such a sight. I am with the greatest affection and respect, &c.

\* Under secretary of state.

GEORGE TILSON\* TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Addresses at the opening of the new parliament carried without a division.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, February 2, 1727—8.

Waldegrave Papers.

AS my lord Townshend is in doubt whether your lordship will have any account of what has passed at the opening of the parliament, his lordship has ordered me to tell you some particulars upon that subject. Your lordship sees how full and strong the address of the house of lords is; there was but a faint opposition made to it by lord Bathurst and lord Strafford, with respect to the words *humane prudence*, but they let drop their motion, and did not dare to bring it to any division, so that address pass'd unanimously.

In the house of commons Mr. Shippen would have made an amendment after the words, *the disagreeable and uncertain situation of affairs*, by adding these following, *at his majesty's accession to the throne*, which were intended as a reflection on his late majesty and his ministers; and thence he took occasion to launch out into many invectives, and among other things, taxed our squadrons with being useless and insignificant, for that we might have rifled the galleons at Cartagena, and plundered Portobello; and have had those riches in our hands to dispute with the Spaniards, &c. Sir W. Wyndham seconded him, and added that by our languid and lifeless way of proceeding, we did no more than remove the negotiations from Paris and Madrid to Cambray, and that he could not see by this slow method, that we were any thing near getting out of our difficulties.

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difficultys. But these declamations were received so ill by the house, and raised so much indignation, that the opposite party had not the courage to offer at any division, so that your lordship may be assured that the opening of this parliament has been most auspicious for the king and his affairs, and there is no question but it will continue so: only your lordship will observe, and my lord thinks you may well take notice of it to the cardinal, that instead of the vivacitys some take us to have, how the king's ministers are accused of languidness and want of spirit. And as sir William Wyndham is an intimate friend of lord Bolingbroke's, my lord believes that they pass with him too as not having vivacity enough. I hope this will encourage your lordship and all our friends, and I am sure no one can wish your lordship more success, then, &c.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1728.

## HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Division in the committee the largest ever known.*

MY LORD,

London, February 12, O. S. 1727—8.

UPON my return on Saturday last from the country, where I had been for about ten days, I found the honour of your lordship's letter of the 12 instant, N. S. and indeed you guessed extreamly right, in imagining that Mr. Penterhidter's discourse about disbanding of forces pointed at us, for in the debate on Fryday about keeping the same number of forces, Mr. P. tho' he pretended that he had no other intention but to putt off the question for some days in expectation of some news from Spain, could not forbear reasoning in a manner that tallyed exactly with Penterhidter's discourse. You will have learnt from others the success of the day where the division was 290 against 86, the greatest majority that ever was known in a committee; and there is all the reason in the world to believe that the rest of the publick business will be carried on by the same spirit and unanimity. I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

## HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*The king approves his conduct.—The cardinal censured.—Debate on the Hessian forces.—Lady Sophia Bulkeley's pension to be continued.—Demur about the Irish recruits.*

Period IV.

MY DEAR LORD,

London, February 15, 1727—S. O. S.

1727 to 1730.

1728.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

I Am honoured with your lordship's letter of the 18th instant, N. S. and I have seen what you write in your dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, of the 18th and 21st, and it is impossible for me to express how much his majesty and his ministers are satisfied with your lordship's conduct, at which I am not at all surprized. The uneasiness of the French court about the pretended difficultys and delays in agreeing to the declaration on the part of his majesty, were very groundless and unreasonable, and I find some had worked up the cardinal to great warmth upon it, for besides what he said to your lordship, he wrote a more serious and stranger letter to me than ever I received from him, full at the same time of great compliments personally to me of which I have taken proper notice in my answer, which I leave open for your lordship's perusal; but you will not in delivering it or sending it to him take the least notice of it. You have likewise inclosed at the same time another letter in answer to one which his eminence wrote to me upon a private affair. We had yesterday in the committee of supply a debate about continuing the Hessians another year in his majesty's pay, which called me up, and altho' the debate did not last long, yett the opposite party would come to a division, and we were 280 against 86, and I reckon that our dispute about foreign affairs is as good as over, and by what the king sayd to me this morning, I believe it will not be long before I shall have the honour to see you at Paris. I am, with the greatest affection and respect.

P. S. My compliments to marshal Berwick, the dutchess, and all their family, and let them know that his majesty has agreed to make the usual allowance of bounty to lady Sophia Bulkeley; but the affair about allowing the Irish regiments to be recruited in the manner proposed has mett with some difficultys on account of an act of parliament, but I am in some hopes of overcoming them.

DE LA FAYE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Debate on the national debt.*Waldegrave  
Papers.

(Whitehall, February 22, 1727-8.) YESTERDAY as sir Robert Walpole was giving an account to the house of commons of the state of the sinking fund, he acquainted them that since the year 1716, it had paid off of the nation's debts a certain sum (I think six millions and seven or eight hundred thousand



thousand pounds) but that by the contracting of new debts the debt of the nation had upon the balance been lessened (as I remember) about two millions and half only. Mr. Pulteney answered him, and averred that the debt of the nation instead of being at all lessened was greatly increased since 1716, and that tho' he was not now prepared to prove it, he would undertake to do so in two or three days, and put his reputation upon it. Sir Robert put his reputation upon making out the truth of what he had advanced. In the debate mention having been made of the book published about a twelve month ago, as was thought by Mr. Pulteney's direction, called a State of the National Debt, sir Nathaniel Gold said he had carefully examined that book, and would undertake to prove it very fallacious. So it is expected there will on the next proper occasion be a formal debate upon this subject; but some say they remember that some such challenge was formerly given by the same gentleman, but not supported. I am, &c.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1728.

## GEORGE TILSON TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Debate on the state of the national debt.*

(Whitehall, March 7, 1727-8.) I Was glad that what my Lord directed me to write about the parliament was so usefull to your lordship. There was last Monday a great battle in the house of commons, carryed with the usual majority of above 250 to 90 and odd; but it was a domestick point, wherein our neighbours take no very great part. It was the dispute Mr. Pulteney raised about the vast increase of our debt, more than was paid off by the sinking fund. It appeared clear to the house, that above six millions had been paid off by that fund since 1716. To day is appointed to debate the other part of the question, how many new debts are incurred since that year; and it is generally said, that it will be made plain, that with the debts properly said to be contracted for services within that time, at least two or three million will have been paid off. For the purchasing the long annuities, the army debentures, and such deficiencies as have been provided for, are strictly speaking, debts contracted before 1716. I shall be very glad to see this clearly determined, for 'twill stop the clamours of those who have all along been asserting that we run in debt continually; and that our sinking fund does not suffice to pay exceedings annually contracted; with other such general accusations, that, like throwing of dirt at random, stick with many.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

## DE LA FAYE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

1728.

*News of the signature of the convention with Spain arrives in the midst of a debate.*

Waldegrave  
Papers.

(Whitehall, March 11, 1727-8.) I Received this morning the honour of your lordship's letter of the 6—17th instant, which I put into my lord duke of Newcastle's hands, who charged me with his best and most hearty compliments to you. Your lordship was very good in detaining Byncham from us as little as possible. The poor man to do him justice, performed his journey exceedingly well, for on a computation (allowing him two days and half for his journey to Versailles, his wayting at Calais, and his passage by sea) he was but eight days and half coming from Madrid hither. The news he brought, your lordship may believe, was not less acceptable here than at Versailles; it proved, I dare say, a more efficacious cordial to lord Townshend than all that Grimes's shop had afforded him, and it came very seasonably to sir Robert Walpole in the midst of a debate, and, as I have been told by some that were present, made him go on with fresh spirit and vigour. Your lordship will see by the letters that go by this messenger, which will probably reach you at Paris, that monsieur Penterridter threatens us with fresh difficultys at the congress: there may be a little gasconade in his discourse; however, it furnishes an argument, as your journey does an opportunity for endeavouring to prevail with the cardinal to open his budget, and let us know what he thinks is farther to be done, and how the allys are to proceed, which I hope will be in perfect concert together, otherwise *divide et impera* will be the play of our antagonists. I heartily wish your lordship a good journey and good success at Vienna, where I hope you will find the ministers more tractable than they would have been to St. Saphorin, who will prove a good foil to one that has none of those failings by which he had made himself most odious to that court, and had in a manner destroy'd the use of those abilities, and that knowledge, and experience which he must be allowed to possess. I shall be glad to hear of your safe arrival there, and beg that I may still, tho' not in your province, preserve some share in your favour, which I shall always study to deserve by being with the greatest sincerity and respect.

SPEAKER

SPEAKER ONSLOW'S REMARKS ON VARIOUS PARTS OF  
 SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S CONDUCT, AND ANECDOTES Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
 OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION.

Although some of these remarks and anecdotes relate to the reign of George the first, and others to the later periods of Walpole's administration, yet it was thought proper not to separate them; but to print them as they were written, in a continued narrative.

## CHAPTER THE FIRST.

*On the opposition of sir Robert Walpole to the peerage bill.*

WE have often heard of men who have left one party to join another, without any change of principle or inclination avowedly, and only to force the crown, by distressing the administration in parliament to bring themselves back to, or to obtain those seats of power they had lost or quitted, or fought after, and without designing to continue any longer with their new friends than should be sufficient for that purpose. A practice that has tended more to corrupt and debase the minds of men that use it, and to distress and confound the affairs of the public than any other public evil this age has produced. And however strange and offensive such tergiversations must appear to men of strict minds, and of little acquaintance with the world (for to such only they can appear strange) yet there is nothing more certain than that by some fatal darkness of understanding, or imbecility of heart, many persons otherwise of great probity and honour, have suffered themselves to be made instruments and supports of these factions, and have been brought to believe (what is in truth the common band of all party unions, and only justifiable where the constitution is really in danger, from the settled plan of an administration for that purpose) that they might very honestly act against their conscience in particulars, in order in general to pull down one man they did not like, and to set up another they did, nay to make it a point of honor and fidelity to their friends so to do.

Upon this foundation partly (I mean of distressing the administration) I have reason to think that Mr. Walpole (afterwards sir Robert) exerted himself so eminently and effectually against the bill to restrain the making of peers. I have told you before the nature of this bill, and that it was much approved of by very many of the whiggs. What occasioned them to like it so well,

Onslow  
Papers.

was

Period IV. was the recent memory of the extraordinary creation of twelve peers at once, <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> and of a sudden, under the administration of Mr. Harley, earl of Oxford, and lord treasurer, done as it was supposed, to save him from some disagreeable attack he expected in the house of lords. It was, I remember, universally disapproved of, and by the whiggs so much detested that it was one of the principal subjects of their clamour against him, and afterwards one of the articles of his impeachment. When this bill, therefore, which had the plausibleness of preventing such an abuse for the future was first brought in, the opposing of it looked so like a contradiction in the whiggs to what they had said and done on the former occasion, that it was thought by the malecontents to be too strong a point, and would be of too much reproach for them to set themselves against (the lords among them perhaps somewhat bias'd by the advantage the bill brought to their body) and at a meeting of the most considerable of them, it was the opinion of all except Mr. Walpole to give into it.

But he dissented so vehemently and passionately to the so doing, that after much altercation and heat they yielded to his opposing it in the house of commons, or rather because they found that he resolved to do it, whatever they had said or should do upon it. He told them it was the most maintainable point they could make a stand upon in the house of commons against the ministry. He was sure he could put it in such a light as to fire with indignation at it every independent commoner in England; and that he saw a spirit rising against it among some of the warmest of the whigs that were country gentlemen, and not in other things averse to the administration. That the first discovery of this to him was from what he overheard one Mr. \* \* \* \* member for \* \* \* \* say upon it; a plain country gentleman of about eight hundred pounds a year, of a rank equal only to that, and with no expectations or views to himself beyond what his condition at that time gave him. But this person talking with another member about this bill, he said with heat and some oaths (which was what Mr. Walpole overheard and caught at)—“What shall I consent to the shutting the door upon my family ever coming into the house of lords!” This, Mr. Walpole told the company, struck him with conviction, that the same sentiment might easily be made to run through the whole body of country gentlemen, be their estates then what they would. And so it proved, to a very thorough defeat of the ministers in this instance.

His performance in this debate, I have heard, for I was not then come into parliament, was very great, and had as much of natural eloquence and of genius.

nius in it as had been heard by any of the audience within those walls. His topics were popular, and made for those he hoped to bring over, from the story I have just now told you. He talked of the honours of peerage as the constitutional reward of great qualities and actions only, in the service of the commonwealth, and to be kept open for that purpose. *That the usual path to the temple of honour, had been thro' the temple of virtue; but by this bill it was now to be only thro' the sepulchre of a dead ancestor, without merit or fame.* In this strain he bore down every thing before him, even against very able performances by many very considerable persons who spoke on the other side of the question.

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## ON OPPOSITION. CHAPTER II.

*Walpole's conduct in the prosecution of bishop Atterbury.—Motives for laying a tax on papists and non-jurors.—Impropriety of multiplying oaths.—Walpole's art in confounding the tories with the jacobites.—Anecdotes and characters of Daniel and William Pulteney—Sir William Wyndham—Sir John Barnard—Sir Joseph Jekyll—Lords Carteret—Chesterfield—Bolingbroke.—Conclusion.—Observations on sir Robert Walpole.*

A Remarkable event happened at this time, 1722, which contributed very much to the fixing Mr. Walpole's interest and power then with the king, and manifesting fresh proofs of his abilities and usefulness as a minister. It was the management of a discovery made by the regent of France to the government here of a plot in favour of the pretender, formed and carried on principally by Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a man of great parts, and of a most restless and turbulent spirit, daring and enterprising, tho' then very infirm, and capable of any artifice; but proud and passionate, and not of judgment enough for the undertakings he engaged in. His views were not only to be the first churchman, but the first man also in the state, not less than Wolfey, whom he admired and thought to imitate; and found he could only succeed in this, by the merit of his overturning the present government, and advancing that of the pretender in its stead. He had been long projecting this revolution; but went now upon the foundation of the discontents in the kingdom, arising from the South Sea transactions in the year 20, which were still fresh in the minds and hearts of the people, especially the sufferers, many of whom imputed their losses to the government, as designing by a fraud to deprive them

**Period IV.** 1727 to 1730. them of their property, and propagated this notion, with too much success, among the people in general.

When this intimation was given from the regent (who, it was said, did it on condition that no one should die for it) the difficulty of getting to the bottom and fixing the evidence of it still remained; but when that was effected, in a great measure by Mr. Walpole's dexterity, who had the chief part in unravelling this dark mystery, the prosecution was as difficult to manage as the other, from the want, in most of the cases, of legal proofs to convict the criminals at law, and from the necessity not to let them go without some degree of punishment that might be a security to the government against the like attempts for the future, and worthy of the notice the government had taken of this. This he also undertook and carried through in parliament with great skill and clearness, and made it serve another purpose too he always aimed at, the setting the whiggs against the tories as jacobites, which all of them gave too much handle for on this and many other occasions, and making therefore combinations between them and any body of whiggs to be impracticable: and it had that effect for some time. In the proceedings in the house of lords against the bishop, he appeared as a witness for the government to some things which had been solemnly denied by the other: the bishop used all the art his guilt would admit of, to perplex and make Mr. Walpole contradict himself, but he was too hard for the bishop upon every turn, altho' a 'greater trial of skill this way, scarce ever happened between two such combatants. The one fighting for his reputation, the other for his acquittal. The expectation of people in it, as they were differently inclined to the parties, and the cause and the solemnity of it from the place and the audience it was in, made it look like a lifted field for a combat of another sort, and the joy of victory as great as there. To say the truth, the bishop sunk under the weight of his guilt, and indeed the whole of his defence, as made by himself, was not adequate to his real abilities.

He grounded also upon this, what was more politick as I thought, than just, the submitting the estates of the papists in England to a tax of 100,000*l.* under the name of a composition for their recusancy, altho' it did not appear, that any, or at least but very few of them were engaged in this design. But he did it to terrify 'em, from giving any countenance to such undertakings, and to make them to stop, which they were most likely to be able to do, all such from proceeding, by showing them, that let what would happen, they as a body of men should pay for it; and altho' the levy fell very short of the sum imposed,

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posed, yet it has with the face mildness of the government towards them, very probably been the means of keeping these people quiet from this time. He answered the objection of injustice in it, not by contending that they were in this particular conspiracy, but this 100,000*l.* was but a part of what they had already forfeited, which was a third part of their estates, from the time of their recusancy, and therefore due to the government, tho' not taken; and as the government now took but this small proportion, it would rather be a favour to them to let this compound for the whole; and a provision was inserted in the act for that purpose. But all this appeared farce to me and some others, and which I shall show you in what I shall say elsewhere upon this subject.

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Another thing which arose from this last, did not do the government so much service as this: it happened by accident; but he took it up and pursued it with his usual party spirit, and it was this; somebody in the debate of the other matter, said it ought to go to protestant non-jurors as well as to papists, and the rather because they were both already liable to a double of the common land tax. This appeared so plausible, that it was generally given into; but then to do it with any justice, every body was to have an opportunity of swearing to the government; and, to do it with effect, every body was to be obliged to swear; that thus the real non-jurors might be known, and register their estates, for this or any future imposition of the like sort, or to keep them in dread of it.

I have mentioned this last to you, not so much for the sake of the thing itself as for the extraordinary effect and operation it produced. People in general were so terrified with the apprehensions of not only forfeiting their estates in possession if they did not take the oaths, but also what they had in reversions, limitations ever so remote, or the least relation to or expectation of any, nay with regard to their money or effects of any sort, that the whole nation almost, men, women, and children capable of taking an oath flocked to the places where the quarter sessions were holden, that they might by swearing to the government free themselves and their families from the danger, as they thought, of losing their fortunes to it. I saw a great deal of it, and it was as strange as well as ridiculous to see people crowding to give a testimony of their allegiance to a government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright they were put into by it; and I am satisfied more real disaffection to the king and his family arose from it than from any thing which happened in that time. It made the government to

Period IV. appear tyrannical and suspicious, than which nothing can be more hurtful to a prince or lessen his safety.

Upon this occasion, which indeed was one of my reasons for relating this fact to you, I cannot help observing of what little use to a government the imposition of oaths to it has ever been. It's very true that nothing in the constitution is more ancient. It was the practice among our Saxon ancestors, continued after the accession of the Norman race, and enforced often by particular oaths under several of the following kings, but never prevented any revolution that either reasons of government or ambition could bring about. To come nearer to our own times, oaths were made to Charles the first, but did not save him. Oaths were taken to the parliament and common-wealth, but the same people forgot them or broke them under Cromwell, and all at the restoration swore allegiance to Charles the second. They swore the same to king James, and the success of the revolution made the same persons almost take the same oaths to king William and queen Mary, and to queen Anne: many in the rebellion of 1715, had sworn to king George the first, and more who wished it success. After all this, who can think these bindings of any security? It may torture the minds of people, but never influences their actions.

A government is never secure of the hearts of the people but from the justice of it, and the justice of it is generally a real security. A good government, therefore, does not want these oaths to defend it, and a bad one the casuists say, frees subjects from the obligation of them, and is a doctrine the people in all times have given into. Some particular men may possibly be influenced by them, but I speak of the generality of the people; and, with regard to them, it has ever been found at least useless. But this practice is, in many respects, generally very dangerous. Princes are apt to trust too much to it in evil government, and are too much encouraged to that by it. Charles the first was deceived by it, and it deluded his son James into the extravagant attempt he made upon the religion and liberties of his subjects. Besides the minds of men are often corrupted by this to a slight of the obligation of an oath in general, either by taking these oaths unwillingly, many times against their consciences, and only by compulsion. Others swear what they do not comprehend, as was the case of nine in ten of those who took the oaths on the occasion I have been speaking of, and then the evil is, as was observed by a great man at that time, that when men habituate themselves to swear what they do



do not understand, they will easily be brought to forswear themselves in what they do understand. The like danger is from the frequency of oaths that is here required, which allways takes off from the awe of 'em, and consequently their force. Indeed no oath should be imposed where it is possible that the interest of the person taking it should induce him either to break it or swear falsely; and, in my opinion, no oaths at all should be appointed but in judicial matters; which as they are necessary in those cases, should be kept for them only, that they may thereby be the more solemn, and consequently the more forcible there, where only they are really wanted, or can be of any true use in society. To conclude this digression, I have often wonder'd that men do not see the unreasonableness and danger of making people swear where there may be an interest to tempt them to forswear or afterwards break their oaths, from that uniform practice of courts of justice not to suffer any one to be put upon his oath in judgment, when he is either to get or lose any thing by the event of that cause in which he is brought to be a witness.

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But to return: notwithstanding the imprudence and folly of thus swearing the whole nation in the manner I have described, yet was the same thing continued by a subsequent act. of parliament deliberately made against the advice and admonition, and to the great scandal of many wise men, who wished the best to the government, and saw the prejudice it would do to the king and his family. But as parties are generally factions, and the chief business of factions is to annoy one another, those men have always most merit with their party who contribute most to this humour; and to that, as this was designed to affect the tories, must this silly zeal of the whiggs then in parliament be imputed: and it is most certain, that on too many occasions it has been thought, he was the honest whigg-friend to the government, who did most to make the tories enemies to it, which many of them from resentment to the whiggs, and being deprived of power, did but too much incline, and give into.

But however distasteful this was to several serious men among the whiggs, Mr. Walpole enjoyed and encouraged it all, as pursuing his plan of having every body to be deemed a jacobite who was not a profest and known whigg. When he had thus, by the unravelling of this plot, and punishing the principal offenders, established his own credit with the party in general, and as he hoped with his master too, he believed himself to have a fair prospect of establishing his own power, which, as he built upon a whigg-party bottom only, he laboured all he could to unite those to him who had been peculiarly de-  
pendant

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pendant on my lord Sunderland. Some he succeeded with, but not with all, and of them several remained in their employments, whom he could not remove, or did not dare to attempt, because of the interest they had with the king, thro' the means of the Germans; and this body of people, small, but of considerable rank, remained his enemies to the time of the king's death, waiting and watching for every opportunity to ruin him, which, however, it is most undoubted they could not have done, without ruining at the same time, the whigg cause and party. But they thought otherwise; and now began something of the whigg opposition to his power, which grew afterwards to be so troublesome and formidable to him. It was at first made up chiefly of such of my lord Sunderland's creatures as he could not attach to him; but it had very soon the addition of some others from various motives and views.

Since that opposition to him makes so great part of his history, and from whence so much of his character arises, it will not be improper for the better illustration of that, to give you some description of the persons who undertook, or had the principal management of it.

He who first endeavoured to form this opposition into a system, or regular method of proceeding, with a view only to ruin Mr. Walpole, and for that purpose, to unite people of every character and principle, and in which he took the most indefatigable pains, was Mr. Daniel \* Poulteney, in all other respects almost, a very worthy man, very knowing and laborious in business, especially in foreign affairs, of strong, but not lively parts, a clear and weighty speaker, grace in his deportment, and of great virtue and decorum in his private life, generous and friendly. But, with all this, of most implacable hatred where he did hate, violent, keen, and most bitter in his resentments, gave up all pleasures and comforts, and every other consideration to his anger, and fell at last a martyr to it in his quarrel with Mr. Walpole. For his not succeeding in it prey'd upon his spirits, which, and with his living much with the lord

\* Daniel Pulteney was envoy at Copenhagen during the reign of queen Anne, a commissioner of trade in 1717, and a lord of the admiralty in 1721. He came first into parliament in 1721, on the death of secretary Craggs. He married Margaret Deering, daughter of Benjamin Tichbourne, brother to Henry viscount Tichbourne. Daniel died in 1731, leaving three daughters, two of whom died unmarried, the third by failure of the male issue in William and Harry Pulteney, became heiresses at law to their large fortunes. She married Mr. Johnstone, son of sir James Johnstone, bart. now sir William Pulteney, and by him left an only daughter Henrietta Laura, the present lady Bath. See the genealogical table in the note to the 39th chapter.

Bolingbroke (as an enemy to Mr. Walpole) threw him into an irregularity of drinking that occasioned his death, to the great loss and regret of those who were now joined with him, to whom he was a sort of magazine for all the materials necessary to the work he principally had engaged them in.

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This animosity to Mr. Walpole, arose from his intimacy with my lord Sunderland, to whom he was brother-in-law, by having married the sister of my lord Sunderland's last wife. He was in the depth of all that lord's political secrets, as far at least as he trusted any body, and was designed by him to be secretary of state in the scheme he formed of a new administration, if he had lived long enough to have once more overset Mr. Walpole and my lord Townshend. But my lord Sunderland's death putting an end to the other's hopes, so lower'd his mind, that from the moment of his disappointment, I verily believe, he scarcely thought of any thing else, but to revenge it in an opposition to him who had been the chief opponent of his friend and patron. This was at first carried on in whispers and insinuations, and raising private prejudices against Mr. Walpole. For he still continued one of the commissioners of the admiralty, and so still voted with the administration; but resigning that office, which he had great joy in being disentangled from, that he might, as he soon did, act openly and without reserve against the ministry in every thing; and was the person chiefly who settled his kinsman Mr. Poultney (afterwards earl of Bath) in this opposition, tho' they little agreed, or indeed conversed with one another before, nay rather personally disliked one another, even to the last, and they were in truth, of very different characters.

Whatever suspicions Mr. Daniel Poultney might lie under of entering into some dark and dangerous designs\* against the government itself, it is most certain the other had never any thoughts that led to jacobitism; and if there was any thing relating to the publick, that he was constant to, it was his fears of the pretender, his abhorrence to that cause, and his attachment of the king and his family. And it was from this, and not a little too, because of his great fortune, which might be at stake, that he had often some checks of conscience, and very melancholy apprehensions, lest his violence against the administration of sir Robert Walpole, and joining for that purpose with those supposed to be the enemies to the government, might not weaken the foundations of it, and give

\* The insinuation hinted at by speaker Onslow, that Daniel Pulteney was engaged in designs contrary to the protestant succession, seems to have been urged without sufficient foundation.

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 1727 to 1730. was, without dispute, a person of very eminent endowments, rather natural than acquired, altho' not without the last, but with a mixture of such natural defects and weakneses too, that no time, I believe, can produce an instance of a man of so variable and uncertain a mind, who knew not that he was so, and never designed to be so.

I am persuaded he thought his life was one continued scene of uniformity in principles and actions; and as those who knew him best, wondered at the popularity he once had, so he who knew himself least, wondered as much that he ever lost it. He had indeed the most popular parts for public speaking, that I ever knew; animating every subject of popularity, with the spirit and fire that the orators of the ancient commonwealths govern'd the people by; was as classical and as elegant in the speeches he did not prepare as they were in their most studied compositions, mingling wit and pleasantry, and the application even of little stories so properly to affect his hearers, that he would overlook the best argumentation in the world, and win people to his side, often against their own convictions, by making ridiculous that truth they were influenced by before, and making some men to be afraid and ashamed of being thought within the virulence of some bitter expression of his, or within the laugh that generally went thro' the town at any memorable stroke of his wit. And, altho' this never got him a majority in the house of commons, yet he usually had the occasional hearers that were there; and to that audience he generally spoke, and by them established his general fame, as long, I mean, as his talents were employed against ministers, courtiers, power, and corruption. He certainly hurt sir Robert more than any of those who oppos'd him. What his motives were to this opposition, and what happened to him afterwards, I leave to other accounts of him, which are various. He was undoubtedly a very extraordinary person; and in his private life free from common vices, with a sense of religion even to devotion.

Another person who acted a very considerable part in this opposition, was sir William Wyndham\*, as a leader of the tories, or such of them, at least, who

\* Sir William Wyndham was descended † from an ancient family of that name, which seems to have taken its surname from Wymondham, or Wyndham in Norfolk, and which afterwards

† Collins, Edmonson's Baronaguim.

who were not averse to come with their party, into power and offices under the present royal family. In the latter part of queen Anne's reign, he had been secretary at war and chancellor of the exchequer, tho' a very young man, raised so high in the world against the opinion of it by the favour of my lord Bolingbroke, with whom he lived in an intimacy of pleasures and gallantries as well as business; and from his attachment and gratitude to him (which he ever preserved) and from party violence and the heat of his youth had engaged in the rebellion of 1715, but escaped any punishment except that of a short confinement, by the consideration then had of the noble family he had married into, and who had great merit with the king and his family. He continued, however, in all the measures of his party against the government, and by frequent speaking in public, and great application to business, and the constant instruction he still received from his friend, and as it were his master, especially in foreign affairs, he became from a very disagreeable speaker and little knowing in business to be one of the most pleasing and able speakers of his time, wore out all the prejudices of party, grew moderate towards the dissenters, against whom he once bore a most implacable hatred, studied and un-

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settled at Felbrigg in the same county. By the marriage of sir John Wyndham in the reign of Edward the sixth, with the daughter of John Sydenham of Orchard, the elder line was established at Orchard, hence called Orchard Wyndham, in the county of Somerset. Sir William Wyndham, the person under consideration, was lineally descended from this line. He was born in 1686, and on the death of his father sir Edward, succeeded to the title of baronet, to a very considerable estate, and to the distinction and influence which his family had possessed in the western counties of England. He increased his consequence by espousing in 1708, lady Catherine Seymour, second daughter of Charles, duke of Somerset. Born of a tory family, and imbued from his early infancy with notions of divine and indefeasible right, he was adverse to the interruption of the lineal descent, and uniformly opposed the establishment of the succession in the house of Brunswick. In the reign of queen Anne, he was brought forwards into public employment at a very early age by his friend Bolingbroke, with whom he lived in habits of the strictest intimacy, and by whose brilliant talents he was seduced into similar excesses of pleasure and gallantry. Under the administration of Harley, he was made successively master of the buck hounds, secretary at war, and chancellor of the exchequer. His principles in favour of the restoration of the Stuarts were so well known, that on the accession of George the first, he had no official employment, and in 1715, he was imprisoned in the tower, until the conclusion of the rebellion. In July 1716, he was released under the bail of the dukes of Somerset and Richmond, the earls of Rochester and Thomond, and lord Gower.\* He died in 1740; his son, sir Charles Wyndham, on the death of the duke of Somerset, succeeded to the title of earl of Egremont.

\* Political State.

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derstood the nature of government and the constitution of his own country, and found such a new set of principles with regard to the publick, and from them grew to think that the religion and liberties of the nation, so much depended on the support of the present family on the throne, that he lost all confidence with the Jacobites, and the most rigid of the tories, and it is thought would have left them entirely if he could have stood the reproach of that in his own country, or could have maintained a prevailing interest there without them: and upon that footing would willingly have come into a new whigg administration upon the exclusion of sir Robert Walpole, with whom he would never have acted, and with the admission of some few of his tory friends, who in company with him would willingly also have left their party for such a change, swayed not a little perhaps in this by observing that no other road would lead them to those honours and preferments in the state, which it was just for men of abilities to expect, and a folly to exclude themselves and their families from, when they could take them as they thought without hurt to their principles and their characters. But he did not live long enough to have this happen to him.

He was, in my opinion, the most made for a great man of any one that I have known in this age. Every thing about him seem'd great. There was no inconsistency in his composition, all the parts of his character suited, and were a help to one another. There was much of grace and dignity in his person, and the same in his speaking. He had no acquirements of learning, but his eloquence improved by use, was strong, full, and without affectation, arising chiefly from his clearness, propriety, and argumentation, in the method of which last, by a sort of induction almost peculiar to himself, he had a force beyond any man I ever heard in public debates. He had not the vivacity of wit and pleasantry in his speeches so entertaining in the former person, but there was a spirit and power in his speaking, that always animated himself and his hearers, and with the decoration of his manner, which was indeed very ornamental, produced not only the most attentive, respectful,\* but even a reverend regard to whatever he spoke.

He was besides generally serious, and always decent, never positive, and

\* A striking instance of the high respect paid to sir William Wyndham, appeared in one of the debates which related to the convention. In the midst of a speech, being confused, he turned to the speaker, and said, "Sir, I must beg leave to recollect myself;" he then sat down. A profound and respectful silence ensued, for some minutes, when sir William again rose and continued his speech with his usual animation and energy.

often condescending, though sometimes severe and pointed. There was indeed great decorum through his whole carriage, and no man ever contributed more than he did to the dignity of parliament. Had he been a minister in his latter days, I am satisfied, he would have had the same decorum in office as he had in parliament, and he had that civility and good breeding in his demeanor, that made him as fit for a court as any other situation, and his abilities would have made him equal to any. He had certainly great notions, and appeared to have a high regard to the principles of honour and justice. It has been said, that he was haughty and passionate, and would have carried his power too high, and I am afraid it was the weakness he was most liable to fall into. Those who spoke most of this, took their thoughts of him chiefly from what they remembered of him in his younger days, when it is very true he had too much of this temper; but as far as I could observe, he was much changed in this as he was in his principles and other things, and surely no man in general was ever less in his advanced age of what he had been in his youth, than he seem'd to be. But as he was not without his fears too, and some desire of fame, they from his knowledge also of the world would have been some restraint upon the other, and if so, his state might only have procured that respect which is always due and necessary to government. What his firmness in great trials would have been, I cannot say. He was certainly of a very high spirit, and that with power well managed might have supported him under any difficulties. If I have spoken too highly of him, it must be imputed to the great opinion I conceived of him in the house of commons, where I never saw him fail of being a great man.

These three were the principal opponents sir Robert Walpole had in the house of commons. There were others too in that place who bore their parts in the same work, but were far inferior to those I have mentioned, some in point of abilities, and others from their youth and want of experience; although among the latter some were young men of great natural and acquired endowments, and from the training they had by their opposition to the court, came afterwards to be of considerable figure and rank in public office and business. It was indeed from the applause for speaking which these had acquired, that it became a fashion for most of the then young men of birth and fortune to set themselves against the court, and to endeavour to obtain seats in parliament for the sake of the fame they hoped to get, as the others had done, by popular declamations there, against the evil power and corruption of the administration, which they chiefly, or rather only applied to sir Robert Walpole;

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Period IV. 1727 to 1730. and too often in a language that by no means became their youth to give or his years to have it given to him. But for this also they had their applauders; and it is scarcely to be imagined to what a height it arose, and how much general mischief he received from this spirit and licentiousness of speech in these young patriots. It went the farther, because in them it was deemed native virtue and disinterestedness, the result of untainted minds, and hearts too young to be corrupted by envy of power and profit (the usual motives of older men in faction) and in many or most of them, indeed I am persuaded, in the beginning at least, they were made to believe they were saving their country from destruction, and that they only could do it.

But they were the tools and instruments of those who meant no such thing, and who were in opposition only because they had not power, and made use of the virtue of these younger and better men to the quicker obtaining of it for themselves, which when they had done, and manifested by their after actions what their former motives had been, many of their young followers soon discerned the cheat, and shew'd their resentment accordingly. Some, however, who were older and grown wiser, saw the prospect the change had opened, and made as able a use of it as the best experienced of their principals had done; but alas! with a change too of style and behaviour, that has made me often mourn over them and reflect how very wary young men should be of what they say and do in their political outset, lest the language and actions they then hold should not be able to last them through their whole journey: and I have found also that nothing can be more unfortunate for any man, than to begin his public life in the schools of faction and defamation. It is unhappy enough to begin it in a servile and implicit compliance with power; but the other is far more dangerous. The middle track between those two extremes is the path that honest and wise men will take, and is the true character of a parliament man.

The next person in the house of commons, who I shall mention, and gave much disturbance there to sir Robert Walpole and his administration, was one of the members for the city of London, and the most eminent man among them; not for fortune, which he seem'd to have no appetite for, beyond a competency for his rank and fashion, which was that of a merchant by profession (though of no extensive dealings) and of the great offices in the city, all of which he had passed through; but his consideration arose from his own intrinsic worth and abilities, unassisted by any collateral advantages whatsoever. For he had neither birth, alliances, riches, or stations in the government to forward



ward him, but was himself, if ever any man was, the worker out of his own true fame. Nor had he the advantages of learning, language, or manner to ornament or set off his natural or acquired endowments, the latter of which lay chiefly in the knowledge of trade, its foundation and extent, and of the whole circle of taxes, funds, money, and credit. In all which he had more sagacity, acuteness, force, and closeness of argumentation, better and more practicable notions, than almost any man I ever knew, with a disinterestedness as to himself, that no temptation of the greatest profit or very high stations (for such he might have had) could have drawn him from the very retired and humble life he generally chose to lead, not only for the sake of his health, but the content of his mind in a moderate habitation, in a neighbouring village to London, from whence he only came, as he was occasionally called to any business of importance in the city or in parliament; in the first of which, he was a great magistrate, and in the other, of true weight and influence. He was besides, of a very regular and religious life, without show or affectation, as in his public deportment, he seem'd to have made the best principles of both parties, to be the guide of his political acting: so that he was in truth, one of the greatest examples of private, and in general, of public virtue that this age has produced; and had a popularity arising from that, which, though he did not court or cherish in the way it is usually got and kept up, was more universal and lasting, than that of any man of his time, manifesting itself in calm and real instances of esteem, and not in noise and riot, which he himself would have been the first to suppress. (1764) He is lately dead in full possession of this true fame.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Speaker  
Onslow's  
remarks.

After so much of the character of sir John Barnard,\* it cannot be supposed that in his oppositions to sir Robert Walpole, he was at all actuated by the spirit

\* Sir John Barnard, knight, was born at Reading in 1685. His parents being quakers, he was brought up at a school at Wandsworth in Surry, appropriated to the education of persons of that persuasion, and derived little information from his master. In 1703, he quitted the society of quakers, was baptised by Compton, bishop of London, and continued a member of the established church. He rose into eminence, solely by his indefatigable assiduity in business and high integrity in his mercantile transactions. He had attained his thirty-sixth year, when he first attracted the public notice, and on an occasion wholly unsought by himself. "A bill greatly affecting the wine trade, had passed through the house of commons, and was depending in the upper house. The principal merchants, who would have been injured by the operation of the bill, united in presenting a petition to the lords, praying to be heard against

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

spirit of faction; nor do I believe he was, or that he ever entered with the others into any formed design to ruin or remove him, however he might with the latter, from the then dislike he seemed to have of the principles of his administration, especially after the famous attempt of sir Robert Walpole to turn the collection of some of the inland duties into an excise, which sir John Barnard had much contributed to defeat; and sir Robert Walpole's manner of debating a scheme, the other had proposed, to reduce the interest of the public debt to 3 per cent. of both which I shall speak more particularly very soon. And here it must be confessed, that his opposing the measures of the government was more constant and settled, and had more of intemperance in it towards sir Robert Walpole, than can seem well to consist with the description I have before given of this gentleman.

“ against it, by themselves or counsel. Their request being granted, Mr. Barnard, without his knowledge, was selected as the fittest person to prove the grievance, and to answer every objection to the petition. Through some unaccountable negligence he was not acquainted with the business, till the afternoon before he was to be heard by the peers. This singular disadvantage, when it came to be known, made his speech appear the more extraordinary. By the extent of his acquaintance with commerce, and the perspicuity and force of his reasoning, accompanied with a becoming modesty, he contributed in so high a degree to carry the point aimed at, that all the petitioners considered themselves as principally indebted to his talents for their success.”\* This instance of his abilities rendered him so conspicuous and popular, that he was put up as a member for London, without the smallest solicitation on his part, and chosen in the warmest contest ever known in that city. His parliamentary abilities were acknowledged by all; and by none more than by sir Robert Walpole, whose measures he almost uniformly opposed. To his talents as a speaker, he paid a due eulogium. As he was riding out with a party, some persons were overheard talking on the other side of a narrow lane, the hedge of which concealed them from view. One of the party saying, whose voice is that? sir Robert replied: do you not know! it is one which I never shall forget. I have often felt its power. On meeting at the end of the lane, adds the biographer, sir Robert Walpole with that enchanting courtesy he possessed, saluting Mr. Barnard, told him what had passed.”† The minister frequently used to rally his sons who were praising the speeches of Pulteney, Pitt, Littleton, and others, by saying you may cry up their speeches if you please, but when I have answered sir John Barnard, and lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate. In 1728, he was chosen alderman, and in 1737, lord mayor of London. He represented the city of London five successive parliaments. In 1738, the infirmities of old age increasing, he resigned his alderman's gown; and soon afterwards retired from public business to his villa at Clapham in Surry, where he died in 1764, aged 79.

\* Biographia Britannica, Art. Barnard.

† Ibid.

But among all his great qualities he had some blemishes, rather from his constitution, however, than his will or design. He was of a very warm temper, too soon wrought up to passion, and when under that operation, was often deprived of his judgment, and even of his usual discernment. He was likewise too persevering and tenacious of his opinions, and when in the wrong, would shift and refine, and subtilize so much to save himself in his disputing, that, in some instances, with those who did not know him well, it created some unkind suspicions of his sincerity; but all that, I am satisfied, was more owing to the narrowness of the company he kept, and the lead he always had in their conversations, which usually begets impatience of contradiction, and a love of disputing for the sake of victory, than to any fixed intention of imposing upon or deceiving his audience. He had also that regard for the city of London, and the profession of merchants, and that warmth for their interests, and indeed for every person he undertook to serve, that on some occasions, it has threw him into partialities for them that he himself might not perceive, though every body else did. He was not, perhaps, without his vanity too, and that might carry him into a desire of trying his skill with sir Robert Walpole in those matters in which he was thought to have no equal, and to be sure, he had none, unless sir John Barnard was the man; I mean in the business of money and credit, and in this, it was that he chiefly affected and hurt sir Robert, though seldom with any real superiority.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
Speaker  
Onslow's  
remarks.

There was one person more in the house of commons (sir J. Jekyl) I will mention here, though he was not in a set opposition to the ministry, and was sometimes with them, and never against them, from the motives the others were thought to have; I should rather say the three first, yet as he most usually differed in the house of commons from those who were in power, and had much dislike to sir Robert Walpole in many things, and bore no great reverence to his character in general, and being also much known and talked of in the times of sir Robert's ministry, and being likewise of a very particular turn in his public and private actions, it may not be improper—but this hereafter.

There were two other persons, who in different ways contributed very much to the keeping up the fire of opposition to sir Robert Walpole's administration. The late lord Bolingbroke, and the lord Carteret, afterwards earl of Granville. But as I know not enough of them to be very particular in their characters, I shall only describe them as they were generally spoken of. They were universally esteemed of the greatest genius for parts and knowledge of any men of the age; the latter

**Period IV.** **1727 to 1730.** latter thought to be the better scholar, and to have formed his eloquence more upon the ancients, and to have more of their spirit in it, than the former, but the first was far the better writer, and had been a very lively and able speaker in both houses of parliament. He was thought too to have more knowledge and skill in the affairs of Europe from his long experience abroad and intimacy there with men of the first rank for business and capacity. But neither of them were thought to know enough of the real temper and constitution of their own country, altho' lord Bolingbroke wrote much on that subject, they were both of them of unbounded spirit and ambition, impatient of restraint, contemning the notion of equality with others in business, and even disdainful to be any thing if not the first and highest in power. They were not famed for what is called personal courage, but in the conduct of affairs were deemed bold if not rash, and the lord Bolingbroke was of a temper to overturn kingdoms to make way for himself and his talents to govern the world; whilst the other in projecting the plans of his administration, thought much more of raising a great name to himself all over Europe, and having that continued by historians to all posterity, than of any present domestic popularity or renown whatsoever. He thought consulting the interior interests and disposition of the people, the conduct of business in parliaments, and the methods of raising money for the execution even of his own designs, was a work below his applications, and to be left as underparts of government to the care of inferior and subordinate understandings, in subserviency however to his will and measures. But much of this perhaps was owing more to his never having been of the house of commons than even to the natural height of his spirit, altho' the last had but too well formed him for those disregards. They were both, I believe, very incorrupt as to money. It was not their aim to aggrandize themselves that way. Lord Carteret was all glory, even to the enthusiasm of it, and that made him rather more scrupulous than the other in the means he used for his greatness. But lord Bolingbroke's was merely power, and to be the leader of it, without any other gratification but what the present enjoyment of it might give him, in a word they were both made rather for the splendor of great monarchies, than the sober counsels of a free state, whose liberty is its chief concern. Although upon the whole, lord Carteret seem'd much the better man, and a safer minister than the other.

With these talents and temper, it will not be wondered at, that they should be enemies to sir Robert Walpole, and he to them. But his apprehensions of  
of

of what they might do against him, were not the same with regard to both, nor of the same sort with those he had of the other persons before-mentioned, because they were of the house of commons where he was, and where the chief scene of business lay, and if he got his affairs through that place, he was not very solicitous as to what might happen in the house of lords, where the party against him was very small, and a speech or two from lord Carteret, and from two or three more, was all he had to fear. But his apprehensions of hurt from lord Carteret lay another way. It was at court he feared him most, as the most likely person to supplant him with the king and queen, who disliked lord Carteret less than any of the others who carried on this opposition. For he had very early in his life applied himself to the affairs of Germany and the northern courts, he had been a minister at one of them, and had made many connections of acquaintance and intimacy with the persons that came from that part of the world hither, and especially with the Hanoverian ministers (none of whom ever loved sir Robert Walpole) by whose means he had some communications with the queen, if not the king, and they at least had no unfavourable opinion of him; and when he did come into power, upon the removal of sir Robert Walpole, had more of the king's favour and opinion than any of the other ministers, partly for the reasons before mentioned, but chiefly, that his politics made very much for the interests of Hanover, which he always laboured to unite with those of his country.

But lord Bolingbroke did not molest sir Robert Walpole in this way. He had no hopes of coming into business and power, under the present king at least, but by forcing his passage to it, and making, as he thought, even the king's safety to depend upon it. He had by his almost weekly writings, in which he was very able, so irritated and inflamed the nation (who eagerly read his invectives) against sir Robert Walpole and the measures of the government, in which he often personally involved the king and queen, that at sometimes, there was too much reason to fear the rage he had wrought the body of the people up to, might have produced the most desperate attempts. But he meant not that, I believe (whatever has been the suspicion) but only to terrify the king into a change of his ministry, and for himself to be thereby restored to his honours, which would, as he always flattered himself, soon put him at the head of affairs. And seasons there were in the course of this opposition, that if it had succeeded, might possibly have procured him a restitution of his

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Speaker  
Onslow's  
remarks.

Period IV. peerage (his estate was given him by parliament before) though by what has  
 1727 to 1730 fallen out since, one may doubt even of that.

There was besides these two, another person of great rank, who came to have a considerable share in the design of ruining sir Robert Walpole, I mean the earl of Chesterfield: he was esteemed the wittiest man of his time, and of a sort, that has scarcely been known since the reign of king Charles the second, and revived the memory of the great wits of that age, to the liveliest of whom he was thought not to be unequal. He was besides this, a very graceful speaker in publick, had some knowledge of affairs, having been ambassador in Holland, and when he was engaged in debates, always took pains to be well informed of the subject, so that no man's speaking, was ever more admired, or drew more audience to it, than his did, but chiefly from those, who either relished his wit, or were pleased with seeing the ministry exposed by his talent of ridicule, and the bitterness of jest, he was so much matter of, and never spared. And this made him so very terrible to the ministers who were of the house of lords, that they dreading his wit upon them there, and his writings too, for he sometimes, as it was thought, furnished the weekly paper of the opposition, with the most poignant pieces it had.

Sir Robert Walpole continued in his fullness of power, till 1741, fortified as he believed, by his triumphant defeat of his principal opposers in their motion for an address to the king to remove him from his presence and council: that success rendered him too secure in his own mind, and it is said, made him remiss in his means to obtain the next parliament. But be that as it will, he could not support himself in the new house of commons, at least his best friends thought so, altho' he himself thought otherwise, and reproached them for it; and therefore after many attempts to save himself, but in vain, he yielded at last, altho' with much reluctance, resigned his employments, and was made an earl with every private favour he desired of the king. His retreat was entire from any concern in the business of government, but not from the following estimation of almost every man of those that had surrounded him when in the height of his power. He lived but a very few years afterwards, and died, as I have been told, with great seeming composure of mind, even under excruciating pains from the stone.

I will end this account of him with saying, that he was a wise and able minister, and the best man from the goodness of his heart, which was characteristic

## ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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characteristic in him, to live with, and to live under, of any great man I ever knew. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

No. 2. *Anecdote from Mr. Pelham, relating to sir Robert Walpole's danger of being dismissed in 1727.*

Speaker  
Onslow's  
remarks.

HE told me, soon after sir Robert's death, mentioning several things of him, that lord Bolingbroke had by some German intrigues and influence, so wrought himself into the confidence and favour of the then late king (George the first) that had he lived to come back from Hanover, it was very probable, he would have made lord Bolingbroke his chief minister, and of which sir Robert was so sensible, that he intended, just before the king went abroad, to have obtained a peerage for himself, and resigned his offices. But acquainting his great friend, the then duke of Devonshire of it, he was strongly averse to it, and it was so strenuously opposed by the princess, to whom the duke of Devonshire had imparted it, that he laid aside his design, altho' against his judgment at that time. This shows the interest he had then with the princess, and will account for the early re-establishment and increase of his power in the following reign, against the new king's first inclination and resolution, which were certainly for Mr. Compton the speaker, who had been long his treasurer, and very near to him in all his councils. It went so far as to be almost a formal appointment; the king, for two or three days, directing every body to go to him upon business, and sir Robert, I know, did believe himself it would be so: but by the queen's management, all this was soon over-ruled, with a sincere regard, I am persuaded, to what she believed to be most for the king's real service, with perhaps at the same time a little vanity to have the person deemed the ablest minister in parliament of that age, to be a dependant of her's, which the other was not, or much in her esteem.

No. 3. *Sir Robert Walpole promises to speaker Onslow to propose the separation of Hanover from Great Britain, but does not carry it into execution.*

A Little while before sir Robert Walpole's fall, and as a popular act to save himself (for he went very unwillingly out of his offices and power) he took me one day aside, and said, "What will you say, speaker; if this hand of mine shall bring a message from the king to the house of commons, declaring his consent to having any of his family after his own death, to be made by act

**Period IV.** of parliament, incapable of inheriting and enjoying the crown and possessing the electoral dominions at the same time?" My answer was, "Sir, it will be as a message from heaven." He replied, "It will be done;" but it was not done, and I have good reason to believe, it would have been opposed and rejected at that time, because it came from him; and by the means of those who had always been most clamorous for it. Thus perhaps the opportunity was lost. When will it come again? It was said that the prince at that juncture would have consented to it, if he could have had the credit and popularity of the measure, and that some of his friends were to have mov'd it in parliament, but that the design at St. James's prevented it. Notwithstanding all this, I have had some thoughts that neither court ever really intended the thing itself; but that it came on, and went off, by a jealousy of each other in it, and that both were equally pleased, that it did so, from an equal fondness (very natural) for their own native country.

## LETTERS RELATING TO RIPPERDA.

### THE PRETENDER TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

*Congratulates him on his being appointed prime minister.—Hints at his own quarrel with his wife.—And the duplicity of cardinal Alberoni.—Recommends the duke of Ormond to him.*

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

(De Rome ce 7 Decembre, 1725.) APRES tout ce que je sçay de vostre zèle et de vostre amitié pour moy, vous ne devés pas douter de la satisfaction que j'ay de vous sçavoir rappelé en espagne, où vous ne pourrés manquer de recevoir du roy votre maistre toutes les marques de confiance et d'estime, que vos services et vostre mérite exigent, et où je me flatte que vous ne serés pas moins attentif à avancer mes interets que vous l'avés déjà esté, et je vous prie de vous entendre sur ces matières avec le duc d'Ormonde, qui vous fera tenir cette lettre.

Je l'ay chargé de vous informer de ce qui vient d'arriver dans ma famille: la reine a esté séduite, mais j'espère qu'à la fin elle reconnoistra le tort qu'elle a faite à foy mesme et à moy, il est en effet grand, car en cette occasion on ne m'a pas mesme espargné sur ma fermeté dans ma religion; mais la malice des mes ennemis est dans toute cette affaire si noir et si manifeste quelle ne sçauroit



sçauroit que tourner contre eux mesmes sans me nuire en facon quelconque, quoyque si j'auois suivi les aduis du cardinal Alberony, j'auois donné dans le panneau et me serois ruiné à tout jamais, car ce cardinal a faite et continue de faire dans cette occasion un personnage tout autre que je n'auois dû m'attendre et de l'idée que j'auois de luy, et des services que j'ay tâché de luy rendre. Je n'ose entrer icy sans chiffre en d'autres matières, mais je vous prie de croire que j'ay toute la confiance imaginable dans vostre amitié pour moy et une égale empressement à vous prouuer la sincerité de la mienne.

JACQUES R.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Return.---Honourable reception, and insolence of Ripperda.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, December 17, 1725.

THE duke of Ripperda arrived here six days ago, and had an audience of an hour and half the same night of their catholick majestys, who expresse'd themselves afterwards highly satisfied with him and his late conduct. He was the day following declared secretary of state, without specifying any province in particular, but as he has not appeared at court since by reason of the gout, which has confined him to his bed from the first night of his arrival here, 'tis not known as yet what authority will be put into his hands, tho' 'tis believed he will under the name of secretary exercise the function of first minister.

He talks here with as much impertinence and insolence as 'tis possible for him to have done at Vienna; and since his arrival their catholick majestys expresse themselves upon all occasions with infinitely greater rage and inveteracy against his majesty and France than ever, and with greater attachment to the emperor, and I think I may safely assure your lordship of my having infallible proofs of the resolutions being absolutely taken of beginning a war in the spring, towards which all sorts of preparations are making with all possible diligence. This court is resolved to use (tho' I hope 'tis already too late) their utmost endeavours towards dissuading the Dutch from acceding to the treaty of Hanover, and for that purpose signiore Orendayn\* dispatched on the 11th instant (after a long conference in secret with the Dutch ambassador here) a courier to the Hague with a letter to the grand pensionary, complaining of him as one entirely attached to England, and desiring his being recalled. And I am assured that the resolution is taken in case the Dutch will

not

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

\* Afterwards  
marquis de  
la Paz.

Period IV. <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> not accede to give them the *asiento* de Negros, with the annual ship, the liberty of entering into the ports of the East Indies, and a large abatement of the present duties in Spain upon their spices, which at present amount almost to a prohibition.

The abbé Mongon is in daily conferences with the king of Spain's confessor, though I believe he has not advanced much in the affair of the reconciliation: he told me two days ago, that since the arrival of Ripperda, he looks upon the war as certain.

The late duke of Ormond had an audience of their catholic majestys the night before last of above an hour, the pretence of it was to give an account of the late quarrel betwixt the pretender and his wife, and to justify the proceedings of the former upon that head.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Ripperda exercises the power of prime minister under the name of secretary of state.—His wild and extravagant behaviour.—Conversations with him on the subjects of the Ostend commerce, Gibraltar, and the pretender.—His professions of friendship and sincerity.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, Dec. 27, 1725.

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

THE expectation I have been in for some time past of the arrival here of a messenger from Hanover, by whose return I might have occasion of writing fully and freely to your lordship, made me defer from day to day dispatching to you a domestick of my own, as being desirous, if possible, to avoid so considerable an expence; but at present, that the return of the duke of Ripperda to this court, and his catholic majesty's having put the whole of his authority into his hands, have opened such a new scene of affairs here, as in my humble opinion, may be for his majesty's service to have your lordship speedily informed of. I durst not venture to defer any longer (for the sake of good husbandry) the dispatching this my servant with the account of it.

In my last letter to your lordship of the 17th, I had the honour to acquaint you with the favourable reception the duke of Ripperda had met withall from their catholic majestys, and with the appearance there was of his exercising the functions of first minister under the title of secretary of state; but at present, I can assure your lordship, that what was then only probable, is now most certain, he having visibly taken the entire government into his hands, and particularly

particularly what relates to foreign affairs (as your lordship will see by the inclosed letter I received from him the other day) the like of which he has already sent also the Dutch ambassador, and intends to do the same, in a few days, to all the foreign ministers. In short, my lord, he is to the full, as absolute as the cardinal Aberoni ever was; and altho' he has not the title of first minister (which is a name the king of Spain has an aversion to, and could never be brought to bestow, even upon the cardinal) he under that of secretary of state, without any particular department, commands all the others, and the rest of the Spanish monarchy.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
Ripperda.

Were not the temper and character of this wild man, perfectly well known to your lordship, I could scarcely flatter myself with the hopes, that any credit could be given to the following accounts of his extravagant and contradictory discourses and behaviour, much less that any sure inference could be drawn from thence of what may be expected from him; and I must freely own, that altho' I am an eye witness of his transactions, and have had for these two days last past conferences with him of several hours alone, I am wholly unable to judge, whether his being thus put in authority, will be advantageous, or otherwise to his majesty's interests, and to the tranquillity of the rest of Europe. I shall therefore content myself with barely relating to you his behaviour here, and what has passed between us.

Immediately after his landing at Barcelona, all the officers of that garrison went to wait upon him, to whom he gave an ample account of all his transactions at Vienna; adding, that the emperor had 150,000 men, ready to march at an hour's warning, and prince Eugene upon his taking leave, bid him assure the king of Spain, that in case of a war, he would have as many more in six months. He shewed the utmost contempt for France, and particularly for the person of monsieur le Duc and his government, telling them, that if the Hanoverian league should dare to oppose themselves to the designs of the emperor and Spain, France would be pillaged on all sides, the king of Prussia, whom he was pleased always to call by the name of the grand grenadier, would be driven out of his country by the emperor in one campaign, as his majesty would be also in the same time out of his dominions in Germany, and out of his English ones by the pretender: he added, that the reconciliation between France and Spain, should never be, whilst he had any authority; and said, he only wished to live till that was brought about, as being assured he should then die a very old man. Upon his arrival here, he talked publicly in the

Period IV. <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> the king's antichamber in the same style, excepting only, he never named his majesty, neither directly nor indirectly. This insolent behaviour of his here, together with the accounts I had received from your lordship, and others of his impertinent discourses at Vienna, made me determine not to go near him, which resolution I accordingly kept, till I received the abovementioned inclosed letter from him; altho' he had been declared secretary of state ten days before. But then I thought I could not take upon myself, without orders, to refuse to treat with a minister particularly named by the king of Spain for that purpose, especially, seeing I had no other proof than that of hearsay to alledge of his having talked in the insolent manner abovementioned at Barcelona: besides, as I had known him intimately for these eight years, and had a right to talk to him with more freedom and plainness than any body else (for reasons your lordship is acquainted withal) I hoped, considering his talkative temper, that some lights might be got in conversation with him, into what he was driving at. I therefore went to him upon the 24th; who received me withall imaginable civility, and with the strongest professions of esteem and particular friendship.

In this our first conference, which lasted near two hours, after having talked over his transactions at the court of Vienna, he said, that he was sensible that a great part of the world looked upon him as a madman and a traitor, and that I myself had also an ill opinion of him, but that as I was the dearest and most intimate acquaintance he had in Spain, and the person whose confidence and friendship he most earnestly and sincerely desired to maintain and cultivate, he would open himself to me with the greatest veracity, and without any reserve, by shewing me his very soul, and the whole of all his views and transactions, and would confess to me what he would hide from all the world besides, and even from his own confessor. He begun by saying, that he was and ever would be, a mortal and irreconcilable enemy to the French, and wished God Almighty might never have mercy upon him, if ever he neglected any opportunity of confounding that nation, or if ever he suffered, whilst he had any credit here, a reconciliation between this court, and assured me, that their catholic majestys, were exactly in the same way of thinking, and that they had positively assured him several times, since his coming hither, that they would never recede from their demand of monsieur le Duc's coming hither in person, adding, that tho' he should comply (which they thought him vile enough to do) they would never enter into any friendship, treaties, or engagements with France; and tho' they then could not refuse to let those of that nation exercise their commerce here,

here, they should meet with such continual vexations in it, as should by degrees render it useless to them, but that however their catholic majestys, and he himself were stedfastly resolved not to begin a war against France, as looking upon such a feigned peace as less hazardous, and as effectual a way of ruining that nation, as any success they could hope for in a war. This he assured me with the most solemn oaths and imprecations, was the present sentiments of their catholick majestys, and himself upon that head, and was what he stedfastly (and believed they were also) resolved to continue in; that the system he had lay'd down to himself, and what he would go upon, was to preserve the liberty and tranquillity of Europe. For which purpose he should equally oppose the emperor's becoming too powerfull as that of France, but that he thought there was infinitely less danger to be apprehended from the former's being so, than from the latter's, and that therefore he would by all the means possible, endeavour to establish the most perfect union between Spain, England, and Holland, and a good correspondence with the court of Vienna, and that for that purpose, he was desirous and ready to enter into new engagements with his majesty and the Dutch, that should not in any wise be repugnant to the late treaty of Hanover, which the king of Spain consented might remain in its full force; as looking upon it as a defensive alliance only, and consequently not prejudicial to his interests or designs, since he was stedfastly resolved not to be the aggressor or attack any of his neighbours.

As to the pretender, he said, he must own his having talked both here and at Vienna in his favour, but that in his interior he was as sincerely in his majesty's interests and in that of his royal family as the best subject he had, of which he would give the most essential proofs upon every occasion that should present itself; that his talking in the manner he had done, proceeded from his opinion of making his court to their catholick majestys by so doing, but more especially to appear zealous in his religion, which was much suspected in this country, and to avoid passing for an heretick, and falling into the hands of the inquisition, who he was very sure are very watchful over him, and as they looked upon him as a *christiano nuevo*, would lay hold of any pretext for falling upon him, or at least for aspersing him and ruining him with his master. This was what he said he would not nor durst not say to his confessor, but called God to witness in the most solemn manner of the exact sincerity of what he thus affirmed. He desired I would in confidence, and with the greatest secrecy acquaint your lordship with this, and that you would please to do the

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

same to his majesty, with the most solemn assurances of his unalterable resolution of continuing in the same sentiments with respect to his majesty's interests and the protestant succession, as your lordship knew he was formerly in upon those subjects when he had the honour to be personally and intimately known to you in Holland. He also most positively assured me, that nothing had been concerted or even treated upon by his canal or to his knowledge betwixt the courts of Madrid and Vienna in favour of the pretender, and that he was fully persuaded no enterprize was at present on foot or even projected either by any prince or by the jacobites themselves of that nature, and, protested that whatever designs on that head should come to his knowledge, he would not only directly oppose them to the utmost of his power, but would immediately give me a most faithful and exact account of them. He positively affirmed there was no secret treaty or articles whatsoever entered into betwixt this court and that of Vienna, and that the two ships said to be granted to the company of Ostende is absolutely false, tho' he owned that matter had been pressed by the German ministers with the utmost force, tho' constantly as positively rejected by him, and that no engagements were entered into for a marriage, nor any promise made of that nature, declaring he always looked upon the execution of any such thing as impracticable and impossible.

As to the affair of Gibraltar, he said it was the thing in the world that gave the greatest pain from the extream desire he had always observed in his catholick majesty for the recovery of that place, but that he flattered himself however with the hopes of being able in a short time to accommodate that business. In our conversation upon that head, I endeavoured to let him see the injustice of his catholick majesty's pretensions, and the wrong and directly opposite measures he had taken, and was pursuing for the obtaining what he desired. That he might be absolutely assured that not only his majesty but the nation would ever reject with the highest indignation any proposal made in that affair, that should carry with it the least appearance of threatening, and that although the parliament should be inclined to hearken to any about that matter (which was certainly very farr from being the case at present) his majesty's honour would not allow him to condescend to it, considering the haughty and imperious manner in which his catholick majesty had made his demand. That he must not expect that his majesty and his parliament would any longer suffer such indignities, or patiently submit to all the prejudices to be apprehended from a war with Spain, with their hands thus ty'd up from making them-

themselves such amends as an open rupture would naturally afford, which was the case at present from the entire stop thus put to our trade both here and in the Indies, by the mistrust got amongst our merchants through those threatening declarations; that it was therefore necessary to come to a speedy and thorough explication upon that head.

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1727 to 1730.  
Ripperda.

He answered, that he entirely disapproved of the steps hitherto taken in that affair, as being sensible that such menaces must draw on a rupture, and would therefore induce his master to recede from his late demand of that place for the month of January, and doubted not but with a little patience he should amicably accommodate that affair. Upon which I desired he would tell me plainly what he proposed to reduce the king of Spain to. He answered, that for the present all he could hope for was to prevail upon him to declare to me, that he no longer insisted upon his demand for the month of January, but must be contented to wait three or four months longer, and that afterwards (he Ripperda, said) I might be absolutely assured he would by degrees lead his master to accommodate that matter entirely to his majesty's satisfaction. But upon my telling him that such a declaration would be entirely ineffectual, as carrying still with it an air of threatening, and not removing the diffidence abovementioned in our merchants, and that therefore if his catholick majesty sincerely desired to live in friendship and confidence with his majesty, he must declare that the affair of Gibraltar shall never cause a rupture betwixt them, whether ever it be restored or no, he beg'd I would put an entire confidence in him, and judge by his behaviour in this affair of the sincerity in every thing else: he added, that he would go immediately to their catholick majestys, and would employ to the utmost his whole credit with them for the procuring me an agreeable answer upon this affair, which he would give me the next day.

Accordingly the next morning, I received a letter from him, excusing his not being able to come to me by reason of his gout, and begging to see me at his house at six o'clock. As soon as I got thither, he told me he had faithfully executed every thing he had promised me, and even ventured his credit with their catholick majestys, in pushing that affair farther than I could have expected from him. He said he had not succeeded entirely to his satisfaction, being afraid that it would not be altogether to mine, tho' as to himself, he was absolutely assured of having entirely obviated any inconveniency from that matter for the future. He begun then by telling me what had passed in his

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. audience, which having, as he said, lasted above two hours, solely upon this affair, is too long to repeat. But the substance of it was, that the king of Spain had only ordered him to declare to me, that he would still wait three months beyond that of January, the time last insisted upon for the restitution of that place, but that from himself, and in the greatest confidence, he could positively assure me, that the king of Spain would certainly never break with his majesty upon the affair of Gibraltar. His reasons for it were, that upon asking the king of Spain what he would do in case Gibraltar was not returned within the three months last limited, he answered, that he would then give three more, and after that, three more, &c. and upon being strongly pressed to declare his intentions, in case of its never being restored at all, he, tho' with much repugnance and difficulty, brought him to promise positively not to break with his majesty upon that account, but at the same time, charged him (Ripperda) not to let me know any thing of what had thus passed between them, nor make any other declaration to me, than that of the three months; adding, that if his intentions were once known in England, he should afterwards despair of any success. This Ripperda told me, I might, in the greatest confidence, acquaint your lordship withall, and desired, at the same time, you would please to beg his majesty would be assured of the truth of what he had advanced to me, and that he answered and engaged his life for the bringing the king of Spain, in a short time, to consent to the declaration proposed by me as above. In short, my lord, 'tis absolutely impossible in nature, for any one to make fairer promises, or stronger protestations of zeal and good will, but with what sincerity, seems doubtful. Before I leave this business, I should mention his having often repeated to me the emperor's declaration to him upon his leaving Vienna, viz. that in case the king of Spain desired it, he would renew his instances, in the strongest manner, to his majesty for the restitution of Gibraltar, and if those should prove ineffectual, and his catholick majesty thought fit to declare war upon that account, he, the emperor, would assist him in it, with his whole force.

As to the affair of Ostend, he said he shou'd be glad to treat with me upon it, and did not doubt but we should find some expedient for the accommodating that matter to the satisfaction of his majesty and the states general. He told me, that the king of Spain had already, by his advice, offered to the Dutch his mediation betwixt them and the emperor, by a letter from signior Orendayn, of the day before, to their ambassador here, of which the inclosed is a copy.



copy. He said further, that the expedient he had fixed upon, and brought the emperor to agree to, was the limiting the Ostend company to a certain small number of ships, not to suffer them to make any establishment or settlements in the Indies; to give to the English and Dutch, equal privileges of entering into all Spanish ports in the East Indies with those of the emperor's subjects, and lastly, to lower the duties upon Dutch spices brought into Spain, with some other advantages to the English in their commerce here.

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1727 to 1730.  
Ripperda.

I am afraid that the haste I write in, will make this account of my conversation with the duke of Ripperda appear very confused to your lordship, and that the length of this letter will have tired your patience. But as the present discourses and protestations of this new minister are so diametrically opposite to all his former ones, I thought myself obliged to be more circumstantial in relating them than I should otherwise have needed to have been, tho' I have omitted ten thousand things, that from the mouth of any other person in his station would have deserved taking particular notice of. The substance of his whole discourses may be reduced to his most positive and solemn assurances of there being no treaty or promise of marriage for don Carlos with any of the arch-dutcheffes for separate and secret engagements, or articles entered into between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, of any kind whatsoever; his avowed inveterate and irreconcilable hatred to France, and most earnest desire and resolution of cultivating the strictest union and friendship betwixt his majesty, the king of Spain, and states general, without requiring any thing from his majesty, inconsistent with his late engagements entered into by the treaty of Hanover, and his stedfast resolution of not beginning a war; his positive declarations of never not only not countenancing or assisting the pretender, but of discovering to me whatever designs were carrying in his favour, that shall come to his knowledge, with the strongest assurances of his accommodating speedily the affair of Gibraltar to his majesty's satisfaction.

As to myself in particular, he professes the strictest friendship and confidence, assuring me that he desires to live in the greatest intimacy with me, and that he will open to me his heart and all his secrets without any reserve, and with more sincerity and confidence than to any other man in the world besides. He says he is sensible of his not having another friend in all Spain (which is most certainly true) and that consequently should he be engaged in a war, the disappointments and oppositions that every one in employment would industriously fling in the way of the execution and success of every undertaking of his,

Period IV. his, must infallibly make it miscarry, and consequently speedily ruin him with  
 1727 to 1730. their catholick majestys, that therefore his only security must be to live in peace, in hopes thereby to merit the favour and protection of the foreign powers, in order to support himself against the powerful factions, which he is sure will never cease attacking him at home. I must confess, my lord, that all these confidences and most solemn professions (altho' they may deserve some attention) have not weight enough with me to make me depend upon the sincerity of them, so thorough and direct a change seems too sudden to be natural, nor can I reconcile what I thus hear him say to what I see him do, it being most apparently evident that all imaginable preparations are carrying on with the utmost diligence, and at a prodigious expence for the entering upon a war. They are not only fortifying all their frontier towns towards France, but even those towards Portugal, together with Cadiz, where (as your lordship will see, by the enclosed letter from that consul) Mari's Squadron, consisting of four men of war and two frigates, are ordered to be in readiness to put to sea in all the month of February. They are going to augment their troops, by adding five men more to each company, and have a large field train of artillery, together with all forts of warlike preparations, as magazines, tents, &c. getting ready with the utmost diligence; and in short, my lord, I can truly assure you, that the queen's confessor, the marquis de Castelar, and all those who are most in the queen's confidence, have positively assured Monteleon, that a war with England and France was absolutely resolved upon. From all which, and from fundry other most credible informations of the like nature, I am led to believe that all those fair speeches and promises of Ripperda are designed purely to amuse his majesty, in hopes thereby to make him suspend for some months his sea preparations, in order to their getting home in safety their galleons and flota, that are both expected at Cadiz by the end of June next, with an immense quantity of money, upon the reception of which all their possible means of carrying on a war entirely depends. These considerations would lead me (if I durst presume to offer my sentiments in such matters) humbly to propose to his majesty's consideration, whether it might not be adviseable to take advantage of their present fears for their said galleons and flota, by vigorously insisting, both in his majesty's and the king of France's name, upon an immediate and thorough explanation from his catholick majesty, of his intentions as to peace or war, in order to the quieting the minds of their subjects, and freeing them from the extreme detriment caused to their trade by being thus kept in

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in suspense as to the security they may find for their ships in the ports of Spain. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Whilst I am now writing, Mr. Stalpart is come to me, sent from the abbé de Montgon to acquaint me with his having been informed by a good hand, that a courier has been dispatched this evening from this court to that of Paris, with the proposals of an accommodation between them, on condition that the court of France enters immediately into a defensive and an offensive alliance, in order to the carrying on a religious warr in Germany. The said abbé says, he is persuaded of the truth of this account, tho' he is equally of this proposal's being made expressly and solely with the view of raising jealousies betwixt his majesty and France, which was the reason of his thus acquainting me with it, for fear it should come to my knowledge by other means, and consequently make me suspect his having entered into that affair: he added, that he was fully convinc'd of this court's being determined not to be reconciled with that of France, and that therefore whatever proposals they should make, could be designed at best only to amuse and gain time.

It has not been possible for me to come at the discovery of the particulars of any design carrying on either by this court or the jacobites here in favour of the pretender, and I am entirely persuaded, that nothing of that nature has as yet come to the knowledge of the Russian minister here, by means of whose secretary, I cannot fail of being acquainted with every thing that passes through his hands. I intend in a day or two to put the sincerity of the duke de Ripperda's professions to a tryall, by insisting with him upon the immediate recall of Pozobueno, and of the replacing him by Monteleon or marquis Maxi.

### THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

*Congratulates him on being appointed secretary of state.*

(De Vienne ce 29 Janvier, 1726.) DON Charles par la Clémence divine empereur des Romains, toujours auguste, roy d'Allemagne, de Castille, de Leon, d'Arragon, des deux Siciles, de Jerusalem, de Bohème, Hongrie, Dalmatie, Croacie et des Indes, archiduc d'Autriche, duc de Bourgogne, de Milan, et de Brabant, comte de Flandres, &c.

Walpole  
Papers.

Official trans-  
lation from the  
Spanish.

Copy.

Illustriissime duc Ripperda, cousin. Par vôtre lettre du 25 Decembre dernier, vous me faites part de la confiance et distinction que le serenissime seigneur roy d'Espagne mon bon frere et cousin a faite de vôtre personne, en  
vous

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

vous avançant à la secrétairerie d'état, et de la dépêche avec l'expédition des matières étrangères, et comprenant dans les circonstances d'une si sage élection le juste motif d'icelle à cause de vos mérites et des épreuves de votre zèle et fidélité. Après avoir reçu dans mon esprit royal vos expressions, je viens à vous déclarer ma reconnaissance pour icelles, et pour votre sort, en vous assurant de ma bienveillance et royal penchant à tout ce qui peut être pour votre consolation: et parce que ma volonté et esprit royal sont portés (par les liens étroits de parentage et amitié avec le dit seigneur roy mon bon frere) à sa plus grande gloire, sûreté et satisfaction, j'accepte avec toute complaisance l'avis que vous me donnez de sa royale résolution d'arranger ses finances et l'état de sa marine; agréant pareillement les démonstrations avec les quelles son souvenir royal justifie par tout, sa fermeté et constance dans le soutien des communs intérêts: sur le quel sujet vous entendrez plus au long ce qui se passe par mon chancelier de cour comte de Sinzendorf, et ne pouvant douter que votre entendement, et connoissance ne s'exercent toujours dans le louable propos de la paix, et dans le cours des communs avantages, je veux vous renouveler l'assurance de mon souvenir césarien et de ses effets en ce qui pourra être d'oresnavant pour votre satisfaction.

MOY LE ROY.

In the emperor's own  
hand writing.

Encore une fois je me félicite de votre heureuse arrivée, puisque je suis seur, que ce fera pour le plus grand service du roy votre maître, et pour toujours augmenter l'union des intérêts des deux couronnes. Et comme il ne se passe aujourd'hui rien de particulier outre ce que vous apprendrez par mon chancelier de cour, je me suis servi d'une autre main; souhaitant de continuer cette correspondance dans la suite, et vous assurant de mon affection et confiance en votre personne.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Ripperda mentions the purport of the secret articles in the treaty of Vienna.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, February 4th, 1726, N. S.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Draught.*

TWO posts being yet wanting here from England, I am still without any commands from your grace or lord Townshend. The second (hitherto secret) treaty betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain, will, as the duke de Ripperda told me two days ago, soon be made publick. It consists, according

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cording to his representation of it to me, of three particular articles, besides the general one of a perpetual alliance defensive and offensive, *viz.* 1. An engagement on the part of Spain to support and maintain the company of Off-  
 tendes 2. An engagement on the part of the emperor (as an equivalent for the former) to procure Gibraltar for the king of Spain, by good offices if possible, but if they prove ineffectually, by open force. 3. The adjustment of the succours to be reciprocally furnished in case of a war, *viz.* on the part of the emperor thirty thousand men to be actually sent by him into Spain. On the part of Spain, money to be sent for the payment of the like number of troops wheresoever the emperor should think fitt to employ them. This treaty was concluded soon after the first, but thought not proper to be divulged 'till it became necessary in order to frighten the Dutch from acceding to the treaty of Hannover.

Period IV.  
 1727 to 1730.  
 Ripperda.

### THE PRETENDER TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

*Requests him to consult the duke of Ormond.—Decries cardinal Alberoni.*

(De Rome ce 9 Fevrier, 1726.) MON cousin. J'ai appris avec d'autant plus de satisfaction les marques distinguées de confiance dont le roy catholique vous a honoré depuis vôtre retour en Espagne, que vôtre amitié pour moy, dont je suis bien informé, m'engage à m'interresser particulièrement à vos avantages présentes, et à les regarder mesme comme les miennes propres. Je vous prie d'escouter le duc d'Ormonde sur des matières dont il ne convient pas d'escire hors de cyfre, et d'avoir pour luy une confiance entière sur tout ce qui me regarde, ce qu'il vous aura appris par rapport à la reine, et ce que j'ay esté obligé d'en escire moy mesme au roy catholique me dispensera de vous en entretenir icy longuement. J'espère que les bons conseils de leur majestés catholiques contribueront à la ramener à son devoir, et la detacheront de ceux qui ne cherchent qu'à nous perdre l'un et l'autre, et si j'avois suivie les conceils du cardinal Alberony, ils n'auroient que trop reussi; j'ay esté necessité d'escire fortement contre ce cardinal au roy, mais j'aurois crû manquer à luy aussi bien qu'à moy si je n'avois parlé clairement sur son sujet. Continué moy je vous prie vôtre amitié dans la quelle j'ay la plus grande confiance, et soyés persuadé de la sincerité de la mienne et de ma parfaite gratitude. Vôtre affectionné cousin,

Walpole  
 Papers.  
 Copy.

JACQUES R.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Ripperda's promises.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, February 11, 1726, N. S.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Draught.*

ALTHO' the domestick I dispatched to your grace upon the 27th of December last, returned hither three days ago with the letters you did me the honour to write to me by him upon the 13th of January, O. S. I must beg leave to defer for a few days, or 'till the next post (in case I have nothing worth dispatching an express withall sooner) giving your grace an account of the success I have met withall in the execution of the orders brought me by him; the duke de Ripperda having demanded three or four days time to consider upon what I had represented to him in consequence of the said orders, after which he promised I should receive his catholick majesty's sentiments and determination thereupon. In the mean time, I thought proper to acquaint your grace, that the said minister continues to express himself to me exactly in the same terms as formerly, and as a proof of his sincerity, assures me, that he has taken the advantage of their catholick majestys' resentment against the pretender, upon his late ill usage of his wife, to persuade them to take away his pension, which is actually done; and as he positively promises, shall never be renewed. He says he will speedily do the same thing with those of the duke of Ormond and the rest of the Jacobites here. He tells me also, that the king of Spain has actually consented to the recal of Pozo-Bueno; and that another will be appointed to succeed him speedily, and hopes it may be Monteleon, tho' their catholick majestys are more disposed to send him to Turin.

All other matters remain here exactly in the same situation as when I had the honour to write last to your grace, excepting only that the duke de Ripperda's authority increases daily: he has lately taken the marine affairs into his own hands, by annexing that office to his own, and seems at present to turn his utmost application towards the getting together a fleet for the summer, for which purpose he has made several contracts for the buying up of ships in Italy and in the north, and, as I am credibly informed, has sent to St. Ander to offer money for the Muscovite ones at present in that port.

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### THE PRETENDER TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

*Recommends the duke of Wharton.*

Ripperda.

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

(De Rome ce 4 Mars, 1726.) LE duc de Wharton n'aura pas besoin de recommandations auprès de vous. Vous connoissés son mérite et son crédit en Angleterre, et son sincere attachment à moy ne vous le rendra pas, je suis sure, moins estimable. Je l'envoye en Espagne pour représenter à leurs majestés catholiques ce qui regarde mes interets dans une conjoncture aussi critique, et je vous prie de lui donner vos conseils, et de l'appuyer de tout vostre crédit auprès de vos maîtres. Je suis plus sensible, que je ne puis vous l'exprimer, à tout ce qu'il m'a dit de vostre zèle et amitié pour moy, et j'y place d'autant plus de confiance qu'il semble qu'il ne manque que mon rétablissement pour mettre le comble à vostre propre gloire, et pour rendre le roy catholique le plus grand prince de l'univers. Je n'entreray icy en aucun detail, me remettant au duc de Wharton à vous entretenir de toutes mes affaires politiques et domestiques. J'espère tout de vos bonnes offices, et je vous prie de conter sur la sincérité de ma gratitude et amitié.

JACQUES, R.

### THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.\*

*Commends his zeal and good services.*

DUC DE RIPPERDA COUSIN,

Le 9 Mars, 1726.

PAR les deux couriers extraordinaires votre fils m'a remis les deux vostres du 12 et 20 Janvier par les quelles j'ay remarqué, à ma grande satisfaction (quoique j'en fusse toujours certain) combien vostre zèle et application continuelle contribuent à l'avancement de la monarchie Espagnole, et à establir toujours plus fermement l'union de mes interêts avec ceux des vos maîtres, et vous posez la seurété des effets en divers points essentiels, sur les quels, pour n'avoir pas assez de tems, je vous fais répondre par mon chancelier de cour; comme aussi j'ay donné ordre à mon ambassadeur de conférer avec vous sur divers points importants, et mon esprit agréant avec reconnoissance votre diligence, travail, et fatigues pour le commun bien, je me felicite de la confiance meritée que les trois mes freres mettent en votre personne, et de la volonté qu'ils conservent dans nôtre reciproque union et amitié, la

Walpole.  
Papers.

+ The king  
and queen  
of Spain.

\* Official translation from the Spanish original, in the hand-writing of the emperor.

Period IV. 1727 to 1739. quelle je conserveray très sincèrement par inclination et par tous ces liens si étroits qui nous unissent; vous réitérant mon affection, et la confiance que je mets en votre personne, et mon bon souvenir en ce qui pourra vous donner la plus grande satisfaction.

MOI LE ROY.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Confirms the account given by Ripperda by the testimony of the Dutch ambassador.—Conduct of, and intelligence from Ripperda.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, March 25, 1726. N. S.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Draught.*

I Received together by the last post the honour of two letters from your grace, one of the 17th February, and the other of the 22d O. S. I am extremely obliged to your grace for having been pleased to communicate to me in the first of them the late addresses of the two houses of parliament, and I doubt not but the concern which the nation shews for his majesty's honour, and their vigorous declarations of exerting themselves to the utmost in protecting and defending the German dominions, in case of any insult or attack, will effectually shew to the world the folly of those who may have vainly flattered themselves with the hopes of so wise and gratefull a nation's being capable of not looking upon the honour and interests of the best of kings as inseparable from their own. It was with the greatest satisfaction that I learnt by your grace's said letter, that mine of the 4th of February had in some sort contributed to the success of the afore said resolutions, and had I foreseen that such a use would have been made of it, I should have taken care to have strengthened my assertions with the concurring testimony of the Dutch ambassador here, who the same day writ the very same things to monsieur Fagell, as your grace will see by the inclosed letter, which I received from him yesterday.

Upon observing that the last Dutch gazete had brought an account of what had pass'd in the house of lords in relation to my said letter, I immediately took the pretext of an affair lately happened in the commerce at Barcelona, of seeing the duke de Ripperda, whom I found a little dissatisfied at publishing in the gazets matters of such confidence, which, as he pretended, he had communicated to me in confidence, tho' without pretending that I had in the least misrepresented what had pass'd between us, excepting only that the 30,000 men



men to be sent hither by the emperor, were mentioned in the said gazette to be designed expressly for the taking of Gibraltar, whereas he only said, they were to assist the king of Spain in general, which I owned to be true and agreeable to what I had the honour to write to your grace, and that consequently the other assertion must have been a mistake in the prints. I shall not fail to execute his majesty's commands, signified to me in your grace's letter in cypher of the 22d past, O. S.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
Ripperda.

Matters here are in the greatest confusion, nor is it possible for me, at least, to form any judgement upon the intentions of this court as to peace or war. On the one hand, it is not only most certain, but notorious to all the world, that the emperor's ambassador here is highly dissatisfied with the duke de Ripperda, and complains publicly of his having deceived the court of Vienna in not furnishing the money promised by him, who excuses himself upon the impossibility of doing it in the present bad state of his catholic majesty's revenues, of which he yesterday gave the most convincing proof, by putting a total stop to all payments whatsoever (the same thing as shutting up the exchequer with us) which has put the whole nation, particularly the moneyed men, to whom large sums are owing, into the greatest consternation and despair imaginable. It is also certain, that the king is extremely agitated and uneasy, and has daily disputes and quarrels with the queen, who does nothing but cry from morning till night. On the other hand, orders are given for the forming a camp with all expedition of 12,000 men, betwixt Siguenza and Soria, 30 leagues from Madrid, and about as much from Pampeluna, Fontarabia, and St. Sebastian, and not much more from the nearest parts of Catalonia, which gives reason to believe, that those troops are thus placed to march to either of the frontiers upon any motion on the part of France.

Great magazines are also making in the said places, and a large train of artillery of 30 pieces of cannon is ordered immediately from Barcelona, which I believe is, by this time, upon its march: how to reconcile such an expence to the present want of money, is the great difficulty, especially to Ripperda's having but two days since, most solemnly protested to me, that he was in no want of money, but gave out his being so, purely to oblige thereby the emperor not to think upon entering upon a war. The late duke of Ormond is as assiduous as ever at court, tho' I don't find that any of his projects have been as yet hearkened to, much less approved of; and Ripperda told me the other day,

Period I V. day, that to remove all jealousies upon his account, in case I insisted upon it in  
 1727 to 1730. his majesty's name, he would immediately make him quit Spain.

The three Muscovite ships are, I believe, already sailed from St. Andero.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Insolent and weak conduct of the duke of Ripperda.—Situation and views of the Spanish court.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, April 17, 1726, N. E.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Draught.*

THE messenger, Gordon, arrived here upon the 4th instant, at night, with your grace's dispatches to me of the 7th of the last month, O. S. and as you was pleased to direct me to send him back again with all possible expedition, I have not kept him longer with me than was absolutely necessary for putting in execution the orders I received by him from your grace.

I wish, my lord, tho' I dare not promise it, that the accounts I am going to give your grace of the situation of affairs here, and of the dispositions of this court as they appear to me to be at present, may answer your expectation, by clearing up in some measure the uncertainty of how far the parties to the treaty of Vienna, and particularly Spain, will venture to put their designs against his majesty in execution. For altho' I flatter myself with the hopes of being able to form a pretty sure judgement of the present dispositions of this court, I have almost as little certainty from thence of what they will be a fortnight hence, as I have of knowing what the wind will then be, from seeing how it is at present. This uncertainty proceeds, my lord, from having a minister at the head of affairs here, upon whose veracity no sort of dependance can be had, and what is still worse, who sets upon no fixed scheme, but entangled in the rash engagements he has entered into, which he finds himself impossible to fulfill (from the disappointments his vain hopes have met withall at home, and in most of the courts of Europe) *a perdu la tramontane et vit au jour la journée.*

But the better to explain what I have thus advanced, and also to strengthen the probability of my not being deceived in the judgement I am going to lay before you, of the present dispositions of this court, it is necessary for me to give your grace a short account of the conduct and discourses of the duke of Ripperda, ever since his return from Vienna.

Your

Your grace will have observed from my former letters the insupportable insolence that appeared in all his discourses upon his first entrance into the ministry, with what extravagance he extolled the irresistible force of the emperor, and the inexhaustible riches of the king of Spain, which joyned, were not only capable of counterbalancing the rest of the powers of Europe, but able to chastise those who should have the boldness to dispute receiving the law from them; the pretender was to be sent into England, and his majesty and the king of Prussia driven out of their dominions in Germany in one campaign, &c.

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Ripperda.

Such were his constant discourses then, and as I believe, his real ideas. Intoxicated with his new honours, and the absolute authority he found himself invested with, he flattered himself with assurances of the king of Poland's and czarina's accession to the treaty of Vienna, as also that the present weakness, as he was pleased to call it, of the French government, and division among the ministers, would effectually prevent that crown's coming to any vigorous resolutions, and that the parliament of England would never approve of a warr with Spain, nor the Dutch venture to accede to the treaty of Hanover, and that he himself by his superior abilities and power, should easily find the means of drawing from the Spaniards whatever sums of money he should either want or desire. These notions in a weak head, naturally insolent and enterprising, encouraged him to write that haughty letter of the 23d January, to the states general, as also to make that indiscreet discovery of the articles of the secret treaty mentioned in my letter of the 4th of February, vainly hoping by such ill judged bravados, of which he most heartily repents at present, to frighten his majesty and the Dutch from pursuing the measures they were entering into.

This, my lord, I am persuaded, is a just representation of the way of thinking and acting of that minister, at, and for some months after his arrival here, from which it seems evident, that his intentions and resolutions then were to oblige by force the rest of the powers of Europe to submit to whatever laws the emperor and king of Spain should think fit to prescribe to them. But at present, that matters both abroad and at home, appear to him with a quite different face, that he has lost all hopes from Poland, and that those from the czarina are become at least doubtful, and that the parliament has shewn the greatest unanimity and vigour for the supporting his majesty's measures, and the French seriously disposed to enter upon a warr, and not only the Dutch, but several others of the most considerable powers of Europe, upon the

Period IV. <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> the point of acceding to the treaty of Hanover, and what is yet still more mortifying to him, that he finds himself (from the ruined condition of his catholick majesty's revenues, and the total stop put to all publick credit from the distrust he is in with all mankind) absolutely impossibillited not only to furnish the supplies stipulated for the emperor, but even to carry on the current service in the time of peace, without the assistance expected from the flota and galeons, which in case of a warr run the risque of falling into other hands. He has not only entirely changed his way of talking but of thinking also, and is now become as abjectly fearfull, as he was before imperiously intrepid, and would undoubtedly embrace any possible expedient for the preventing or putting off a war for the present. But to find that expedient *hoc opus hic labor est*, which will easily be explained by considering the situation he is in: as that he has for inveterate enemies not only all the other ministers, but the whole Spanish nation, to whom he has rendered himself odious beyond imagination, and that he is by no means agreeable to the king himself; that his only support and protection is the queen's favour, which having got by flattering her with the hopes and assurances of obtaining an archdutchess for her son, he is sensible he must entirely loose, and consequently his whole fortune upon the least step he should take towards weakening those hopes, which must evidently follow from any handle given to the emperor for being dissatisfied with this court.

These considerations do, and I am persuaded will hinder the duke de Ripperda from openly opposing himself to the emperor's views and designs, and will lead him to engage his master in a war (in case the emperor requires it) however ruinous to Spain, and contrary to his own sentiments and inclinations; nor is there much to be expected from the king of Spain himself. For altho' he seems sensible of the inconveniences falling upon him from the engagements he has entered into, and would probably gladly extricate himself from them, yet the queen's absolute ascendant over him, and more particularly now that she is with child, leaves but little room to hope for his coming to any resolution contrary to her inclinations; from all which, I conclude, my lord, that this court is extremely averse to the entring upon a war at present, but that in case the emperor begins one or draws one upon him, their catholick majesties *seront cause commune avec luy*.

I shall now proceed to acquaint your grace with what has passed here upon the execution of the orders contained in your letter to me of the 7th past, O. S. which with some other circumstances, that I shall have the honour to lay before

fore you, will, I hope, help to justify what I have already advanced, and al-  
 most demonstrate, that nothing but a total improbability of succeeding in a war <sup>Period IV,  
1727 to 1730.</sup>  
 in the present circumstances, will induce this court and that of Vienna to come  
 even to a feigned peace with his majesty, for the gaining of time, and that as  
 soon as ever a more favourable conjuncture offers, they will not balance, to  
 put in execution their projects and engagements in favour of the pre-  
 tender, &c. Ripperda.

Upon the 7th instant, I made to his catholic majesty, in an audience I had  
 for that purpose, the declaration ordered me by your grace in your said letter,  
 conforming myself as exactly as was possible to the very expression you was  
 pleased to prescribe, which he heard with some little emotion; but replied,  
 that his engagements with the emperor did not hinder him from desiring his  
 majesty's friendship, which he would always endeavour to preserve. To which  
 I replied, that I was assured the king (our master) had always sincerely de-  
 sired to live in perfect friendship with his majesty, of which he hoped he had  
 given the most essential proofs, but that he could not but be very much sur-  
 prised and concerned at the declaration made by the duke de Ripperda to the  
 Dutch ambassador and myself, of an offensive alliance between his majesty and  
 the emperor, &c. This I repeated to try if it was possible to get his catholic  
 majesty either to own or deny directly the said offensive alliance or the articles  
 of it, as declared by Ripperda only, but to no purpose, "his catholic majesty  
 always answering with general assurances of friendship for the king, and desire  
 of living in peace with him, notwithstanding his engagements to the emperor,  
 from whom, he said, he would not separate himself;" upon which, I retired,  
 as not being willing to enter into any further discourse, having had your grace's  
 order not to make any other declaration to the king of Spain, than the above-  
 mentioned one.

In my discourses afterwards with the duke de Ripperda (no other minister  
 being at present in any sort let into the management or knowledge of affairs)  
 I made use of all the arguments, your grace had furnished me withall, to shew  
 the just grounds his majesty had to be highly dissatisfied with, and resent the  
 affront and injuries offered to him and his subjects by the said secret offensive  
 alliance, which he might be assured, neither the king nor the nation was dis-  
 posed nor necessitated to submit to; all which he heard with the greatest pa-  
 tience, constantly answering in the mildest manner imaginable. The substance  
 of what he said, may be reduced to—that the secret alliance complained of, was

**Period IV.** 1727 to 1730. not designed to disturb the peace of Europe, which he pretended to prove by shewing, that the emperor and king of Spain were disposed and sincerely desirous to obviate the umbrage taken at the two articles of Ostend and Gibraltar, by offering such expedients, and consenting to such conditions as could not fail giving entire satisfaction to his majesty and the Dutch, provided a negotiation could be set on foot for that purpose either at Madrid, London, or the Hague; that altho' the said alliance bore the name of offensive (as he could not but own he said it did) yet it was in its nature chiefly defensive, the real intention of it not being otherwise; for that altho' the emperor engages to join with the king of Spain for procuring him Gibraltar from his majesty, 'tis expressed in the treaty *amicabiliter si fieri potest*.

Upon which the Dutch ambassador (who was also present) and I asked him, if he had not often repeated to us both the several articles of the said secret offensive alliance, in the manner he afterwards found them mentioned in the Holland's gazette, he owned he had, and that what he had told us was true, which I am persuaded (from his confusion and repugnance) he would not have done, had he made the discovery to one of us only. As to the secret offensive alliance, there is not one foreign minister here, to whom he has not declared it several times, tho' only to the Dutch ambassador and me any of its articles.

Riperda, after running over all the arguments formerly made use of by him, for entering into a negotiation upon the affair of Ostend and Gibraltar, to no purpose, told us he had orders from his catholick majesty to propose a general congress, and that we would immediately write to know the sentiments of our courts thereupon. We replied, that we could not see the purpose of such a proposal, unless it was the gaining of time, for that he might be assured our masters would never suffer either the affair of Gibraltar or that of the Ostend company to be debated upon there, and that those points once adjusted, we did not see what remained to be regulated. He answered, many, as the giving fresh force to the preventions taken for hindring the uniting in the same person the crowns of France and Spain, by making new renunciations, &c. as also for effectually preventing the like union of the Austrian dominions with those of the Spanish monarchy, by the most authentick renunciations: I mention this answer only for the sake of the last clause, which seems to imply a marriage concerted for don Carlos with an arch-dutcheffs.

But to return to the affair of Gibraltar and Ostend, the whole purport of what

what he said upon them, was the repeating to us, that nothing could ever re-duce, the emperor to revoke his patent given to the Ostend company, nor the king of Spain not to insist upon the restitution of Gibraltar, and that any insult or injury done to either of those princes, would be looked upon by the other as done to himself, and equally resented. He owned, however, that in his particular, he looked upon the proposal of removing the Ostend company to Trieste, &c. as reasonable, and what the emperor might be satisfied with; and that his catholic majesty would be glad to find the emperor of the same opinion, and had desired count Königseck to propose it at Vienna, and let him know as soon as possible his master's sentiments thereupon. To which we replied, that since his catholic majesty found that proposal reasonable, we hoped, in case the emperor should reject it, his catholic majesty would not think himself any longer obliged to engage in a war upon account of that company, he having done all that in justice could be required from him, in obtaining such terms for his ally, as in reason he ought to be satisfied withall. He answered, that whatever his catholic majesty's sentiments and resolutions were, he could not make such a declaration, without first consulting the emperor.

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Ripperda.

This court's thus readily coming into, and highly approving of an expedient, which in itself is really no more than what was never disputed to the emperor, shews plainly their design by it, of gaining time upon the pretext of waiting for the opinion of the court of Vienna thereupon.

Altho' what I had the honour to affirm in the beginning of this letter, of Ripperda's sincere desire of accommodating matters for the present, and that he would for that purpose contribute to the utmost of his power, even by abandoning the emperor (could he do it without loosing the queen) appears to me, every day more and more unquestionable, for the reasons above alleged. I can't, however, hope for any sort of good from thence; it being equally evident, that his own inclinations are as bad as ever, and that it is purely the present utter improbability of succeeding in a war, that makes him wish for peace, the which, however, he dares not take the necessary steps for obtaining, and that consequently all sorts of treachery and mischievous designs are to be expected from him, as a proof of which, I shall give two instances.

The receiving and caressing the duke of Wharton, who comes directly from Rome, with proposals to this court from the pretender, from whom he (Wharton) received the garter, with which he appears publicly. The order, which

your

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your grace will see by Mr. Black's enclosed letter, has been published at Cadiz, for fitting out privateers, as in the year 1718. From which, I take the liberty to give it as my humble opinion (which I should not have presumed to do in matters of such consequence, without your grace's express commands for so doing) that no time should be lost in bringing matters to an issue, for that otherwise upon the arrival of the flota and galleons expected here by the end of June, a war will be inevitable, which it is possible the emperor, if pushed, would not at present engage himself in, from the impossibility he sees on the part of Spain, without the flota and galleons, of furnishing the supplies stipulated, of which his ambassador here loudly complains, and publicly reproaches Ripperda with breach of promise to the emperor.

Having since my writing thus far, been informed that the duke of Wharton had been yesterday in conference with Ripperda, I thought proper to see that minister before the departure of this messenger, in order to be able to tell your grace by him, what turn this court gives to an affair that must make such noise in the world, as that of the arrival of an ambassador in form from the pretender; which is the title at present given to the duke of Wharton. Ripperda began by protesting to me (as he had done three days ago) that he knew nothing of the duke of Wharton's having left Vienna, till he was actually arrived at Madrid, and that their catholick majesties were as ignorant of it as himself. He proceeded, by saying that Wharton told him yesterday, that he was charged with a commission of importance from the pretender to their catholick majesties, and therefore desired to procure him an audience as soon as possible, which he, Ripperda, promised to inform their catholick majesties of, and bid him return this night for the answer. Ripperda says, that the principal part of Wharton's commission, is to demand leave for the pretender to pass immediately into Spain; but that their catholick majesties so far from granting his request, have ordered him, Ripperda, to tell the duke of Wharton, that they cannot receive any propositions from the pretender, nor even give audience to any minister from him, and that he would therefore do well to return speedily from whence he came.

Your grace will not believe, I think, great credit is to be given to these discourses of Ripperda, it not being easy to imagine that his intimate friend would come hither without advising him, and having his approbation of it beforehand. Neither is it to be supposed that the duke of Wharton would have publicly taken the garter (with which he was installed yesterday in great ceremony



remony by the late duke of Ormonde) and thereby render his return to England impracticable, without prospect of some expedition's being on foot, and speedily to be executed in favour of the pretender, which is not possible to suppose could be negotiated without the concurrence and assistance of this court, tho' I cannot find any reason to believe that any attempt can be made from hence, but have grounds to suspect that the design is from Flanders, Ripperda having owned to me, that the pretender has demanded of the emperor leave to go Bruffells, and as the late duke of Ormonde talks of going speedily to Rome, Wharton to Vienna, and general Seflan to Aix la Chapelle, I am perswaded the rendezvous is to be in Flanders.

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1727 to 1730.  
Ripperda.

## WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Ripperda removed from the superintendance of the finances.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, May 13, 1726.

I Have not received any commands from your grace, since I had the honour to write to you last upon the 6th instant, by Gould the messenger, by whom I acquainted you with the duke de Ripperda's having been, and then continuing still to be in danger of being disgraced: I also, at the same time, mentioned to your grace from what quarter the most, if not only dangerous attack was made upon him: but at present, my lord, what was before only conjecture, seems most certain, by his catholick majesty's having last night taken from him the *surintendance* of the finances, and restored it to don Francisco Ariaza, who formerly held that employment: for altho' Ripperda gives out, and the decree itself says the same thing, that this demission was at his own request, other circumstances plainly denote the contrary.

Harrington  
Papers.  
Draught.

I can positively assure your grace, that this stroke came from the queen (who is more attached than ever, if possible, to the court of Vienna) at the instigation of the German ambaffador, which last, now publickly exclaims against Ripperda for having deceived the court of Vienna, and Ripperda himself, but last night, swore to me that his disgrace came from thence for not sending them money, adding with the most solemn oaths, that had he done otherwise, the war had most infallibly been begun above three months since. I found him in the highest rage against that court, and disposed to stick at nothing to be revenged. He has desired me to return to him to-morrow, promising then to give me such further proofs of his confidence in me, as shall evidently convince

Period IV. vince me of his having flung himself absolutely at our master's feet, and that  
 1727 to 1730. he depends upon, and seeks no other protection and favour, than that of his  
 majesty and the Dutch, and that he will well deserve what he thus begs for.  
 In case I receive no messenger from your grace in two or three days, I propose then to dispatch one of my domesticks to you, by whom I shall have the honour to write more fully upon these and other matters.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Causes of Ripperda's disgrace.—The imperial ambassador, who occasioned it, is alarmed.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, May 25, 1726.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Draught.*

UPON the 13th instant, I had the honour to acquaint your grace with the duke de Ripperda's removal from the superintendancy of the treasury, and the almost certainty there then was of his total disgrace very soon: at present, your grace will see by my enclosed relation, the most material affairs that have pass'd here ever since with respect to that gentleman. To which I shall beg leave to add, in this separate letter, some other circumstances worth observation, which I purposely omitted in the enclosed narrative, not to break the thread of the subject matter of it, which I was desirous to lay before your grace in the clearest light possible. But as your grace may be justly surprized at not having much sooner had an account from me, of matters of such consequence, I shall begin this letter with acquainting you the cause of it, which was my not being able for a whole week to obtain an order for post horses, upon the idle pretext of no minister's being hitherto named for foreign affairs, whose province it is to give those orders. But the true reason certainly was to prevent my giving an account to my court of what was doing here in relation to Ripperda's being refuged in my house, 'till his catholick majesty should have come to a final resolution thereupon, which he did not do till late last night or this morning.

Ripperda's disgrace most evidently proceeded from the daily complaints made of him to their catholick majestys by the comte de Konigseck, for not sending the money promis'd to the court of Vienna, which 'tis thought Ripperda did not abstain from doing out of any good intentions towards preserving the publick tranquillity, but purely to prevent the emperor from beginning the war immediately; as he seemed disposed to do (had he money wherewithall)  
 which

which Ripperda feared might endanger the safe arrival of the galleons and flota, and thereby render precarious the only means he hoped for being able to support the emperor, but even Spain itself. Konigseck, transported with this victory over Ripperda, neglected to pursue it, by getting him secured immediately; which error he no sooner found by Ripperda's retiring into my house, than his rage exceeded even the joy of the day before, and made him press his catholick majesty with the utmost vehemence (in which he was supported by the queen and Orendayn) to take him out by force, in which, altho' he did not so far succeed as to wholly determine the king, he however made such an impression upon him, as he himself (Konigseck) was not able afterwards to efface, when upon more serious reflection, he foresaw the danger arising from such a step, of possibly engaging his master and the king of Spain in a war, which neither of them were in readiness or prepared to support. But those reflections came too late, when it was not possible for him to lay the storm he himself had raised; it being most certain, that for these two days past, he has used his utmost endeavours to persuade the king of Spain to approve of Ripperda's proposal of retiring into a convent. I have been informed, that his catholick majesty, yesterday, in his orders to the council of Castile, to consider and give their opinion upon his right of forcing Ripperda from my house, lay'd three crimes to his charge, viz. 1. His having disclosed his secrets whilst in the ministry. 2. His having given several orders without first consulting his majesty thereupon, and 3. For not having as yet given in his accounts. But as la Paz, in his letter to me, mentions no such thing, I might justly be supposed ignorant of it.

All the foreign ministers, to whom I have given part of what had happened, are to assemble this evening at the nunzio's, in order to make the proper representations to his catholick majesty, on account of the violence thus offered an ambassador, as equally affecting themselves in their several characters. And I ought in justice to the Dutch ambassador, inform your grace; that he has acted in this whole affair, and spoke to the Spanish minister upon it, with the same zeal and vigour, as if the honour of his own republick had been principally concerned in it. The late change in the ministry here (in which la Paz has the greatest share of business and credit) will certainly occasion none in the entire attachment of this court to that of Vienna, but rather, if possible, augment it; as Ripperda's disgrace plainly indicates, whose only crime was, even his not being imperialist enough for their catholick majestys, especially for the queen.

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1727 to 1730.

queen. The duke of Wharton returned hither two days after Ripperda's disgrace, where he will probably still remain for some time, tho' he gives out the contrary. He has frequent conferences with la Paz and the emperor's ambassador, &c. I have nothing more to trouble your grace with at present, excepting only the renewing in the most earnest manner my humble request to you, of representing favourably to his majesty, my conduct in this late critical and important affair, in which, if I have erred through too much warmth, it proceeded from not being able to bare with temper the least insult upon his majesty's honour, especially from a court, at which the king has had of late such just and frequent grounds of being highly offended, as might possibly make his majesty not displeased at having so justifiable a pretext, for timely hindring them by force from attempting to put their long laid secret designs against him in execution. But, my lord, in case his majesty should think fitt to disavow my conduct in this affair of Ripperda, I hope he will be graciously pleased at the same time to order my being recall'd from hence, which I beg leave most solemnly to assure your grace, I do not mention out of any regard to myself, but purely and solely to that of his majesty's service, to which, after what has happened, my longer abode here would certainly be absolutely usefess, and probably prejudicial. The emperor's ambassador has long audiences almost daily of their catholick majestys, and seems to aim at entering into the ministry, as the French ambassadors formerly used to do.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Ripperda takes refuge in his house.—Audience of the king of Spain.—Ripperda forcibly seized, notwithstanding Stanhope's remonstrances.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, May 25, 1726, N. S.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Draught.*

UPON the 14th instant, I went to Aranjuez, with intention to remain there two days for the sake of my health; but upon receiving an express the day following, with advice of the duke of Ripperda's having been dismissed the night before from his catholick majesty's service, I resolved to return immediately to Madrid, where I arrived about eleven the same night, extremely surpris'd to find in my apartment the duke of Ripperda and the ambassador of Holland. The first immediately addressing himself to me, said, that being obliged for the safety of his person to seek out an azile, he had fled to my house, and hoped and beg'd I would protect him, to which I, in presence of the

the Dutch ambaffador replied, that before I could give any answer ~~to~~ what he demanded, he must give me leave to ask him some questions; as 1<sup>st</sup>. Whether he still had any employment under his catholick majesty, or was in any manner whatsoever in his service? he answered, positively no, for that the night before the king of Spain had (at his own request) absolutely dismissed him from all his employments. 2. Whether he had reason to believe himself under his catholic majesty's displeasure, or that he apprehended the king of Spain intended to have him charged with, or prosecuted for any crime committed during his administration? he answered, that he had no sort of reason to suppose himself under the displeasure of his catholick majesty, much less to be charged with any crime, and as a convincing proof of the contrary, put into my hands the original letter (of which goes inclosed a copy) he had received the night before from the marquis de la Paz, by which his catholick majesty not only absolutely dismisses him from his service, but graciously recompenses him with a pension of three thousand pistoles a year.

I then asked him, 3. That having such reason to assure himself of his catholic majesty's favourable intentions towards him, what motif or occasion he could have for flying to my house for protection? to which he answered, that it was in no wise from the apprehensions of any violence on the part of his catholic majesty, of whose and great goodness to him (in having graciously bestowed on him the said pension of 3000 pistoles) he had just received so convincing a proof, but from the fears he was in for his life, from the malice and inveteracy of his enemys, and the rage and fury of the people (incensed against him, on account of some violent measures, the necessity of affairs had obliged him to take during his ministry) who had that very day insulted his servants as they were transporting his goods from the palace, and publickly given out, that they would in the night attack his house, in order to tear him to pieces. The duke having thus satisfied my demands, I told him, that as he had given me such convincing proofs of his being entirely dismissed from his catholick majesty's service, as also such good reasons to believe him not under his displeasure, and as I had found him already in my house, I could not oblige him by force to depart, but desired him immediately to acquaint the secretary of state with the steps he had taken, together with the motifs for it, and told him, that I would the next morning inform his catholick majesty of the whole, as I accordingly did in an audience I had of him (on the 16th instant) for that purpose.

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 1727 to 1730. In that audience, I related the matter of fact to his catholick majesty, exactly in the manner I have now done it to your grace, adding only the most solemn assurances of my not having had the least previous knowledge or suspicion of any design in the duke of Ripperda of retiring himself into my house, and declaring, that without the abovementioned circumstances of his being discharged from his catholick majesty's service, &c. I should not have suffered him to continue in my house, as also, that even with those circumstances he should have found no entrance, had I been in town to have prevented it; from all which I hoped that his catholick majesty would not be dissatisfied with my conduct in this affair. To which he answered, "he was not, but that he had great reason to be so with the duke, who having so lately been his minister, and trusted with the secret of all his affairs, gave but too just grounds to suspect his fidelity in thus retiring himself into the house of a foreign minister, upon no other pretext than that of his fears of insults from the people; it not being possible to imagine, that he, his catholick majesty, upon the least application, would not immediately have given the necessary directions for the effectually securing him from any danger of that kind; that as to giving him a passport to retire into Holland (which the said Ripperda had by letter demanded the night before) he could not allow it him 'till he should have first restored several papers of consequence remaining in his hands, and must desire I would engage not to suffer him to escape from my house, till he (the king) should have got a list drawn out of them, and sent to him for them, which should be done the next day."

To all which, I answered, that I did not pretend to justify or excuse the duke's conduct (which was certainly very imprudent) but only desired to satisfy his majesty, that under the circumstances abovementioned, it was not possible for me to act in this affair otherwise than I had done, and that I should with great pleasure comply with his demand in not suffering the said duke to escape, 'till his catholick majesty should have sent to him for the said papers. The same evening the marquis de la Paz sent me the enclosed letter of the 16th instant, excusing his majesty's having ordered a detachment of his guards into the neighbourhood of my house, and upon the 18th instant another, desiring me to persuade and induce the duke to retire from my house, to which I immediately returned an answer to both, which copys also go herewith enclosed. The 19th, the duke writ to the king, desiring leave to retire into a convent, upon which I had also a conference that evening with the

marquis

marquis de la Paz. But upon finding by him, as also by other intelligencys I had received, that his catholick majesty was disposed to take by force the said duke from my house, I demanded an audience of his catholick majesty, in which I represented to him the great pleasure it was to me to have been able to induce the duke of Ripperda to consent to retire from my house to a convent, as hoping that thereby this troublesome affair might be made an end of to his majesty's satisfaction; for that this expedient not only satisfied the only thing he had demanded in the marquis de la Paz's said letter of the 18th instant, (*viz.*) the removing the scandal taken at the said duke's continuing in the house of a foreign minister, but also in my opinion could not lay his majesty under any difficultys. For that however authors differ'd as to the nature of the crimes or persons that ought or ought not be allowed an asyle or protection, yet none I believed ever pretended to distinguish betwixt the asyle of the church, and that of the house of a publick minister, much less to ascertain crimes or persons to be protectable in the former, and not so in the latter. From whence I inferred that Ripperda would not be more out of his catholick majesty's power, when in a convent than in my house, for that had his majesty a right to take him out of my house by force, he had it equally so to do from a convent; and as I was assured he was too just a prince to force my house, without being fully convinced of his right so to do, I could not foresee how any inconveniencys could follow from accepting this expedient, but that very great ones were to be apprehended from its being rejected, in case his majesty was resolved to proceed with violence; for that no inconveniencys could arise from the forcing the convent, in case his majesty was fully convinc'd of his right to do it; but that very fatal consequences were to be feared from violating the house of an ambassador, altho' he should think he had a right so to do; in case that minister's master should think otherwise. For which reasons I said, I hoped his majesty would accept of the expedient proposed, for that otherwise, in case he was resolved to act by force, it might be thought, he designed to lay hold of that opportunity of publickly affronting the king my master and the British nation, seeing that other means not liable to any inconveniency had been thus pointed out to him for coming at what he desired.

The king replied, "that he would consider upon what I had said, but as to Ripperda's offer of going into a convent, he did not as yet see how he could admitt of it, or allow any asyle or protection in any part of his dominions to one of his own ministers;" to which I answered, that had not that duke been

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1727 to 1730.  
Ripperda.

actually

Period IV. <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> actually dismiss'd from the ministry, certainly no protection could be given him. But he alledging "that the duke's pension, 'till he should otherwise be employed, continued him in the service;" I replied, that the pension might rather be look'd upon as a recompence for past services, and that it was in his catholick majesty's liberty to employ him anew or not, so it seem'd in his to accept again or not any employment; and that altho' the said pension should be suppos'd to continue the said duke in the service (which in my humble opinion, it did not) it could not be look'd upon to continue him in such an employment as renders the possessor incapable of protection. I ended by saying that the duke was actually under the protection of the king my master (as being refug'd in his house, not mine) I could not venture to force him out of it, without first receiving orders from my court for so doing, that in case before any orders could arrive to me, he (his catholick majesty) thought fit to take him away by violence, as I was not able to make any resistance, I should only protest against such force, and retire from court, 'till I should have received the king my master's further pleasure upon the account I should immediately send him, of what had happened, who, I was assured, would take such measures thereupon, as his own honour and that of the nation should require.

In this situation, the affair remained 'till the 22d at night, that I received the enclos'd letter from the marquis de la Paz, to which I returned the day following an answer, of which also goes herewith a copy. But this morning, the 25th, at six o'clock, an *alcal de corte* or judge, with a general officer and 60 of the horse guards, came to my house and delivered me the enclosed letter from the marquis de la Paz (of the 24th) telling me at the same time, that they had orders to demand from me the duke de Ripperda, and in case of refusal or resistance on my part, to take him out of my house by force. Upon which I asked them, whether they could not carry my answer back to the said letter, before they proceeded to put their orders in execution; they replied, that in case I should return any answer, they would carry it back, but that it must be at the same time with the person of the duke. I then told them, that I neither could deliver him to them, nor consent to his being taken from my house against his will, and that if they proceeded to force him from thence, I should protest against such violence done to my character, of which I would immediately send an account to the king my master, and 'till I should receive his pleasure thereupon, absent myself from court. They replied, that seeing I ab-



I absolutely refused to deliver the duke, they must execute their orders, and take him away by force, which they accordingly immediately did, and I there-  
 upon wrote to the marquis de la Paz the inclosed letter. Before I conclude, I  
 must beg leave to observe to your grace, that this court have never alledged to  
 me any crime or other matter against Ripperda, in order to prove him not ca-  
 pable of protection, nor even once demanded him from me 'till this morning  
 (all their letters hitherto, as your grace will have observed, only desiring me to  
 persuade him to retire) that they took him away by force, without allowing me  
 time to represent to his catholick majesty the reasons I might have for not  
 complying with what he requir'd from me.

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Your grace has now before you as full and as exact an account of this whole  
 affair, as the hurry I am in would allow me to give you, which I most humbly  
 begg your grace will be pleased to represent to his majesty, in the most fa-  
 vourable manner, for obtaining his most gracious approbation of my conduct in  
 it, and flatter myself that his majesty will have the goodness to believe that  
 (whatever errors my want of judgement may have led me into) I have acted to  
 the best of my capacity in this whole affair, in the manner I thought it my in-  
 dispensible duty to do in support of his majesty's honour, and that of the British  
 nation; and I have the good fortune to be able to assure your grace, that  
 every one of the foreign ministers here have publickly declared their entire  
 approbation of my conduct in this affair, and that they (in the like circumstance)  
 would and must have acted exactly in the same manner.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Rejoices at the disgrace of Ripperda.*

(May 23—June 3, 1726.) YOU may imagine the disgrace of the duke of  
 Ripperda, from whatever cause it may have proceeded, has given great joy to  
 us here, for though it should prove to be at the instigation of the imperial mi-  
 nisters, yet even that must have been occasioned by an impossibility that there  
 was for Ripperda to furnish the supplies for the court of Vienna; and it is  
 not to be imagined, that his successor, whoever he be, will be better able to  
 do it than he was, and better inclined or more attached than Ripperda was to  
 the imperialists, he certainly cannot be.

Walpole  
 Papers.

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BENJAMIN KEENE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Gives a confidential account of the discoveries made by Ripperda.*

MY LORD,

London, June 15, 1726.

Orford  
Papers.

Copy.

MR. Stanhope, having by the means of the duke of Ripperda's having taken refuge in his house, made several discoveries of very great importance to the king and his allys, which he durst not send in writing, lest they should fall into the hands of those that wou'd make an ill use of them, desired me to come over to England, and acquaint your grace with them by word of mouth, in order to their being laid before his majesty; I therefore take the liberty to set them down here, as they occur to my memory, and I shall endeavour not to omit any material circumstance. Mr. Stanhope having pressed the duke of Ripperda to inform him of the schemes that had been projected or agreed to by the emperor and king of Spain, either with regard to the state of Europe in general or to his majesty's affairs in particular, the duke began with the secret treaty of Vienna, consisting of five articles, and three separate ones, the substance of which he dictated to Mr. Stanhope, who took them down in writing with his own hand, and are as follows:

Art. 1. Confirms and ratifys all preceding treatys made between their imperial and catholic majestys. Art. 2. The emperor gives the eldest archduchess in marriage to the infant don Carlos, and in Art. 3. The second archduchess is given to the infant don Phillip.

Art. 4. The emperor and king of Spain enter into reciprocal engagements to begin in a war for reconquering the dutchy of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Alsace, and all the French conquests in Flanders, and encroachments on Lorraine, Navarre, Roussillon, Petite-Cerdagne, which are to be divided after the following manner: Burgundy, Franche Comté, Alsace, &c. and all that formerly belonged to the house of Austria, is to be settled on don Carlos, and look'd upon as the Austrian patrimony. Lorraine is to be return'd to its duke, and Navarre, Roussillon, and la Petite-Cerdagne, to be remitted to the Spanish monarchy. Art. 5. The emperor and king of Spain do mutually oblige themselves and posterity never to give an archduchess or an infanta in marriage to the house of Bourbon.

1. Separate article. That in case the present king of France should dye without issue to inherit that crown, the infant don Phillip is to be king of France.

France. 2d Art. The emperor and king of Spain do solemnly engage to assist the pretender with their forces, in order to the putting of him in possession of the crown of Great Britain. 3d Art. Is the reciprocal engagements between the emperor and king of Spain utterly to extirpate the protestant religion, and not to lay down their arms till this design be fully and effectually executed. Period IV.  
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Ripperda.

All the while the duke of Ripperda was dictating this treaty to Mr. Stanhope, he appeared to be in the greatest agonies, and frequently burst into tears.

Mr. Stanhope having taken this down in writing, from Ripperda's own mouth, put it into cypher, and lodged it in a safe hand, lest his house should be searched for papers on Ripperda's account, and this might fall into the hands of the king of Spain or any of his ministers. The duke of Ripperda acquainted Mr. Stanhope, that none of the king of Spain's ministers, beside himself, knew of this treaty; and that it had not been communicated to any person whatsoever, except the emperor, the king and queen of Spain, and the ministers who signed it; and what confirms this, is, that the duke of Ripperda, during his stay at Mr. Stanhope's, having occasion to write to his catholic majesty several letters to obtain leave to retire to Holland, he (Ripperda) to prevent the king of Spain communicating to his ministers, who were his enemies, constantly mixed in them something of this secret treaty, which Mr. Stanhope found to be true in one instance. Mr. Stanhope had proposed the expedient of the duke's retiring to a convent, to which the duke himself consented, and had wrote to the king on this subject. His excellency came into the duke's apartment before the letter was sealed, upon which the duke desired him to peruse it. In it he recapitulated the great services he had done his catholic majesty. *Was it not I that procured your majesty the treaty of Vienna? Was it not I that made the marriage with the archduchess for don Carlos and don Phillip?* After sealing this letter in Mr. Stanhope's presence, he put it into his excellency's own hand, and desired him to send it to the king; but Mr. Stanhope replied, it would be of dangerous consequence to him (the duke) to have it carry'd by a domestic of his, for so suspicious a prince as the king of Spain, would have but too much reason to think his (Mr. Stanhope's) curiosity would go no farther than barely sending the letter. So one of the duke's servants was called for, and Mr. Stanhope himself followed him to the palace, and saw the letter delivered into the hands of the king's favourite valet de chambre, and makes not the least doubt of its being delivered to the king.

The

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The duke declared to Mr. Stanhope, that his catholick majesty was so earnest for the extirpation of the protestant religion, that in the several letters that had passed between the king of Spain and the emperor upon this subject, the king proposes in case of necessity, to sell the domains of his crown, put up grandeurs to the highest bidder, and dispose of all the employments for life in the Indies to the best purchaser, for promoting this scheme: and particularly in one of his letters, he makes use of this extraordinary expression, *je vendrai même ma chemise*. The article for settling the pretender on the throne of Great Britain was to take its course after the greater enterprises were begun; but they changed their resolutions, and were to begin with a project entered into in his favour by the emperor, Spain, and Muscovy. By this scheme, the czarina was to furnish the pretender with ten thousand men, and arms and transports in proportion, which are designed for Scotland, where the late lord marischall is to be ready to receive them, and spirit up the highlanders, in order to join with the Muscovites. The king of Spain is to send eight thousand men, from the coast of Galicia, which are to land in the west of Europe with the late duke of Ormond (or any other general his catholick majesty thinks proper) at the head of them, and one Morgan has given in proposals by the duke of Liria to provide six ships out of Bretany, and one he has in Cadiz, upon the king of Spain's advancing 60,000 piastras. They once thought to employ upon this expedition the three Muscovite men of war which stayed so long at St. Ander.

The emperor on his part, is to have 6,000 men ready at Ostend for the pretender's service, to be made use of where necessity may require; and is also to send a considerable body of troops in the Low Countries, to intimidate the Dutch, and prevent their sending any forces into England.

The time the Muscovites were to make their descent, was calculated to be during the absence of the British fleet. In this project, Wharton declares that the jacobites in England and France have two millions sterling ready to promote this affair, and have 20,000 arms in France.

The pretender in return, is to restore Port Mahon and Gibraltar to the king of Spain, and to be guarantee for the Ostend company, and to lay open our commerce in England, and the foreign plantations to their ships, with the same privileges as the English themselves enjoy.

By this scheme, the pretender was immediately to leave Rome, and go incognito to Vienna, there to have the articles drawn up, in form, for the substance

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stance was already agreed upon. From Vienna he was to proceed to Petersburg, from thence to Archangel, and to embark from that port to avoid the inconveniencies of passing the Sound.

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The duke of Ripperda said, that Wharton was sent to Madrid by the emperor to communicate this project to the king of Spain, as what he (the emperor) had agreed to. The duke of Lyria had laid a plan much to the same purpose before his catholick majesty the originals in the respective hand-writings of Wharton and Lyria, were shown by the duke of Ripperda to Mr. Stanhope, and whilst that duke was at Mr. Stanhope's, both Wharton and Lyria visited his dutchefs to know what was become of the papers. The duke of Ripperda confessed to Mr. Stanhope, that the negociations and conferences he proposed to be held at Madrid, were only to protract time, and amuse us till the galleons and flotas should be safe arrived, and made no difficulty to own his catholick majesty would not scruple to lay his hands upon them in case of necessity.

The last orders the duke of Ripperda sent to the Indies in relation to the flotas and galleons (when he saw there was no possibility of setting a negotiation on foot) were, that the silver and gold, and the most valuable commodities should be sent in small single frigates, which might more easily escape the English fleet, but the great ships were to remain at the Havannah and Cartagena, where admiral Hosier would find them. The duke likewise confessed to Mr. Stanhope, that the vaunting it was in his power to reconcile the two crowns of France and Spain whenever he pleased, was entirely false and groundless, thrown out only with the aim of creating jealousies between his majesty and his allies, and particularly cleared bishop Frejus from the vile aspersions he had cast upon him; for this was a point Mr. Stanhope took great care to be informed in, being of such importance. The 12,000 men ordered to march into Galicia, under pretence of an invasion upon that coast from England, the duke owned were to be employed in the pretender's service, and that the pretence of their apprehensions from this, was entirely a trick or fiction of the king of Spain's, and that they had no such intelligence, either from Pozabueno or any other person; and when this excuse failed them, they made use of another, which was the giving out an encampment was to be formed in that part of Spain. As to Lambrity, the duke told Mr. Stanhope, he was sent to Muscovy as a minister of the king of Spain's; but had orders not take the least step without the direction of the imperial minister of that court.

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The first mark the duke perceived of the queen's displeasure, was upon their majestys' receiving a letter from count Konigseg, pressing remittances to the court of Vienna, which they were reading when the duke entered the apartment, he thereupon represented to their majestys, that they were not obliged to make any payments, till this war should be begun, and laid before them the inconveniences that would inevitably ensue to Spain, if Konigseg's demands should be comply'd with, the queen frown'd upon him; and asked him in the Spanish way, *what is that to you.*

This, my lord, is the substance of what Mr. Stanhope charged me to relate to your grace, and as for any other circumstances of my own observations, I shall always be ready to acquaint your grace with them whenever I have the honour of your commands.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Hints how Ripperda may escape.—Ripperda's agitation, when he made the discoveries.*

MY LORD,

Madrid, July 30, 1726.

Walpole  
Papers.

*Secret.*

I Have read with all possible attention the letter your grace did me the honour to write to me upon the 29th past, O. S. by Spear the messenger, and cannot enough admire his n. i-ty's great goodness and generosity, in being graciously pleased not to come to any determination in an affair of such vast importance to his service, and to that of the publick, as is that which makes the subject matter of your said letter, without first assuring by all means possible the safety of an unhappy person, who has put his life into his hands, and without shewing the greatest regard to what I might have promised for the encouraging him so to do.

As the arguments your grace is pleased to make use of to shew the great advantage and almost necessity of his majesty's being enabled to make a proper and right use of the discoveries that have been made, carry too much strength and evidence in them to make it necessary for me to take up any of your grace's time in letting you see the just sense I have of the force of them; and as I cannot doubt but that your grace is equally apprised and convinced of the just reason I have, both in honour and conscience, to be most earnestly solicitous for preserving, by all the means possible, a life thus in the utmost confidence put into my hands, I shall not detain your grace with my reflections upon either of these considerations, as being assured of each of them's having  
their

their due weight with you; but shall proceed (from being commanded so to do) to suggest to your grace the method that has occurred to me of doing the abovementioned service to his majesty and the publick, without wounding that religious delicateness in point of honour, which his majesty is so justly adored for thro' the whole world.

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The method that I should most humbly propose, is, that his majesty would be pleased to authorise me to adjust with this court the satisfaction to be given for the late unjustifiable violation offered to the house of his ambassador at Madrid, in the doing of which, I do not despair of bringing this court to consent to the duke of Ripperda's being allowed to return to his own house, from whence it will be no impossible matter for him to make his escape. And that his catholick majesty may be brought to consent to this expedient, I am led to hope for, from the discourses I have had with several of the court upon that subject, and in which opinion, I am the more confirmed, from being assured that no crime can be proved against Ripperda, nor will even be laid to his charge. But what, in my opinion, would almost infallibly determine this matter, would be, for the king of France and the Dutch to declare strongly their approbation of such an expedient, which I should think they might easily be brought to, from seeing themselves equally interested therein, when they shall be let, in the greatest confidence, into the true motive for his majesty's insisting upon it.

Ripperda once thus in his own house, will, I dare answer with my head for it, immediately attempt to escape, both from the necessity he would be convinced there was, as well as the strong inclination he has for so doing, which last, I am assured of from his being desirous to attempt it whilst in my house, provided I would have winked at it.

This way of proceeding seems in no-wise prejudicial to his majesty's affairs, since it does not hinder an immediate proper use's being made of the said discoveries, by communicating them in the greatest secrecy to such of his majesty's allys or friends, where it may be of service; and as Ripperda will, in case this expedient succeeds, have either made his escape, or have been taken in the attempt, long before the meeting of the parliament, in the first of which cases no discovery can do him any hurt, and in the latter, no regard for him can then do him any good, his majesty will be at liberty to make the use of those discoveries in speaking to his people, by the time it shall be necessary, in the manner he shall judge most for his service. To which also may be added,

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that even in case this method proves unsuccessful, his majesty will have had the satisfaction of having done as much as in him lay, consistent with the safety of his people, in favour of the unfortunate person. The only objection that I can foresee to pursuing this method, is, that his majesty's thus insisting upon a determined satisfaction may, in case Spain refuses to comply, engage thereby the nation in a war. Tho' to that I think may be answered, that if, as your grace seems to think from what has been already disclosed to his majesty, the war is inevitable, and that the making those discoveries publick, is necessary for the justifying that war, the doing it afterwards, which will be equally in his majesty's power, if judged necessary, will also fully justify its having been begun. I beg leave to assure your grace, that I am by no means fond of what I have thus proposed; but as you was pleased to command me to send you my thoughts upon that matter, I have done it in the best manner I am able.

As to your grace's demand of what Ripperda said to me upon this head, and whether he did not foresee the great service it would be to us upon a proper occasion, to make use of his discoveries, and consequently how far he would contribute to make this easy? I can only say, that he was fully apprised of the importance of those services, and would contribute to the utmost of his power for the procuring them for his majesty, were he once out of Spain, but always insisted in the strongest manner upon the secret's being kept, until he should find himself in England. And I must own my having given him all assurances possible of recommending in the strongest manner his said request; tho' as he had consented to my communicating what he had said to me, to his majesty and his ministers, I told him he knew I could be no farther answerable than for my most earnest and effectual offices in his favour, and particularly for the procuring him his majesty's protection and utmost assistance for the getting him safely out of this country. I forgot to mention Ripperda's having owned to me, his being a protestant, and that he was resolved, the moment it should be possible for him to escape from hence, to abandon his pension, and pass the rest of his days in England.

As to the duke of Wharton's plan, I only read it once, which was the morning that the marquis de la Paz came, by his catholick majesty's order, to receive Ripperda's papers, amongst which that was delivered. It contained in substance the whole of that of the duke of Liria too, with the several particulars set forth in the inclosed project, of a secret treaty between the emperor, Spain,



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Spain, and the pretender, which said project, he assured me, had been absolutely approved of by the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

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It is true, my lord, that Ripperda assured me, that his majesty and the king of Prussia were not only to be stripped of their dominions in Germany, but that the princes, who were to succeed to them, were actually pitched upon. I could never, however, induce him to name to me those princes. Upon which occasion, I beg leave to observe to your grace, that altho', in the discoveries made to me by him, several particular circumstances that were to have been wished to have been explained, are omitted, it is not so much to be wondered at, as that he had the courage to open himself so far as he did, considering the risk he run thereby, whilst in the dominions of his catholick majesty, of which he was very sensible, as fully appeared by the agony he was always in upon those occasions, and particularly in dictating to me the two inclosed papers, all which times he cried like a child. Mr. Keene will have told your grace of the infallible proofs he gave me of the marriages.

Ripperda.

## BENJAMIN KEENE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

### *Escape of Ripperda from the castle of Segovia.*

(Madrid, September 13, 1728.) I Am now to acquaint your grace, that on the 11th instant (I as well as the greater part of the foreign ministers at this court) received a letter from the marquis de la Paz (copy of which goes inclosed, with a translation) to inform me, that the duke de Ripperda had made his escape out of the castle of Segovia, and that his catholick majesty desired he might be delivered over to his order, in case he should take refuge in any of the king's dominions; to which I returned the answer marked A. The only particulars yet known are, that the alcaide or governor of the castle (who is a nigh relation to the marquis de la Paz) being taken very ill, and his wife being in no better condition than himself, they could not attend upon the duke, as they usually did at dinner and supper. The servant maid, who, it seems, was in the duke's interest, took occasion to quarrell with her mistress, and left her service, and a corporal, who guarded the duke, being prevailed upon to assist him, they made their escape together on the 2d instant. The next morning the alcaide missed his prisoner, and only found his valet de chambre in his apartment, and being desirous to give an account to their catholick majesties of the duke's being taken, at the same time he informed them of his breaking prison,

Walpole.  
Papers.

Extract.

Copy.

Period IV. <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> prison, and by this means make amends for his negligence, he sent several messengers by different routs to seek after him, but all in vain. So that the court had no notice of what had past till the 10th instant, and then they dispatched a messenger to Portugal, it being supposed that he took that route. But there is no certain account of him since he left Segovia.

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Desires instructions whether he shall meet Ripperda in London.*

Weston  
Papers.

(Chelsea, October 8, 1728.) YOU will see by the inclosed, which came to me last night, that our scheme about the duke de Ripperda must be alter'd, unlesse you can way lay him this evening or to-morrow morning, and prevail with him to alter his course. Whether you will think this most adviseable, or lett him come on to London, and give me his majesty's directions about meeting him in town, and fixing him in private lodgings, I desire you will write me word, it will be no difference to me but coming on Thursday to Windsor, instead Wednesday, perhaps more easy to him to pursue his own method.

• Under secretary of  
State.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. CORBIERE.\*

*Instructs him to persuade the duke of Ripperda to remain at one of the inns, untill notice of his arrival shall be communicated.*

Weston  
Papers.

(Windsor, October 9, 1728.) AS I parted with you last night in a good deal of hurry, I had not then had time to inform myself whether there could be sufficient accommodation or no, for the duke de Ripperda at Swinley Rails, which since, upon enquiry, I find there is not; and therefore I think the best thing that can be done, will be for you to prevail upon the duke to send his coach and servants on to London, and to stay alone with you at one of the inns, either at Egham or Staines, in as private a manner as possible, till such time as you shall have given me notice of your arrival there, and have heard from me.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. CORBIERE.

*Desires him to make excuses to the duke of Ripperda for not sending his own coach.—Will meet the duke at Dr. Bland's, at Eton.*

(Windsor,

(Windsor, October 10, 1728.) I Desire you will make my excuses to the duke de Ripperda for my sending him a hired coach. I should have been very glad to have sent my own coach to attend him, but it was impossible to do that without giving some suspicion. You will give the coachman directions to drive to Dr. Bland's at Eton, without passing thro' Windsor, and will contrive to be there about eleven this evening, at which time, either myself or my brother Walpole will not fail to meet the duke there. But if any thing should happen to prevent my seeing him this evening, I desire you will assure him, that I shall certainly do myself the honour of waiting upon him between nine and ten to-morrow morning, and will introduce him in the evening to his majesty.

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Ripperda.

## MR. CORBIERE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*The duke of Ripperda not yet found.*

MY LORD,

Hartly-rowe, Wednesday, 4 in the morning.

I Got hither just now, after having knock't up all the inkeepers on the road, without finding what I wanted. But here I have intelligence of a coach, the description of which answers my expectation. That coach came to Salisbury on Monday night, and having bad horses, must have sett up last night considerably short of this place; and as it must necessarily pass here, I think it best to stop, and wait 'till it comes, tho' the hour of it's coming is very uncertain.

Weston  
Papers.

Half after eight. Since your lordship's first design will be frustrated, because it grows late, and the coach does not yet appear, I believe, you will not think it amiss, that I send away this messenger to know your lordship's pleasure, what I am now to do, and indeed to prepare colonel Negus, to whom I have writ at all events. Chaundler knows the route I shall take to Swinley-Rails, in case I meet the gentleman; so that if your lordship is pleased to honour me with your commands, he will probably meet me on the road thither. I am, &c.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

*Informs the king that he will convey Ripperda to the dean of Durham's (Dr. Bland's).*

I Send

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Weston.  
Papers.

I Send your majesty the account I have had from Mr. Corbiere, whom I sent last night to meet Ripperda. The expectation I have been in of hearing from Ripperda was the reason of my not waiting this morning on your majesty a hunting. I sent back by the messenger orders to Mr. Corbiere not to stay at Swinely Rails, but to come forward with Ripperda, either to Egham or Staines; from whence I will bring the duke in a coach hither. I have sent to the \*dean of Durham, who has a house in the cloysters here, where I propose to lodge Ripperda, as privately as possible.

I likewise send your majesty a rough sketch of a paper of heads, which your majesty ordered me to draw up yesterday.

*Heads upon which to discourse with the duke de Ripperda.*

Weston  
Papers..

TO inquire of the duke of Ripperda, what gave rise to the treaty of Vienna? whether the proposal first came from that court? or whether the court of Spain made the first application?

In what manner he was received on his arrival at Vienna? which of the emperor's ministers were most trusted in the negotiation, with which he was charged, as likewise what particulars he can recollect relating to that affair?

What were the secret engagements between the emperor and Spain in favour of the pretender, and what measures were concerted for the accomplishing of those designs?

Whether the scheme was not to break with England, upon the pretence of their not restoring Gibraltar, and to invade his majesty's dominions, and what projects were formed for putting this design in execution?

What encouragement and assistance they expected to meet with either in England or Scotland upon their landing, and how far the jacobites had engaged to join or otherwise to assist them? whether he has seen any association or other instrument, or any letter under their hands for that purpose, and who the persons were that signed them?

How his acquaintance and intimacy with the duke of Wharton began? what accounts he gave him of the state of affairs in England? what persons corresponded with the duke of Wharton, whether he shew'd him the letters he received from them or any of them, and what they contained; as likewise what were the sentiments of those persons concerning the treaty of Hanover, as well as with regard to the pretender.

\* Dr. Bland, then master of Eton school.

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As much as he can recollect of the accounts the ministers of the emperor received whilst he was at Vienna from England, either from Palm, or any other persons here; and what correspondence those ministers held with people here, and with whom; particularly whether there was any direct correspondence between them and any of his majesty's subjects?

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Ripperda.

## THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA TO MONSIEUR TROYE.

London, October 18, 1728.

I Am not surprized that some think that I went away with the knowledge and permission of the Spanish court, since the world can't be ignorant of the great favour the king had for me, and the affection and zeal wherewith I faithfully served his majesty, but it is farr from it that the court either knew or facilitated my escape; even so farr, that having done what they did by me, there remained nothing but to keep me always a prisoner, or to take away my life privately; which made me resolve to use means to preserve my life, and to set my person free; and for both those things, I am beholden to a lady of a good family, who is here with me, and who had courage eno' to compass that work; which she undertook on account of the ill treatment I so wrongfully underwent, and I must tell you, that the Spanish nation in general is of the same mind. I shall have the honour, by some other opportunity, to inform you of all the particular circumstances; and I don't doubt but I shall be able to give the world intire satisfaction concerning my behaviour and conduct. I desire you will please to convey the inclosed.

Orford  
Papers.

Official trans-  
lation.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

DEAR BROTHER,

Windfor, October 22—November 2, 1723.

AS I think it is proper you should see without loss of time the inclosed letter from baron Ripperda to his father, I send it you by a messenger on purpose, and am yours, &c.

Orford  
Papers.

## BARON OF RIPPERDA TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

*Conduct of the imperial court towards him at the time of Ripperda's disgrace.*

HONOURED SIR,

Groningen, October 26, 1728.

HE begins with telling the great joy and comfort it was to his wife and him, to hear by his letter of the 16th, that he was gott clear off; and continues

Orford  
Papers.

Period IV. thus—I am delighted at your being satisfied with my marriage, for the mar-  
 quis de la Paz sent me your consent, without which I should not have married, but it stood me in great stead, for I had all kind of support from thence. Count Cobenzel, my father-in-law, is married, and holds at the emperor's court, the post of great chamberlain, which is one of the principal posts at that court, and he a gentleman of very good credit. As to my wife, she was delivered on the 23d instant of a dead son, but she was not come to her full time; God be thank't, she is as well as can be expected at this time. This loss must be repaired with another wholesome and sound boy, if it will please God to do us that favour. My wife says, she should be glad to have given a grandson to her father-in-law, whose hands she kisses, and wishes she could do it really, by seeing you in some good and secure place. It would be a great satisfaction to me, if you would do nothing that could displease the emperor, because all the honour depends on that, and so I trust in God and your knowledge, that all this will go well.

When your disgrace happened, a courier was dispatched for Vienna, who quickly came to Laxemburgh to count Sinzendorff, who went to Vienna, immediately sent for me to his house, and told me—the emperor assures you of his protection. But it is necessary to comply with the will of God; the duke your father is disgraced and carried to Segovia, and we have express orders to take your papers instantly; and so he carried me in his coach to my own house, and they told me to deliver my papers, asking me if had not some intimate correspondences with you. And they told me, that they knew from the custom-house, that there was so much money (more indeed than there really was) and I must give it up by fair means, since it was in their hands from the moment they first had the king's order; that it was owing to the emperor's graciousness that the orders were not fully executed, which were, I believe, to make a prisoner of me. And so, I being in this condition, by an express written order, I was obliged to deposit the money in the publick imperial bank at Vienna, there being no other remedy, because I had no notice from you, nor of the least circumstance of this disgrace.

Had you been able to give me notice of the least circumstance, all had been remedied. But being crushed on all sides, there was no other remedy for me in the world than to obey; for as I was one day going out of Vienna to Caldenberg, I had a message from don Henrique, that I must not go far out of the city, and so that was like having the city for a prison. But the emperor sent

me

me word by count Sinzendorff, that he would fain see me once, and I had the honour of an audience, and of finding the emperor very gracious, and comforting me in my misfortunes and sorrows, which you may imagine were infinite, to see you in such a condition. Afterwards came one don Philip Rodrigues, who had been secretary to Beretti Landi, which Philip was very ill-intentioned, and he was afterwards to keep the papers. After this, came one called duke de Bournonville, worse than the former, tormenting and ill treating me with bad language, infomuch that it was a shame, and with insupportable haughtiness, asking me an account of all. But by the emperor's intercession, the whole was made up, and the said duke renounced by order, saying that the king was satisfied as to me, and pretended to nothing more from me. In fine, had it not been for the imperial protection, I believe they had swallowed me alive. But so it came to pass, that by a letter of order from the marquis de la Paz, the king gave his royal consent to marry me, assigning me for the days of my life, an annual pension of a thousand pistoles.

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Ripperda.

I hope to give you a more circumstantial account by word of mouth, and I humbly beseech you, for the love of God, to preserve your good intention towards the emperor, and not to do any thing against the king, and in favour of the country where you are, because all your honour, and your great renowned name, which you acquired by making the treaties of Vienna, which were the *fœdus amicitiae*, and by the treaty of navigation and commerce, would be entirely lost, and will now and for ever subsist, if you continue in the same way of thinking you had in those days. If you would but think fit to have matters made up a little, it would be good to begin to go about it soon; since my mother, and brothers, and sister are within that country, and will suffer in case any thing should happen in opposition to these princes. You will know if you could be safe, or not, in this country, and therefore you will be pleased to do what you shall judge most proper for your security, and the making up of your affairs. I beseech you to vouchsafe to think of your spouse and all us your children. I also most humbly beseech you to preserve me in your fatherly and kind protection and love; and my wife, who also loves you with all her heart and soul, also recommends herself, humbly kissing her father's hands, to whose paternal love we both of us recommend ourselves.

P. S. In case you should have a mind to write to the emperor or to my father-in-law, you might send those letters to us, for I believe that would be

Period IV. best. I cannot write more for want of paper; I hope hereafter to see or write  
 1727 to 1730. to you more largely.

## RIPPERDA TO HIS SON.

*Imputes his disgrace to count Konigseck.*

MY SON,

London, October 22—November 2, 1728.

Orford  
Papers.

*Translation.*

YOUR valuable letter of the 26th, has been put into my hands, and it is the greatest comfort to me, to see that you and your dear wife are good and steady in your love to me, as your father; and I assure you, that you have sufficient reason to continue it, for I love you as the apples of my eyes, and I would willingly give my blood for your sake. I am sorry at my heart for that untimely birth, and I hope God will give me descendants from my loyns. You will tell me, whether count Cobenzel is the mother of my dear daughter; and you will tell me where Dr. Henrique is, and how much money you have deposited in the imperial bank.

I now see very clearly from the conduct of count Sinzendorff, that he likewise must be one of the band of count Konigsegg, my greatest enemy, and the only cause of my disgrace, as I will let the emperor see at a proper time, if he will allow me to do it; and you will tell me in what form and manner the emperor would have, or would not have me; and you will tell it me very plainly, as I am your father, who gave you life. I will not, neither can I, nor ought I to stir out of this kingdom, till I know what the emperor thinks of my person and conduct. I am very desirous to give an account of both to all Europe. And I know very well how to maintain that point of honour I was born with, and which I have known how to maintain hitherto; and shall see that *fama et vita pari passu ambulat*. You must send your answers by the way of Mr. Meynarde Troye at Amsterdam, and so they will come safe. You must explain yourself clearly to your father, who wishes you long life, and loves you intirely.

## THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA TO THE BARON OF RIPPERDA.

London, October 26, 1728.

Orford  
Papers.

*Official translation.*

SINCE I wrote to you from Exeter, I arrived in this town with perfect health, and do intend to take my rest here, 'till I can hear from you, and what



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what condition you are in. You will tell me, as I directed you in my other letter, how much you have spent of the money I left in your power, and what-  
 ever else has happened to you during the time of my confinement, to the end that I may take convenient measures. You will enquire of count de Cobenzel, who by your marriage is become my brother, if he thinks it convenient I should write to the emperor to undeceive him of count Kottsegg's falsehoods, and desire him to tell you what he thinks I had best do in that matter, and you will tell me, whether the mother to your beloved spouse, my most valuable daughter, be living, that I may write to the count, and to her if alive. You will bestow a thousand kisses and embraces upon my beloved daughter, whom I cherish as much as the apples of my eyes. I am, &c.

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 1727 to 1730.  
 Ripperda.

### WILLIAM STANHOPE AND HORACE WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Acquaints cardinal Fleury with the arrival of the duke of Ripperda in England.\**

October 27, 1723.

WE have thought fit to lett both the cardinal and monsieur Chauvelin know, that the duke of Ripperda was arrived in the west of England, and upon his road to London, and that the greatest care should be taken to keep him private, that his coming may give as little offence as possible. They both agreed in that opinion, and far from thinking that his majesty should give him up, intimated to us, that he should be treated in so civil and generous a manner, as to be kept in good humour, and by no means disoblighd.

### BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE DUKE DE RIPPERDA.

Groningen, October 30, 1723.

MY wife has received letters from Vienna, wherein your retreat from Segovia is approved with one common voice, and they hope that all this matter will go well, if you keep, with the people where you are, a reserved conduct as to past affairs, and a silence with relation to them; for in this manner, those princes you served, will be contented and satisfied with your conduct; and the emperor will, I hope, assist you, so that all may go well; and so I hope, from your great knowledge and management, that you will bring all your affairs to a good end, for yourself, my mother, and us your children, who all

Orford  
 Papers.

Official translation.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. all depend on your great forecast, my mother and brothers being still in that country of Spain: and so I trust in God he will grant you what is most needful to both your body and soul, and for the comfort of all belonging to you. Besides this, you very well know what a revolting nation England is, where they dare attack their own king. My grandmother, your mother-in-law, and your sisters hope for the good fortune of seeing you in this country, so does my wife, who recommends herself to your affection. I could tell you more largely by word of mouth all that has past during your absence from the ministry. Captain Heerma and monsieur Guidon are your humble servants. You are universally wished for here; and I have wished with great passion for your coming, believing it would be better for your honour, that you were here, rather than in England, unless, by agreement with the king of Spain, you are to make up some matters between the crowns, and that indeed would be a great honour for you. I am, &c.

## THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Congratulates him on the conclusion of the treaty of Seville.*

EXCELLENTISSIME DOMINE,

Soho Square, die 7 Januarii, 1729—30.

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Papers.

TRIBUS abhinc mensibus febris, pedibus manibusque laboravi; nec hodie usum illorum recuperari potui. Excellentiam vestram ex animo congratulor de conclusione tractatus Seviliensis et anni hujus novi principio. Deus addat multos felices, et gloriosos annos ad vitam vestræ excellentiæ mihi summo prære pretiosam. Peto ut mei recordetur, et sit certa excellentia vestra quod summo fervore et sinceritate animi, semper existam. Excellentissime domine, excellentiæ vestræ servus humilimus, et amicus fidelis.

W. DUX DE RIPPERDA.

# ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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DE LA FAYE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Lord Townshend complains of the duke of Newcastle for his official jealousy.*

(Whitehall, May 14, 1728.) I Send you, dear sir, the inclosed by my lord Townshend's order. You know how uneasy his grace is, if my lord interferes in offering his thoughts upon his dispatches, and therefore his lordship has been forced to take this turn to let you know by the king's command, what use should be made of some intercepted letters, which the duke will send you. You will find that his majesty has not only read this paper, but by a marginal remark writ, with his own hand, and signed by himself, has approved what is there suggested. His lordship therefore thinks that you should in your dispatches to the duke, give an account of the answers you receive from the cardinal upon these points, without taking notice whence you had the instructions, upon which you talk'd in that manner to his eminency, but rather letting them pass as reflections of your own, and what arose from the drift of those letters. His lordship bid me tell you, that he makes no question but that you will manage the letters sent you, in such a manner, that it may not be perceived how, or whence you had your advices.

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Ripperda.  
Townshend  
Papers.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Is apprehensive lest the cardinal should not act with vigour.—But is satisfied with his behaviour at the conference.—Sir Robert Walpole seems in earnest about Mr. Stanhope's brother.*

DEAR SIR,

Newcastle House, May 14—25, 1728.

I Received with the greatest pleasure the favour of your letter, which you may be assured shall be kept to myself, and that I shall never make any ill use of the confidence you are so good as to have in me, which makes me hope for a continuance of your favours of this kind. I am very sensible that the mild disposition of the cardinal gives but too much reason to apprehend, he may not always act with that vigour and firmness with which he sometimes talks, but the account of his behaviour at your conference, is indeed so good, and the answers he gave you upon the several points you putt to him, so strong, that if we are thoroughly supported by the Dutch plenipotentiarys, as I dare say we shall be, I really believe the cardinal will do what is right, and we desire of him.

Harrington  
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

'Tis

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

'Tis impossible in any dispatch to give more satisfaction, than your joint one has done, as you will see by my answer to it. I conclude the congress will now soon open. Count Sinzetdorff having left Vienna some time, I hope the cardinal will not have made many alterations in our instructions. I fear monsieur Chauvelin will not have drawn the French ones in the manner we could wish, but if the cardinal sticks to what he has promised, all must go well.

We have little or no news stirring here, but general satisfaction at what passes abroad. Sir Robert seems quite in earnest about your brother's affair, and I hope to send you a good account of it in a very short time. This letter goes under de la Faye's cover, as I desire you will continue to send those you favour me with, whenever you have a leisure hour. I should be glad to hear from you; for many things must occur in your negotiations, which I shall be glad to know; tho' perhaps you may not think proper to put them in your public dispatches, and it will always be a particular satisfaction to me to know your opinion upon every thing that happens.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Informs him that his brother is disappointed about the place.—Thinks Sir Robert Walpole was sincere.—The king's prejudices against his brother, occasioned the failure.*

DEAR SIR,

Newcastle House, May 24—June 4, 1728.

Harrington  
Papers.

Copy.

I Am persuaded you will do me the justice to believe, that it is with the greatest concern that I now acquaint you, that poor Charles's affair has at last miscarried, notwithstanding the hopes I gave you of success and certainty, I thought there was of it, till within these very few days. Sir Robert Walpole continued to give such strong assurances of his being for your brother, and only for him, that I could not have the least doubt of it; and indeed, notwithstanding what has happened, I must be so just to him, as to think he has been very sincere, and has his share of uneasiness upon it. It would be dwelling too long upon this disagreeable subject, to enter into all the particulars that have passed; however, I cannot forbear, in great confidence, acquainting you with the most material ones in the manner I have learnt them.

Sir Robert continued to think almost to the last, as he did when you was in town, that the disposition of the place would be left entirely to him; but he found at last, great encouragement had been given to another, if not almost  
a pro-

a promise, for whom a vacancy is, by the king's express order, made in the board of trade, by removing Jack Chetwynd, and putting in sir Thomas Frankland. Soon after you left England, it was said to sir Robert Walpole, that they believed you was not satisfied with what the king said to you upon your application in favour of Charles, upon which I assured sir Robert, that by the king's way of talking, as I understood, you had little reason to fear success, were he (sir Robert Walpole) for it.

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1728.

When sir Robert acquainted the king with the great disappointment this would be to you, the king answered, you could not from what he said to you, think he designed it for your brother. For that upon your saying you was sorry the king had not a more favourable opinion of your brother, the king answered, he had a very good one of you.

This being the state of the case, I am really afraid old prejudices remain'd so strong, that they were not to be got over, and I have good reason to think, that sir Robert has met with so much difficulty, and so many disagreeable incidents in the disposal of this employment, that the miscarriage is not to be imputed to him.

He has oblig'd sir William Yonge to take it, which was certainly never intended, for he never apply'd for Charles, but upon a supposition that sir W. Yonge wou'd not have it, and one of the chief reasons that sir Robert Walpole made him accept it, was the difficulty he finds in getting any thing for him, and that it made the disappointment to Charles the easier. I have now told you as much as I can by letter, which in justice both to you and others, I thought myself oblig'd to do. I can with truth say, this affair gave me as much concern as it can do you; the only satisfaction I have is, that I have not omitted on my part, any one single thing that cou'd have prevented what has happened; and whether we shall ever be able to mend things or not, I shall always be, with the most unfeigned sincerity and affection to you, to Charles, and the whole family, &c.

#### WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Expresses his great concern at the failure of his brother's expectations.—Is not convinced of sir Robert Walpole's sincerity.—Thinks his coldness at first did him great hurt.—Is piqued that others are made peers..*

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MY LORD,

June 8, 1728.

1727 to 1730.

Harrington  
Papers.Private.Copy.

I Received last night, by Ling, the messenger, the honour of your grace's private letter of the 24th past, O. S. acquainting me with the success of my brother's affair, which unexpected disgrace, moved me more than ever I remember myself to have been at any thing that ever happened to me in all my life; tho' at the same time I beg leave to assure your grace, that I never did or can one moment forgett the very kind and generous part which you and your brother have acted towards us from the beginning to the end of this affair. And I wish I could be equally clear in my opinion as to sir Robert Walpole's behaviour in it; for altho' I am persuaded from what your grace has been pleas'd to tell me, that towards the end he wou'd have liked to have had it gone in the manner you desir'd, I cant, however, help thinking, that his visible coolness at the beginning, was a great occasion of its miscarrying.

But I shall not detain your grace any longer upon so disagreeable a subject, which I am fully persuaded, from the many undoubted proofs I have had of your grace's friendship and good nature, must be painfull to you to reflect upon, as it is to myself. Though I can't help saying, if I mistook the king, by applying what he said to me to my brother, it was very natural for me to do, considering how it was introduced. viz. by my telling him, that if formerly he had received any ill impressions of my brother, I hoped they were at present removed, which being the case, I could not imagine that he meant to me the expressions of his good opinion, when my brother was the only subject of our conversation. At the same time with your grace's letter, I received one from my brother, full of the most gratefull sentiments towards yourself and Mr. Pelham, for your sincere and zealous endeavours to serve him in this as well as upon every other occasion, and for your kind concern at the disappointment he has met withall: and I wish I could say, that the ill success of this affair had made no deeper impressions upon me, than I find it has upon him.

But however I may be affected with what has happened, it shall never make me less zealous or diligent in the executing of his majesty's commands to the best of my abilities, whilst I shall have the honour to remain in his service. I observed that your grace takes no notice in your letter of the late promotion of several gentlemen to the peerage, which I attribute to your good nature, as unwilling to speak at the same time upon two subjects, almost equally disagreeable to me, tho' I hope you will be assur'd, that whatever my disappoint-

ments

ments may be, and from whatever quarter they may come, I can never be so weak as to be out of humour at whatever your grace shou'd think fit to say to me upon them, or doubt of your endeavours and desires to have prevented them. I should be glad to receive further lights from you in relation to my French secretary. For altho' I have never trusted him with any thing of consequence, since my brother first writt to me upon his subject, I should be loath to ruin him for ever by turning him immediately out of my service, unless your grace should think the suspicion against him so well grounded, as to make it necessary. We set out to-morrow for Soissons, from whence we shall very soon send another messenger to England, by whom I shall not fail to write fully, and in confidence to your grace, my opinion of the success we are like to have at the congress.

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## STEPHEN POYNTZ TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Mr. Stanhope disappointed that his brother is not appointed a lord of the admiralty, and that himself is not made a peer.—Thinks his brother obnoxious to sir Robert Walpole.—Praises the candour of Mr. Stanhope.—Reflections on the point of Gibraltar.—Is of opinion, that it would be a wise measure to restore it to Spain.*

MY LORD,

Paris, June 9, 1728.

I Think it proper your lordship should be apprised, that Mr. Stanhope is extremely cast down, on the double disappointment of his brother's not being in the admiralty, and his own not being made a peer. The first, I find, he did not entirely reckon upon, on account of his brother's being personally disagreeable to sir Robert Walpole; but the latter, he says the king had absolutely promis'd him, and that your lordship, sir Robert Walpole, and the duke of Newcastle had promis'd to be his remembrancers, and to support his request. He was going to write to your lordship by this messenger; but afterwards said it was now too late, the affair was decided, and the main pretention on which he hoped to obtain this distinction, which was that of his being first plenipotentiary at the congress, being overlooked, he could never hope to obtain this favour; that he was very sure your lordship was his real friend, and had done all you could for him even in his absence; and that the writing to you, would only be giving you a pain, which your kindness towards

Townshend  
Papers.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. him had very little deserved. I should do him great injustice, if I should insinuate that this or any other private consideration, was capable of altering his way of acting in the affairs we have to transact together, which I do assure your lordship, has been hitherto accompanied with the greatest openness, candour, and honour. As it is of high importance, in my humble opinion, for the benefit of the service, that he should continue in the same sentiments of respect and confidence towards your lordship, which I am very sure he has, I would submit it to your lordship's consideration, whether it might not be proper to enable me to say something to him from your lordship upon this occasion, which may convince him that you continue his friend. I must own to your lordship, that I am very much pleased with him, and so is Mr. Walpole. But God is my witness, that in what I now write, I have no view to make my court to Mr. Stanhope or any one else, but only to continue to do all in my power towards preserving that union and harmony, which I think necessary for the great work we have before us, which I am very sure requires all helps of this kind.

I can see no daylight yet in the affairs of the congress, only thus much, that after we carry the point of Gibraltar, the Spaniards will leave no stone unturned to hurt our commerce, in order to distress us into a compliance on the other point. The queen of Spain may have other views, but the catholick king and the true Spaniards are animated against us by this single consideration. God forbid that any British subject should think of giving up Gibraltar in the present violent situation of things, and under the rough treatment we meet with from Spain. But if the Spanish plenipotentiarys, instead of demanding it peremptorily, were to sett forth in an amicable manner, that the quadruple alliance having made great alterations in the possessions ascertained by the treaty of Utrecht, and the crown of Spain having acceded to that alliance, under hopes given both by England and France of their recovering a place extorted from them by the mere necessity of their affairs, they are ready to offer an equivalent for it, and only desire a promise, that the consideration of this equivalent may be submitted to the king and his parliament, leaving our possession in the mean time on the foot of our treaties, I must own, in such a case, I should not think any injury done us. This and some advantage for the queen of Spain's family, consistent with the balance of Europe, might perhaps procure a general pacification, and reduce the emperor to reason.



son. Without something of this kind, I fear no peace can be of long duration, nor our commerce to Spain and the West Indies ever be free from losses and interruption.

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1728.

I beg ten thousand pardons for presuming to offer my poor thoughts to your lordship, on so delicate an affair, but I shall endeavour to make amends by executing my instructions with all the submission, diligence, and exactness, that my infirm state of body and mind will permit me; having no other ambition in the world, but by acting the part of an honest man, to deserve the continuance of that protection from your lordship, which has made the honour and happiness of my life. I pray God to restore to your lordship perfect health, accompanied with all possible happiness to yourself and family, and am with the warmest devotion and respect, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Condoles with him on his brother's disappointment. — Assures him that the king always mentions him with terms of regard.*

DEAR SIR,

Claremont, June 3—14, 1728.

I Had the favour of your very kind letter of the 8th of June, and if any thing you'd add to my concern in your late disappointment, it would be your goodness to me in allowing me to have a very great share in whatever happens to you or your family, that is disagreeable to you. I did not indeed trouble you about the promotion of the lords, imagining that might give you some concern, when you had but too much upon poor Charles's account. Under these circumstances, the only comfort I can give you, and that is but small, is, that the king, whenever he mentions you, which he does very often, does it with the greatest regard imaginable; and I verily believe, has an entire confidence in you. Your resolution of not letting any of these incidents affect you in the execution of the king's business, is so like yourself, that it cannot be too much commended.

But to leave this disagreeable subject, with assuring you of mine and my brother's firm resolutions to contribute the little in our power, constantly to promote whatever may be to your satisfaction, or for the interest of your family; I must acquaint you, that Mr. Walpole's account from Compiègne, of the cardinal's and monsieur Chauvelin's discourse with Bournonville about Gibraltar, and the cardinal's resentment at the unaccountable behaviour of the court

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730. court of Vienna, about the affair of Mecklenburgh, has given us the greatest satisfaction; and indeed, I begin to hope you will not have much difficulty at the congress, at least about Gibraltar, for it is not possible to be more \* \* \* \* than the cardinal has been upon it. I hope soon to have an account of your opening the congress, and as your letters are most wellcome to me, I shou'd be extream glad to have your opinion of the success you are like to have.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*On Mr. Stanhope's discontent.—Justifies sir Robert Walpole.—King's personal dislike to Charles Stanhope, and though warmly pressed by sir Robert Walpole, refuses to grant a peerage.—Promises his support.—Approves the proposal to restore Gibraltar, but declares his opinion, that the nation will never consent to it.*

SIR,

Whitehall, June 3—14, 1728.

Townshend  
Papers.

Private.

Draught.

I Received your letter, and am extremely obliged to you for the friendly part you act towards me, in acquainting me with the uneasiness which Mr. Stanhope seems to be under at present. For as I have a real value and respect for that gentleman, you may imagine that I must be very solicitous to clear up any matter, that can possibly give him the least room to doubt of the sincerity of my friendship for him.

As to his brother's not being in the admiralty, I can with great truth assure you, that that disappointment did not at all proceed from any personal dislike conceiv'd against him by sir Robert Walpole, who recommended him in the strongest manner to the king, and espoused his interest with so much warmth, as even to hazard the loss of his credit with his majesty for ever. But after the most earnest and repeated solicitations in behalf of Mr. Stanhope, the king absolutely refused to preferr him to the admiralty, with some expressions of resentment against sir Robert Walpole, for having recommended him.

As to the other point of the peerage, I dare say, that when Mr. Stanhope knows the true state of the case, he will not think he has any reason to be dissatisfy'd with the conduct of his friends in that particular. A few days before the prorogation of the parliament, my brother Walpole waited upon the king, and told him, that this would be a proper time to fulfill his gracious intentions towards those whom he had promised to promote to the honour of peerage. His majesty seem'd much displeased at this proposal, and said he was deter-  
mined

mined not to make any promotion of that kind. This answer, tho' it was delivered with a good deal of warmth, did not hinder my brother Walpole from renewing his instances upon this subject, but to no purpose. The next morning his majesty told my brother Walpole with some vehemence, that if he must make some new lords, he was resolved to make only four, and mention'd those whole names you have seen in the printed papers. My brother endeavour'd to persuade him to add some who had equal pretensions with those he had named, and represented to him, that this creation would be much smaller than had been usual at the beginning of a reign, but his majesty absolutely refused to make any more. I must acquaint you in confidence, that sir Thomas Saunderfon, who, as heir to my lord Castleton, had a very just claim to have been distinguish'd upon this occasion, could not obtain that favour, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations of my lord Scarborough, who, upon his application to her majesty, to use her good offices in favour of his brother, was answer'd, that she durst say no more to the king upon this head.

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This being the true state of that affair, I hope Mr<sup>s</sup> Stanhope will not think that his pretensions have suffered by any coolness or indifference on our part; and as it is very probable that upon the breaking up of the congress, his majesty may be disposed to shew a due regard to the merit of one who must have so considerable a share in the affairs that are to be transacted there, he may depend upon my utmost endeavours to obtain that distinction, which he is so justly entitled to. I beg you will assure him from me, that as I have ever since my first acquaintance with him, profess'd a real value and esteem for him, I shall always behave myself in every thing where his interest is concerned, in such a manner, as to give him no room to repent the confidence he is pleas'd to express in the sincerity of my good wishes towards him.

What you propose in relation to Gibraltar, is certainly very reasonable, and is exactly conformable to the opinion, which you know I have always entertain'd concerning that place. But you cannot but be sensible of the violent and almost superstitious zeal, which has of late prevailed among all partys in this kingdom, against any scheme for the restitution of Gibraltar upon any conditions whatsoever. And I am afraid, that the bare mention of a proposal, which carry'd the most distant appearance of laying England under an obligation of ever parting with that place, would be sufficient to put the whole nation in a flame. In my opinion, all we can do to soften the king of Spain, and to appease the ill will which the Spanish nation has conceived against us, will

Period IV. <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> will be to consent to such propofals as may prevent the unlawfull trade, which is alledg'd by the Spaniards to be carry'd on by the South Sea company, without rendering ineffectual the privilege which is granted to that company by the affiento treaty, of fending one fhip annually to the Spanifh Weft Indies.

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Sends to the king a letter from the duke of Wharton to Horace Walpole.—  
Desires instructions may be forwarded to Paris on that fubjeft.*

MY LORD,

Hockrel, June 29—July 10, 1728.

Weston  
Papers.

I Send your lordfhip a letter from the duke of Wharton to my brother at Paris, which the meffenger brought hither to me this morning. I beg you will lay it before the king, and take his majeftie's orders upon the fubjeft, and tranfmitt them to my brother, which he is very defirous to receive without loffe of time, that he may know in what manner to behave himfelf when the duke of Wharton is at Paris. I am forry the duke of Wharton mentions me in particular, which putts me under fome difficulty, but I cannot forbear faying, I fee no reafon for his majefty's altering the orders he has already given about the duke of Wharton, but think it neceffary that my brother fhould be acquainted in form by a fecretary of ftate, with the king's pleasure upon this fubjeft, without lofs of time.

If his majefty fhould ever be induced to think of pardoning the duke of Wharton, 'tis furely now advifable to carry on the profecution, when there are legal and full evidences, which may be afterwards hard to come at, and mercy is no leffe in the king's power after conviction.

## THE DUKE OF WHARTON TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[Enclofed in the preceding letter.]

*Acknowledges that the king's clemency was owing to the regard fir Robert Walpole had for his father.—Requests Horace Walpole to intercede for him.*

SIR,

Lions, June 28, 1728.

Walpole  
Papers.

YOUR excellency will be furpriz'd to receive a letter from me, but the clemency with which the government of England has treated me, which  
is

is in a great measure owing to your brother's regard to my father's memory, makes me hope that you will give me leave to express my gratitude for it. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

Since his present majesty's accession to the throne, I have absolutely refus'd to be concerned with the pretender or any of his affairs, and during my stay in Italy have behav'd myself in a manner that doctor Peters, Mr. Godolphin, and Mr. Mills can declare to be consistent with my duty to the present king. I was forc'd to go to Italy, to get out of Spain, where if my true design had been known, I should have been treated a little severely. 1728.

I am coming to Paris, to put myself entirely under your excellency's protection, and hope that sir Robert Walpole's good nature will prompt him to save a family, which his generosity induced him to spare. If your excellency would permitt me to wait upon you for an hour, I am certain you would be convinc't of the sincerity of my repentance for my former madness, would become an advocate with his majesty to grant me his most gracious pardon, which, it is my comfort, I shall never be required to purchase by any step unworthy of a man of honour. I do not intend, in case of the king's allowing me to pass the evening of my days under the shadow of his royal protection, to see England for some years, but shall remain in France or Germany, as my friends shall advise, and enjoy country sports till all former stors are buried in oblivion. I beg of your excellency to let me receive your orders at Paris, which I will send to your hostel to receive. The dutchess of Wharton, who is with me, desires leave to wait on Mrs. Walpole, if you think proper. I am, &c.

## THE DUKE OF WHARTON TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Requests his intercession to obtain his pardon.*

SIR,

July 6, 1728.

THE friendship which your excellency has allways had for my family, makes me hope that you will not decline to become an advocate in my favour with the king, that his majesty may be graciously pleas'd to allow me the honour imploring his royal pardon for my past conduct, and that in order to it, his majesty will permit me to make him an humble tender of my duty in a letter, in which I may have an opportunity of expressing the real sentiments of my heart, and my unalterable resolution to pass the remainder of my days as it becomes a dutiful subject, who has already received the strongest proofs of his

Walpole  
Papers.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730. majesty's great clemency, and who is consequently tied to his duty by gratitude as well as inclination. I shall esteem this as the greatest mark of your excellency's good nature, for really your transmitting of my humble request to the king, will be an act of generosity that shall be always acknowledged.

P. S. If your excellency favours me with an answer of this letter, directed to me at Roen, it will assuredly reach me as it will charm me.

HORACE WALPOLE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Visit of the duke of Wharton.*

MY LORD,

Paris, July 6, 1728.

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

YESTERDAY about noon, while I was engaged with some company in my own house, my page brought me word, that there was a servant at the door, who desired to know, when a gentleman, who was lately arrived from Lyons, and had something in particular to say to me, might see me. I appointed him to come this morning at eight o'clock, at which time the duke of Wharton made me a visit, and introduced himself by telling me, that he could not sufficiently express his gratitude for the great goodness and clemency of the government of England, in not proceeding against him with that severity, which his behaviour had deserved; which he was persuaded proceeded from a regard to his father's memory. That he could sincerely assure me, that he had not been any ways concerned in the interest or service of the pretender, nor with any person that belonged to him, for some months before the death of his late majesty, or ever since his present majesty's succession to the crown. That he had indeed lately passed through Parma, where the pretender and several of his adherents were with him, but that he had industriously avoided to speak with any of them, keeping constantly company with those English that are known to be well affected to his majesty's government. That he was now determined to fling himself at the king's feet, to implore his mercy, pardon, and protection; having taken a fixed resolution to behave himself as a faithful subject to his majesty for the remainder of his life, and should retire to such place, and continue there for such time as his majesty should think fit, without being at all concerned in any affairs, with much more to the same effect; which he expressed with that eloquence, which is so natural to him; accompanying this declaration with the most solemn protestations of a constant fidelity to his majesty's person and government, and desiring that I would lay before

fore, the king what he had said, and support it with my interest and credit for obtaining his majesty's grace and forgiveness; intimating to me, that he was ready to make his submission to his majesty, in a letter\* that he would write himself to the king for that purpose.

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1728.

I told the duke of Wharton, that I could make him no other answer to this solemn declaration, considering the notoriety of his actions, than that if he expected I should as a minister say any thing to the king about him, I must desire he would give it me in writing, and I would not fail, on account of his great quality, and of his being still a peer of Great Britain, to transmit it to your grace, for his majesty's commands upon it. But I could not help asking him, what security he could give for a more settled and regular behaviour, considering the constant variety of contradictions in his life, both in religion and politicks, for so many years. To which indeed he had little to say, besides the assurances of becoming entirely a new man, and of proving it by his future behaviour; that he was ready to let me know any thing with regard to the pretender, as far as was consistent with his honour, in not betraying or doing the least harm to any person that had been concerned with him; and spoke of the late bishop of Rochester on this occasion, with some regard, to whom he was resolved to return some original papers, that he might be convinced, that he would not have it even in his power to hurt him.

He then gave me by fits, and in a rambling way, that was entertaining enough, on account of several of his late motions and actions, while he was in the pretender's service, and particularly in Spain, with which it is unnecessary, and of no service to trouble your grace at present. And he concluded with telling me, that he would go to his lodgings, which were in a garret, where the dutchess of Wharton was likewise with him, and would write me a letter; and immediately without making the least stay or appearance here, retire to Rouen in Normandy, and there expect my answer, after I shall have given an account of him to England. But before he left me, he asked me my opinion as a friend, whether he should immediately resign the king of Spain's commission as an officer in his army; I civilly declined to give him my advice one way or other in it. Upon my return this evening from Versailles, I found a letter from his grace, of which the inclosed\* is a copy.

\* The preceding letter.

The duke of Wharton told me in confirmation of what Mr. Allen wrote lately about the pretender at Parma,\* that the duke of Parma, upon the pretender's arrival there, sent him his own guards to attend him, visited him

both

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

both at the place where he was lodged, as well as in the boxes at the opera, gave him the rank, and publickly treated him in every respect as king of Great Britain; and particularly, that when the duke of Wharton took his leave of the duke of Parma at the opera, having first let him know, that he could not come into the box where his highness was, on the account of a certain person being there, meaning the pretender, the duke of Parma came out of the box to him, and took an occasion to say, that he did not fear the English; for their fleet could not come to him at Parma.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Approves his conduct towards the duke of Wharton, and declares the king's resolution not to receive any application.*

SIR,

Whitehall, July 1—12, 1728.

Walpole.  
Papers.

HAVING laid before the king your excellency's letter, giving an account of a visit you had received from the duke of Wharton, and inclosing a copy of a letter he wrote to you afterwards upon the same occasion, I am commanded to let you know, that his majesty approves what you said to the duke, and your behaviour towards him; but that the duke of Wharton has conducted himself in so extraordinary a manner, since he left England, and has so openly declared his disaffection to the king and his government, by joining with and serving under his majesty's professed enemies, that his majesty does not think fit to receive any application from him.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Duke of Wharton renews his connection with the jacobites.*

MY LORD,

Paris, August 14, 1728.

Walpole  
Papers.

Copy.

HAVING already acquainted your grace, that the jacobites had a design of printing a manifesto here in favour of the pretender, by way of address to the several powers assembled at the congress; I have been since told by the Garde des Sceaux, that he had seized the whole impression, and put an effectual stop to it. And Mr. Robinson having been again at the prison of the Chatelet, to see M. Aderhelm, has obtained of him a copy of the said manifesto, with the deductions design'd to be annexed to it, which I have the honour to send your grace inclosed. In the mean while, I am informed, that  
the



the duke of Wharton, having upon what has passed with relation to him in England, renewed his commerce with the jacobites, and publickly professed his attachment to the pretender and the catholick religion, is now at Diepe, in company with Mift, the printer; and it is not impossible, but they may be forming some design to print this piece, either there or at Rouën, in which last place at least there are presses.

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## HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Imperial ministers cabal with opposition, and draw their accounts principally from them.*

MY DEAR LORD,

London, February 11, 1728—9.

THE constant multiplicity of business here in parliament, has been the reason why I have not sooner acknowledged your kind letters since my arrival; but now the most material points are over, with as great a superiority on the side of the court, and indeed with as much zeal and steadiness as I ever saw in a majority. I hope this will find you and your court fully convinced, that this parliament will heartily support his majesty, to bring matters to a decision by peace or war, as they have already done to bring them to the present crisis. As you will receive every thing that is necessary from lord Townshend, for your intelligence and direction at this juncture, I shall not trouble you on that head, but only observe, that I am sorry to see that I find I do not know by what fatality, that all the imperiall ministers that come to this court, of what condition and quality so ever they are, will think the best way of doing their business, and of being informed, is to seek the acquaintance of those whose views naturally lead them to keep up the misunderstanding between his majesty and the emperor, and for that purpose are very industrious to give the imperiall ministers here, a false representation of things. Count Starembergh fell somewhat into this mistake at the latter end of his ministry; tho' in the main he did well, and was respected. But every minister since him, from Vienna, has taken care to be entangled in a wilderness of errors, and to fancy by getting false lights, they are able to learn more than others, who know the true state of things here.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

LORD

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*Complains of the uncertain situation of affairs, and states the necessity that France should explicitly declare her intentions, without which the parliament cannot be managed.*

DEAR SIR, .

Whitehall, February 21, 1728—9.

Poyntz  
Papers.

*Private.*

YOUR dispatches by Molloy, have given me more uneasiness, than ever I felt in my life; and as I have, as you know, more confidence in you, than in any man living, I cannot help giving, in the utmost secrecy, you the trouble, and myself the comfort, of opening my mind to you upon the present situation of affairs. I agree perfectly with the cardinal in what he says in his letter to Mr. Walpole, that the assurances given by Sinzendorf on the one hand, and by Bournonville on the other, and the provisional treatys not having been as yet rejected by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, are considerations sufficient to justify our not having come to a rupture as yet. I likewise agree still farther, that no step towards a war, ought openly to be made by us, till after the arrival of the gallions, and till we see whether the effects will be deliver'd out pursuant to the preliminaries. In acquiescing so far, I have no difficulty. But what grieves me is, to see the cardinal so averse to the explaining himself, in confidence to the king, upon the measures to be taken by the allies of Hanover, in case the emperor and queen of Spain, should either refuse to deliver out the effects, pursuant to the preliminaries, or should not give a satisfactory answer as to the concluding the provisional treaty.

The allies of Hanover, have in their hands, strength sufficient to bring their enemies to reason: they have given each other sufficient proofs of their fidelity to their engagements. They therefore ought so far to consult their own honor and interest, as not to suffer themselves to be intangled, and put under difficulties, and even insulted in the eye of all Europe, by trifling and unreasonable delays in carrying on the negociation; but to be prepared to act in concert, as well in what relates to the method of carrying on the treaty, as to military operations, in case those should become necessary. The cardinal has had sufficient experience of our secrecy; and therefore must know that he might securely open himself to the king, without running any risk of having his thoughts come to the knowledge, either of the court of Vienna, or of that of Madrid; and therefore, that no ill consequence could possibly attend his  
doing

doing it. If the cardinal knew our situation here, he would be convinced of the necessity there is of his acting this friendly part towards the king, and that <sup>Period IV. 1727 to 1730.</sup> the true interest of France, requires he should do it. He is mistaken, if he thinks, that the parliament is influenced by money, to be thus unanimous in the supporting his majesty in all he has done. This zeal proceeds from the chief men in both houses being convinced, that the measures his majesty has hitherto taken are right; but these persons, tho' they have heartily concurred in what has been done hitherto, are under the greatest anxiety, at the uncertain state of our affairs; and will not be kept much longer in suspense. 1729.

We shall raise three millions five hundred thousand pounds this year, which is above one million five hundred thousand pounds more than our ordinary expences in time of peace; and if we are not enabled to give assurances, at least privately to the members of weight and interest in both houses, before they are prorogued, that matters are agreed and concerted between his majesty and France, in such a manner that they may depend either upon seeing an honourable end soon put to our present disturbances by negociation, or that the allys of Hanover have taken measures to do themselves justice by force of arms, the king's credit and influence in this parliament will be entirely lost, which is an extremity the king must never suffer himself to be drove to. The confusions and misfortunes that attended the reigns of king Charles the first, and the second, and king James, in differing with their parliaments, are too recent, and too notorious to be forgot. If therefore his eminency is not to be prevailed upon to open himself confidently to his majesty, and to lay down such methods, as appear proper for bringing the allys of Hanover out of this state of uncertainty (which is the only circumstance that makes the parliament uneasy under the present burthens) the king must determine in that case, by lessening his expences abroad, to ease the nation of the greatest part of the additional taxes they now bear. Should we be obliged to go into this measure, by France's not opening her sentiments freely to us, our allys cannot with reason complain. His eminency must remember, that we have fairly and honestly represented the difficultys we shall labour under, which may all be removed in case France will explain herself with confidence as to the methods by which she thinks we are to conduct ourselves towards putting a speedy end to the present disorders and disturbances in which Europe is involved. Our request must be own'd to be reasonable, and what ought not be denied to allys,

Period IV. allys, especially to such as have behaved as we have done. And so far we  
 1727 to 1730. shall be excusable before God and man, be the event what it will.

I trouble you with this long epistle, with no other view than to open my mind to you freely, and without reserve. You know the reproaches I have with patience born, upon the account of the share I had in forming this alliance. It is therefore very natural I should be very much concern'd for its success. I write in the greatest confidence to you, and to you alone; and can depend upon your friendship to excuse any weakness that may be found, as to the manner in which I have expressed myself; as to the present temper and disposition of this country, I am sure I have given a true and faithful account of it. I am, with the greatest sincerity and affection, dear sir, yours, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*Encloses a letter to shew the cardinal, or not, according to his discretion, with a view to discover his intentions, and to be delivered from the uncertain state of things.*

DEAR POYNTZ,

Whitehall, February 21, 1728—9.

Poyntz  
Papers.

YOU have the inclosed from me, to be made use of as you shall think most for the king's service. You may communicate it to the cardinal as from yourself, in confidence, or let it alone, just as you shall judge it may be best for the purpose to which it is intended. You see my chief aim is to bring the cardinal to a clear explanation, whether in case Spain should refuse to sign the provisional treaty, he will take vigorous measures to bring matters to a speedy decision; or if he is determin'd still to continue negotiating, you will endeavour to draw from him, what method he will take to carry on, and the terms upon which he intends to finish these pacifick negotiations: since it is evident to us all here, that this nation will not long bear the present uncertain state of things. This letter, therefore, is solely calculated to let the cardinal see the necessity we shall be under to reduce our expences, if he does not, by opening himself clearly to us, deliver us from our present state of uncertainty. You can best judge what effect this way of reasoning may have upon him; we have tried all others, but to little purpose. You have the king's leave, therefore, to shew it him, as from yourself, in great confidence; or to burn it, as you shall think most for his majesty's service.

Give

Give me leave to suggest to you, whether you might not try the cardinal by talking calmly to him at first, as from yourself only, the substance of this enclosed letter, as your own notion and apprehensions as to the danger we in common run, in case France continued us any longer in the present state of uncertainty. If you find this way of arguing has a good effect, then to produce in confidence to him my letter, to corroborate what you shall have said. There is this further advantage in mentioning this first as from yourself, for you may then take notice to the cardinal, of what you said to him, and of what his eminency answered you, in your dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, which otherwise you must avoid doing. Your's most affectionately, &c.

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1729.

## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Reasons for preferring an alliance with the emperor to one with Spain, if impossible with both.—Differs from lord Townshend.—Ineffectual attempts of the queen to reconcile their opinions.*

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, May 22—June 2, 1729.

I Have not troubled Horace or you with any privates of late, having been in some hurry upon the king's going, and having not had much of consequence to send you. You will see by the enclosed paper, which is what I wrote to lord Townshend, that Kinski has again renewed his negotiation here; and I can also tell you, that he went so far with the queen as to own he had power to sign the provisional treaty, notwithstanding he had talked quite in a different strain both to sir Robert Walpole and to me. What will become of this, nobody can tell; but sure if we can't make up with the emperor and Spain, it must be more advisable to make up singly with the emperor than with Spain, since we may probably do it at a cheaper rate, and the consequences of a breach with Spain, I think not for many reasons so bad as they would be with the emperor. Neither can I suppose France would go along with us. And now I am upon the subject of France, we are very impatient here, to know what the cardinal will do in case of a refusal from Spain. Sure he must and will do something; for I must own, I think, if this summer ends as the last did, nobody can tell what will be the consequence of it next winter. Peace is best of all, and the present uncertain situation almost the worst.

These, I believe, are the thoughts of most of the king's servants that are now here; tho' our friend\* that is gone to Hanover, differs *toto calo*. The

Harrington  
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

Period IV. queen and several common friends took much pains with him to reconcile us,   
 1727 to 1730. but to no purpose. What I have said about Kinski, I only write for your information. You may communicate the enclosed paper to both your colleagues, but only to Horace the other parts of my letter, and I must desire they would not let any body know, I have sent any account of what has passed here with Kinski. Whenever Horace or you can spare time to write me a priyate, you will infinitely oblige, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Apprehensions of the designs of the French ministry.—Complains of lord Townshend for keeping a negotiation secret.—Highly commends the friendship of sir Robert Walpole.—To be communicated only to Horace Walpole.*

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, April 15, 1729.

Harrington  
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

YOU may easily imagine, from the cardinal's answer to Mr. Walpole, which I received this-morning, that we are very impatient to hear, what the things of importance are. We hope and conclude, that it is some proposal to bring things to an issue; and as it looks, both our accounts from Spain as well as from Vienna, that those two courts are not at present extreamly satisfied with each other, possibly we may receive some good news, at least something that may get us out of the present state of suspense one way or other. Chauvelin's letters, that I sent you, were very bad; and if France be, as I hope it is not, in that way of thinking, I don't see where we shall have an end. You will, I fancy, be surprized att my lord Townshend's to me, it was originally wrote to Delafaye, but upon my insisting to send his letter for your instruction, he addressed the letter to me. I must own in confidence to you and Horace, that it was on a subject, that I had rather his lordship should write on than myself, especially since it related to a negotiation, that had been on foot ever since 18th March, and had been kept a secret in great measure from us all.

You see by this, things continue with us much as you left them, and that there is nothing I will conceal from you. I shall only make one remark, that your friend, my lord Townshend, has forgot you was in France. But now I am upon your own subject, I can't forbear expressing to you my concern, that things did not happen here as you wished. The only comfort I have, is, my firm persuasion, that you are not only convinced of mine, but of sir Robert's

bert's sincerity and zeal in the thing. For there is nothing that I can wish more heartily, than a most perfect good correspondence between you, sir Robert, and our friend Horace, to all whom I am a most sincere and faithful friend and servant. Forgive me for troubling you upon this subject, but I am sure you cannot take it amiss. As I promised, so you may depend on hearing constantly how things go here. My letters, I always reckon in common to you and Horace, but as poor Poyntz don't know upon how bad a foot things are here amongst us, and I am persuaded, would be heartily sorry for it, if he did, I must begg of you to take no notice of it to him, at least from me. My compliments to all friends.

Period IV.

1727 to 1739.

1729.

## SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

*Recommends Chambers, the author of the dictionary.*

SIR,

Chelsea, June 9, 1729.

I Have heard a very great character of Mr. Ephraim Chambers, and of his dictionary of Arts and Sciences, in 2 vols. in folio, which has met with great applause in foreign countries as well as here. The ingenious author thereof, has desired me to recommend him to you, and to request that you would use your interest with your friends in the city, that he may succeed Mr. Tooke, as mathematicall professor of Gresham college. What service you please to do him, upon this request of myne, shall be regarded as a particular act of friendship.

British Museum.

Sloane MSS. 4065.

## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*The ministers of England desirous to make up with the emperor, with a view to get rid of the German disputes, and to declare war against Spain as more popular.—The insincere and evasive conduct of the court of Vienna, renders an accommodation impracticable.—Answer to Mr. Stanhope's demand of the vice chamberlain's place.—Will support his promotion to the peerage.*

DEAR SIR,

Kensington, June 12—23, 1729.

I Received with great pleasure your private letters by monsieur Villette, and I must own, I thought your reasonings in it so strong, that for your own sake, as well as to justify the step you had taken in the orders sent to Keene, I shewed it the queen, upon whom it had the desired effect, and you will receive

Harrington Papers.

Private.

Copy.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

ceive by this messenger her majesty's entire approbation of your conduct. You will have heard we were here rather for making up with the emperor, if that could have been done, and that for these reasons, that we should then have gott rid of all the disagreeable *German* disputes, the Hessian troops, the subsidies, &c. and have reduced our army, and had nothing to do against Spain, but with our fleet, which is popular in England; and after all the provocation we have had from Spain, we should have been justified in any thing, either in the West Indies or elsewhere. But this was always in a supposition, that France, in order to avoid coming into a general war, would not have opposed making up with the emperor. But however the conduct of the court of Vienna, shews plainly they were only amusing us, or at best, doing every where else, what they were doing here, so you had no choice; and indeed, if there was the least apprehension that France and Spain might have joined against us, it is infinitely more adviseable to make up with Spain, and afterwards as you propose, be reconciled to the emperor. But as the only thing I dread, is the continuance of the negotiation, and that Spain, who has been able, by giving new hopes of concluding, to prevent the coming to a decision for six weeks, they may endeavour by their next answer to do the same thing. For it is an odd circumstance, that the answer which was promised by Patino, in four or five days, should have been so long delayed; and I can't help fearing, in order to wait the return of the courier from Vienna, mentioned by la Paz; and what effect that may have, nobody can tell. However, sure the cardinal (after all we have done) will agree to take some vigorous stroke, in case of a refusal, or unsatisfactory answer from Spain. I believe the king's servants here, will advise his majesty, that directions may be sent hither, that in case an unsatisfactory answer comes from Spain, sir Charles Wager may sail to the coast of Spain, without any further orders from Hanover. But of this, I begg you would not take any notice. We shall, I believe, also offer it as our opinion to the king, that you have done extreamly right in the orders you sent to Spain. We must make an end one way or other; if we neither make peace nor war this summer, I can't foresee what may happen next winter.

I hope you will not disapprove my having shewed your letter to the queen, which I thought was not an ill way of acquainting her with your request of sir Paul Methuen's staff, which indeed she received as I could wish, and desired me to tell you, that the king had determined, when he went away, not to dispose of it, and therefore she could say nothing particular about it;



## ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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it; but that I might assure you of her good disposition for your service. Period IV.  
 Sir Robert Walpole talked very kindly upon the subject, when I spoke to <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup>  
 him of it, and when he told me, that Horace had wrote to him about it. The 1729.  
 true state of the case is, his majesty had a mind to dispose of it, so as to save  
 A ———, and that was the reason, that it was kept vacant. I am persuaded  
 there is no scheme made yett about it; and I hope whenever one is, a regard  
 will be had to your inclinations about it. I find the peerage is still your fa-  
 vourite point, I heartily wish you may obtain it, which I should hope when things  
 abroad are finished, might be brought about. I am perfwaded, I need not  
 assure you of my good wishes for your service. Horace will acquaint you  
 with sir Robert's good disposition towards you. I am sure you will forgive  
 the freedom with which I write to you upon these subjects, and believe  
 me, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

*Endorsed—"Not sent."—Condemns the measures of his colleagues.*

MY LORD,

Hanover, June —, 1729.

AS I intend not to conceal any thing from your excellency, according to <sup>Townshend</sup>  
 the intimate confidence that is between us, I herewith send you a copy <sup>Papers.</sup>  
 of the duke of Newcastle's letter to me of 13th, O. S.; as also, a copy of the <sup>Very private.</sup>  
 answer I have returned by his majesty's command. Your excellency will, by <sup>To yourself</sup>  
 these papers, better understand what I write to you in my publick letter, and <sup>alone.</sup>  
 know how to manage your discourse with the pensionary and the greffier, with  
 an eye to what the lords propose, as to his majesty's squadron acting alone  
 in the West Indies. I beg your excellency will not take notice of this com-  
 munication, either to the duke of Newcastle, the pensionary, or to any body  
 else. You will think, I believe, the council in England goes on pretty fast.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

*Differs in opinion from his court.*

MY LORD,

Hanover, July 1, 1729.

YOUR excellency will see by the very private dispatches I send you by this <sup>Townshend</sup>  
 messenger, what the sentiments of the lords of the council are in this <sup>Papers.</sup>  
 crisis of affairs. You will think, I believe, that they go on pretty fast, and are <sup>To yourself</sup>  
 in more haste to form a concert of operations, than I fear, we shall find our <sup>alone.</sup>  
 friends

Period IV. friends to be, either in France or Holland. I cannot help being of opinion, 1727 to 1730. that we shall come to an accommodation with Spain, to which the steps the States took lately, will very much contribute. Being in these sentiments, I do not think this step, the lords here proposed, very necessary at this juncture. But since they have proposed it, I do not see that our friends in Holland run any risk in complying with what is desired. However, I am glad these orders fall into your excellency's and the pensionary's hands, who will take care at least, that they shall not do harm at this critical juncture.

## THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Agrees in opinion with lord Townshend.*

MY LORD,

Hague, July 7, 1729.

Townshend  
Papers.

*Private.*

I Cannot sufficiently express the sense I have of the mark you have given me of your confidence in me, by your separate letter of the 18th instant. I can assure your lordship, you shall never repent of any trust you repose in me, but shall always find me inviolably attached to your service.

I must confess, I was surprised, and so was the pensionary and greffier, at this hasty resolution, at a time when we had all the reason in the world to expect a satisfactory answer from Spain; and the more so, since no such resolution had been taken at a time when we had no such hopes. I believe, should there be occasion for such measures, the republic will come into them at last, though with their usual restrictions and cautious provisions. I will not give my imagination leave to suggest to me any reasons for the taking of this resolution at this time in England; but I conclude with assuring your lordship of the perfect veneration and respect, with which I have the honour to be, &c.

## THE BISHOP OF LONDON (DR. GIBSON) TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Disuades him from resigning.*

MY LORD,

Fulham, July 8, 1729.

Weston  
Papers.

I Received the honour of your lordship's letter, and attempted to make a visit to my lord privy seal, but did not find him at home. This I did in obedience to your lordship, but contrary to my own judgment and inclination; which is, to see your lordship continue in a publick station, that may be attended with less trouble and fatigue, than the present. I think public affairs,

fairs, and particularly in the church, will feel the want of your service and assistance to a great degree; and I think, that your lordship, who has always been accustomed to business, will feel the want of it, and not enjoy that entire ease and satisfaction, you imagine in a private life. Any uneasinesses we are under for the present, make us think too favourably of any other situation that may deliver us from them; but things are not the same in speculation, and in practice. Pardon, my good lord, the freedom I take, which proceeds from a heart sincerely concerned for your honour and happiness.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

1729.

I have waited upon the queen twice since the king went away, and was kindly received. The primate of Ireland wrote to me, that the bishoprick of Dublin ought to be filled some time before the meeting of that parliament; with which I acquainted her majesty, and she directed me to write to your lordship about it. Sir Robert Walpole had a letter from the primate to the same purpose, which you either have received, or will receive speedily, in order to settle that affair with his majesty. The archbishop of York is much better. I gave Dr. Tyrwhitt \* institution to the rectory of St. James's yesterday, and have left the Jermyn family to seek their redress at law, if they think it worth their while to contest the right of patronage; but I think I shall hear no more of them. It was very happy for the publick, that they had it not in their power to plant an eager tory in so large a parish, and so near the king's palace. Dr. Tyrwhitt is a man that I can answer for in all respects. A friend of mine, one Mr. Spilman, desired that when I wrote to your lordship, I would put you in mind of an affair of his, relating to some money, with which he furnished the late king's minister at Petersburg, and which, as I understood him, is to be charged upon the Hanover establishment. I know not the particulars; but as he desired no more of me than barely to put your lordship in mind of it, I could not deny his request.

\* Afterwards  
bishop of  
London.

#### THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

*Good policy of disuniting Spain and the emperor, and making a separate accommodation with Spain.—The emperor requires to be humbled, and will afterwards propose a reconciliation with his old allies.*

MESSIEURS,

Hague, July 24, 1729.

SINCE your excellencies desired me in your letter of the 7th instant, to acquaint you with the sentiments of the pensionary and greffier, upon the present situation of affairs, especially with relation to Spain and the emperor,

Walpole  
Papers.

Period IV. emperor, I will now give you as good an account of them as I am able, beginning with the first overture, that was made by the marquis de la Paz to the cardinal some time ago. Your excellencies may remember very well the cold reception the cardinal gave to that proposal, and the dry and unsatisfactory answer, that he made to it of himself, without consulting the allies. At this the pensionary and greffier were a good deal concerned, and wished the cardinal's answer had been a little more obliging, for though they then thought it possible, that there might be a secret concert between Spain and the emperor, yet as it was possible too there might not, they feared that answer might have disgusted the queen of Spain, and have discouraged her from making any farther application to the allies. They were, therefore, extremely pleased, when the second answer was sent in more favourable and obliging terms. For as they always looked upon the disuniting of Spain and the emperor to be a necessary step, not only for the present accommodation of affairs, but even for the future tranquility of Europe, they thought that all methods should be tried to procure such a disunion; and I may tell your excellencies in confidence, that they had their suspicions of the management the cardinal shewed for the emperor, and of his private correspondence with count Sinzendorff.

The pensionary, at that time, told me, that he could not comprehend that extraordinary *délicatesse* of France upon account of the emperor, nor why the cardinal should then decline consenting to Spanish garrisons in Italy, at the request of the queen of Spain, when he had voluntarily offered them in October last; and that though it was true, they were contrary to the strict letter of the quadruple alliance, they were certainly conformable to the sense of it, and that he did not see how even the emperor himself could refuse them, without owning in a manner at the same time, that he did not mean to observe that part of the quadruple alliance. For that if he intended that don Carlos should really have the places stipulated for him in Italy, he could not reasonably object to those measures, which the parties interested, should think most effectual for the securing of them. By all this, your excellencies see, that the pensionary and greffier were from the beginning for using all methods to detach the queen of Spain from the emperor, and they were no sooner informed of England and France's consenting to the introduction of Spanish garrisons, than they brought the republic to take that resolution, which I informed you of before, of concurring with their allies, in whatever measures should be taken, for the satisfaction of the queen of Spain.

As to the emperor, they are firmly persuaded, and indeed I think, every body must, that he seeks nothing but chicanes and delays, and that if he endeavours to step into the present negociation, as probably he will, it is only with a design to clogg and retard it, and rather to prevent an accommodation between Spain and the allies, than to render it universal, by coming into it himself upon reasonable terms. Of this truth, they think his conduct ever since the provisional treaty, furnishes sufficient proofs. But if disappointed in this view, the allies should adjust matters separately with Spain, they think he must come very cheap afterwards, and even be obliged to accept of such terms, as then, those four considerable powers united together, will think proper to give him.

Period IV.  
1787 to 1790.  
1789.

The pensionary was very much displeased with Mr. Vandermeer's suggesting to the Spanish ministers any further views in Italy, than what are stipulated by the quadruple alliance, and will write to him upon that subject, tho' he fears, that what mischief such a proposal could have done, is already done. He by no means approves of such projects, and the greffier said, that he apprehended, that the unreasonable conduct of the emperor might oblige the allies to use him worse than it was their interest to do, which he thought ought to be avoided, if possible.

These are, as well as I can recollect them, the sentiments of the pensionary and greffier upon the present state of affairs. What is to be expected from hence in case Spain should not accept of the proposals of the allies, your excellencies will see, by the inclosed copy I send you of my letter to lord Townshend of the 7th instant.

As for my opinion, I can assure your excellencies, it has very little weight with me, and I believe, less with every body else; but I am very free to declare, that I think a previous and separate accommodation with Spain, is infinitely preferable to a general one with Spain and the emperor together. It has always been a maxim, that to treat to advantage with allies, one should endeavour to disunite them, and treat separately with each, and surely it is a very lucky circumstance, and not to be neglected, if the queen of Spain, enraged at the disappointment she has met with from the emperor, is willing to throw herself into the arms of the allies. Her private views are very different from the true interests of Spain, and it is very probable, that she will make no difficulty of sacrificing the latter to the former, so that we may by gratifying her in that one point (which by the way, I think ought to be pretty

Period IV. equal to the allies) obtain conditions from Spain, more advantageous than we  
 1727 to 1730. could at any other time hope for.

It is the Austrian pride and power, that in my opinion requires humiliation, and which it is likely may be effected by these means. For what can the emperor do, when left without an ally in the world, and consequently without a shilling of money. He can no longer rely upon the inaction of France, when Spain, who was the chief cause of that inaction, is become their friend, he will have every thing to fear, and nothing to hope for, but from his old allies, whose friendship he must then endeavour to regain, by a different behaviour and conduct, from what he has lately had.

I ask pardon for troubling your excellencies with my sentiments, which from want of experience, as well as abilities, may probably be very wrong and unseasonable ones, but I the easier venture to communicate them, where I am sure they cannot mislead, and where, tho' they may not find approbation, I am persuaded they will meet with indulgence.

#### THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*On the Spanish treaty, its progress and difficulties.—Sir Robert Walpole proposes that Mr. Stanhope should go to Madrid.*

DEAR SIR,

Kennington, July 17—28, 1729.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Private.*

*Copy.*

YOU will easily imagine we have of late been very impatient for the arrival of the answer from Spain, which I received last Tuesday, by Lyng, the messenger. Tho' I cannot say it is as good as we had once reason to hope for; yet I must own, it is better than for some time I thought it would be, and such as gives us hopes of coming to a good conclusion. The queen and Patino seem in earnest to do well, tho' la Paz and Conigsegg will hamper all they can. I shall be impatient to hear the result of the conferences which Brancas and Keene were to have with the Spanish ministers, from whence we shall be able to guess what Spain is at present disposed to do, with relation to the delivery of the effects of the galleons, and the satisfaction to be given us for our grievances. A negotiation is now, and perhaps always was unavoidable: the only thing is to make it as short as possible, and to gett our own points settled previously, if possible, or at least at the same time that we enter into these engagements in favour of don Carlos. If Patino be sincere, and has (as there seems to be no reason to doubt) the secret of the court, this they have already consented

consented to. But then the difficulty will be how, and in what manner that is to be executed, whether by signing the old provisional treaty, with an article about the Spanish garrisons, or by making a new provisional, or definitive treaty. Sure it would be well, if something explicit could be got about Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in order to please here, tho' it may by no means be adviseable to push this point, so as to hinder the conclusion, if it should meet with difficulties.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1729.

In these circumstances, sir Robert has begged Horace to sound you, whether you would dislike to take a journey to Madrid, to give the finishing stroke to this great work, which must be soon determined one way or other, and therefore your stay cannot be long. I am persuaded this thought proceeds only from sir Robert's conviction, that no man can do this thing so well as yourself, from your judgement and experience in these sort of matters, as well as from your particular knowledge of and credit at the court of Spain; and he also thinks, that an opportunity of concluding a work of so much importance to this country, will be far from being a disadvantage to you. Whatever your own thoughts may be on this head, I begg you would be persuaded, that sir Robert means what he proposes kindly to you, and would have wrote to you himself, but was afraid of laying you under difficulties, if it should come to you proposed in form, so chose rather to have it hinted to you by Horace. For my own part, I shall say little upon the subject, least it should be a disagreeable one to you; but as I am firmly convinced, it would be of the greatest service imaginable to the king, so I really think it would be putting a fine end to your foreign embassys. But of this you are the best judge. Forgive what I have said upon it, which I hope you will believe is, as every thing must be that relates to you, meant by me with the utmost regard and affection for you. Pray make my compliments to Horace, for not troubling him by this messenger; tell him we are in great hopes all will do well. Our great security is, the emperor don't seem in a disposition on any foot to submit to Spanish garrisons.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO THE HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

*Horace Walpole differs from lord Townshend about the impracticability of obtaining from parliament additional subsidies.—Good policy of sending Mr. Stanhope to Spain.—His high character with the king of Spain.*

Period IV.

DEAR SIR,

Paris, August 4, 1729.

1727 to 1730.

Sydney  
Papers.*Private.*

MY lord will have a private letter from Mr. Walpole, by this messenger, on a very disagreeable incident. You will find that the cardinal communicated to us a letter from Schleinitz, which he had been desired to keep secret. I am entirely convinced, that he either had not read the decyphering, or had forgot that clause; and as he had no ill design in communicating it, so it was impossible for him to judge from our behaviour, that the contents of it made any ill impression upon us.

I could have wished that Mr. Walpole would have writ to my lord on this subject, before he had writ to England; but as he appears firmly convinc'd, that the asking this additional expence in parliament, after the 115,000*l.* will break the back of the administration, and that there was therefore a necessity of acquainting his brother with it; his communicating to my lord, what he has wrote, was acting an honest and open part. In the other points, of closing with Spain, preferably to the emperor, and of not rendering the negotiation desperate, by sending out our Squadron precipitately, whatever diversity of sentiments there may have been in England, those of Mr. Walpole have been entirely conformable to my lord's; and I believe he has asserted them as strenuously in private letters as well as in our dispatches; so that I verily believe his differing upon this point, arises solely from the inconveniences he apprehends in parliament. For my own part, I can't but hope, that if our affairs with Spain should take such a turn, as to enable us to lay up the fleet, to disband the Hessians, and to reduce part of our land forces, sir Robert Walpole might find it practicable, from these savings, to induce the parliament to take some share of the expence for the electoral treaty, but in all events it will be of use on both sides to know what is to be depended upon.

Mr. Walpole and I are most unanimous in thinking, that Mr. Stanhope's going to Spain, may be of the greatest service, considering the declaration made by Keene and Brancas, that they would sign nothing there without positive orders, and Paz's desisting thereupon from the demand of their having full powers sent them, it is most probable that the project now forming (which we expect hourly with the greatest impatience) will be remitted hither to be signed; without which circumstance, the two Spanish plenipotentiaries here (who want above all things to be employed) will be outrageous. But supposing this first step over; yet considering the emperor's ill humour, the motion of his troops in Italy, and the indirect menaces made to us by Kinskie  
here,



here, sure it will be necessary for us to strike up a closer league and union with Spain, than a bare renewal of friendship and former treatys.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

The quotas of succour from Spain to us, and from us to Spain, should be regulated; and I believe the queen of Spain would be willing to purchase our hearty support by all the condescendances that can reasonably be ask'd. This might secure to us the express confirmation of Gibraltar, the full enjoyment of our privileges of trade, the formal annulment of the Vienna treatys, particularly of the guaranty given to the emperor for his succession, and of the advantages promis'd him in point of commerce. A strong defensive alliance of this kind, would stop the mouths of all our adversaries, and terminate our negociations with the greatest credit. If there be any man living, who can bring this about, it is Mr. Stanhope. The king of Spain loves him personally, and says he is the only minister who never told him a falsehood. Besides which, he has a most universal and deserved credit with the whole Spanish court and nation, as well as with our own. I once thought him so averse to returning thither, that nothing could have conquered that aversion; and sure it is a very happy circumstance, if he can be prevailed on to undertake so warm and expos'd a piece of service, for the trifle of a peerage already earn'd, and in some manner promised him. His having never taken leave at that court, would cover our making such great advances, as the sending a person of his distinction thither, and could hardly fail of bringing them to send an ambassador to our court.

1729.

The fruits and merchandizes of the galleons, at least such as are perishable, are actually delivering. We have just now your dispatch from Manden, which puts me in some pain, tho' I think they must judge in England for going on, 'till we hear something further from Spain. I hear you have resigned. This occasions much speculation every where; some think my lord is going to do the same; others that you are going to be married. I guess it is to make room for Trevor, but should be glad to hear from you.

BISHOP OF LONDON (GIBSON) TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Again dissuades his resignation.*

(August 8, 1729.) BY the account I had from sir Robert Walpole this morning, I hope I may congratulate your lordship upon a peace with Spain, which

Weston  
Papers.

Period IV. which I know will be a great ease to your mind in many respects. But there  
 1727 to 1730. is one resolution consequent to this, which I hope you will not finally come  
 to; till you have thoroughly satisfied yourself that a retired life, when it comes  
 to the trial, will do: as far as I am able to judge from the general frame and  
 disposition of human nature, it will not; and therefore the thing desirable,  
 seems to be, an honourable station attended with less labour and trouble.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Advises him to write a letter to the king, professing his readiness to go to Spain.*

DEAR SIR,

Kensington, August 8—19, 1729.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Very private.*

THO' I have heard nothing from you, since I last gave you the trouble  
 of a private letter upon the thought of your going to Spain, yett I am  
 perswaded in my own conscience, that your own service is so essentially con-  
 cerned in it, that I cannot forbear as a most faithful friend, sending you my  
 own thoughts upon it, which I begg you will not communicate to either of  
 your colleagues, and which are not wrote to you in concert with any body  
 here, but purely proceed from that friendship which I have ever had for you. It  
 is my opinion, that after all that has past, it would be advisable for you to write  
 hither and to Hanover, that if the king and queen think it for their service,  
 that you should now go to Spain, for the finishing the negotiation, you are  
 very willing to undertake the journey, however disagreeable it may be to you  
 on many accounts. And that no consideration can have so much weight with  
 you, as their majesties' service, whenever they think you can be of any to them.  
 Forgive me, dear Stanhope, the liberty I take; you will do what you think  
 proper, but I could never have forgiven myself, if I had not given you my  
 thoughts. Your own interest is what I have solely in view, in writing thus freely  
 to you; however you may like my way of reasoning, I am sure you can't be  
 displeased with the motive from whence it arises. I must insist from your  
 friendship, that you burn this letter, and mention nothing of it to any mortal  
 alive.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

*On his intended mission to Spain, and the probability that it will procure him a peerage.*

1729.

DEAR SIR,

Kenfington, August 22, 1729.

I Received this morning from lord Townshend, a copy of his letter to Mr. Walpole and Mr. Poyntz upon your subject, and am overjoyed to see there is so positive a promise in it, of what you desire. I conclude this will make you easy in that respect, for it is indeed almost the same as a warrant for a peerage. I shall add nothing to what I have already said to you upon this subject, but that your friends here, and particularly sir Robert, have taken true pains for your service. Would it be amiss to write a letter of thanks to be shewed to the queen, and such a one as you may think proper, on the occasion. I suppose you will be setting out immediately; I heartily wish you success, and am persuaded this step is the rightest in the world, both for the publick and yourself. Indeed your friends here have not been mistaken. I am, &c.

Harrington  
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Copy.

P. S. I received your letter by Mr. Blair, and am much obliged to you for the justice you do me, in thinking that all I have wrote, was sincerely meant for your own service.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MESSRS. WALPOLE AND POYNTZ.

*A peerage offered to Mr. Stanhope, if he will go to Spain.*

GENTLEMEN,

Gohrde, August 22, 1729.

I Have laid your excellencys' private letter before the king, and am to acquaint you, that his majesty is of opinion, that considering the little eagerness which Spain has yet shewn for an accommodation, the sending an ambassador thither at this juncture, will be look'd upon, at least, a sufficient complaisance on the part of his majesty, but that the conferring a title upon the person who is to go to that court (which his majesty apprehends may be thought to be done, rather in regard to the king of Spain, than to the ambassador) is a mark of respect which his catholick majesty's behaviour towards the king, our master, has hitherto by no means justified. However, his majesty gives your excellencys leave to assure Mr. Stanhope in his name, that,

Harrington  
Papers.

Very private.

in

Period IV. in case he will undertake this commission, he will certainly make him a peer,  
 1727 to 1730. as soon as the negotiation with Spain is over.

I hope this promise will induce Mr. Stanhope to accept of the embassy to Spain, without any difficulty; and in that case, your excellencies will take the first opportunity of acquainting the cardinal with his majesty's intentions of sending him thither, in order to obviate any jealousies, which his eminency might otherwise conceive of a separate negotiation. I have, without mentioning Mr. Stanhope's name, inform'd Mr. Chavigni, that his majesty finding that the person, whom he now employs as his minister in Spain, is not of weight and figure sufficient to finish the affairs which are depending at that court, has thoughts of sending another minister thither. As his majesty makes no doubt of Mr. Stanhope's readily undertaking this commission, upon the encouragement he is pleas'd to give him, he has order'd me to send your excellencies, the inclosed credential letter for him to the court of Spain, both in French and Latin, so that his excellency will be able to make use of that which he finds most proper upon his arrival at Port St. Marie.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Horace Walpole writes a strong letter in his favour.—Sir Robert Walpole shews it to the queen.—Her satisfaction at his conduct.—Great kindness of Sir Robert Walpole to Mr. Stanhope.*

DEAR SIR,

Kennington, August 25, 1729.

Harrington  
Papers.

Copy.

Private.

I Received this morning by Bayly, your private letter, which gave me the greatest satisfaction imaginable. I am so well assured, that the step you are taking, is right for yourself, as well as your country, that it was a great pleasure to me to hear you was come to the resolution of going to Spain. I cannot think of this matter, without acquainting you with the obligation you, and all your friends, upon your account, have to your brother Horace. He has wrote to Sir Robert, the honestest and most affectionate letter, that ever came from man. He has not only done you as much justice as can be done another, and said all that you deserve, and the warmest of your friends can wish for you; but has upon this occasion, taken every thing upon himself, that might any ways have been construed to your disadvantage, and Sir Robert has made the use of it, that the honest heart that wrote it, propos'd. For he has read it to the queen, in such a manner, that I never saw her majesty better pleas'd.

pleased in my life; she said a thousand kind things of you, and expressed the greatest satisfaction in your journey, for which, indeed, she was upon the first mentioning of it, very intent, and she seemed quite satisfied with Horace's accounts; and if any thing that had passed, had gone amiss, I am persuaded it is now entirely removed, and that in the best manner imaginable, by him\* that has been an eye witness of all that has past; and not only knows, but in the strongest manner, does justice to your merit. I really think, you should take some very particular notice to him of this. For such instances of friendship are not in the present age so frequent as one could wish.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1729.

\* Sir Robert  
Walpole.

I hinted to you in my last, that it might not be amiss for you to write to the queen a letter of thanks. I really think now, it is necessary to do something of that kind, from the great satisfaction her majesty shews in the part you have taken, her readiness immediately to give orders for the equipage, and advance money, &c. You know so much better than I what to say, that I will not pretend to advise any thing more, than in general, a letter of thanks for her good opinion, and of assuring her of your attachment and zeal for the king's service and her's. I know it would do well, and as I think I have not yett advised you ill, I am persuaded you will have no difficulty in following this. I conclude, if you have not left Paris before this reaches you, you will in a very few days. I hope you will lett me hear very often from you, both in a private and publick capacity. I am persuaded you will bring things to a point assoon as possible, nothing is so bad as the present uncertainty. I think every thing must go well. I rejoice to hear the cardinal has stood so firmly to us, and if Brancas does but obey orders, and he will be afraid to do otherwise when you are there, Spain must agree to our terms. Gett the effects of the galleons delivered, and the cedulas given out, as asked for by us; and if I may add, the separate article agreed to, as last sent from Hanover. Dear Stanhope, you can't doubt my good wishes. All imaginable success attend you, and do me the justice to believe me, &c.

#### THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Announces the queen's order for his appointment to go to Spain,—Thinks it will be highly advantageous for his credit, and will promote his accession to a peerage.*

Period IV.

DEAR SIR,

Kensington, August 29—September 9, 1729.<sup>o</sup>

1727 to 1730.

Harrington  
Papers.

Copy.

Private.

I Hope and am persuaded you will not be displeased att the order the queen sends you to go to Spain, when you consider that nothing but her majesty's opinion of the necessity of it, for the king's service, could have occasioned it. Indeed it was so peremptorily given to me, that had I been disposed, I could not have refused obeying it. But I must own freely to you, for your own sake as well as for the publick, I continue to think it absolutely necessary that you should go. Sure it ought to be some satisfaction to you, to see every body thinks it cannot be done without you. By undertaking the journey, you are sure of the thing you have most att heart, and in all probability must add to the credit and reputation you have already gott. These being my sincere thoughts, you will not wonder that I have not opposed sending you the order. It is done with all the respect and regard imaginable to you, and if you go, and make haste, all will, and must be well. \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* If you should be to go afterwards, after the loss of two months, neither the publick nor yourself would have the same benefit from your journey, as if you was to undertake it immediately, without any further difficulty. I cannot conceive, why your brethren have changed their opinions, and as you had once consented to it, I hope you will not go back. As it is not proposed you shall stay one moment after the treaty is signed, you might go without equipage, &c. If I was you, I would put myself into my post chaise, go to Port St. Maries as fast as possible, and rather stay there for the project, if it is yett not finally settled with the Dutch, &c. than let the project stay for me. Sure the thought of your going by sea, was by no means necessary. I hope and believe you will excuse the freedom I take: I know I act for your service, and one time or other you will be convinced of it, as I am persuaded you already are of my being, &c.

## STEPHEN POYNTZ TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Tediousness of the negotiation.—Laments the fatal consequences of his resignation.*

MY LORD,

Hautefontaine, October 11, 1729.

Poyntz  
Papers.

Draught.

I Am gott down to this place for the recovery of my health, but hope to be back again at Paris by the time we can hear any thing decisive from Spain. The tediousness of the negotiation, joined to the uneasinesses which I know your

your lordship suffers already, and which must be infinitely encreased, if our endeavours for a pacification should incur the censure of parliament, fill me with most melancholy apprehensions. I have but very imperfect notions of the situation of our domestick affairs, but from the light in which they appear to me, I can foresee nothing but the total ruine of the whig cause, and the most dangerous shock to that establishment, which it has been the labour of your lordship's life to build up and support. The thought of remaining engaged in this negotiation, at a time when your lordship may possibly have taken a resolution to retire from publick business, is insupportable to me, and yet I see no remedy 'till affairs are concluded one way or other. In all events, I desire your lordship to be assur'd, that I am with a duty and attachment, which can only end with my life. Yours, &c..

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## HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*Differs from lord Townshend about the treaty with the four electors.—Strong objections to it.—Necessity of not offending the emperor, but of giving him hopes that the pragmatic sanction may be guaranteed, if he will consent to the introduction of Spanish garrisons.*

DEAR SIR,

November 4, 1729.

AS I earnestly desire that what I shall now write to you, may be in the greatest confidence and secrecy between us, I am perswaded, that without any previous engagement on your part, you will take no notice of it to any body whatsoever. I find that the Garde des Sceaux, and the cardinall, by the influence of the other, are both extremely desirous to finish the treaty with the four electors, and will soon press it very zealously to a speedy conclusion. They have received not long since from Mr. Chavigny, a more compleat project; who has likewise sent, as I have learnt here, a duplicate of it to lord Townshend, and as M. de Broglie went from hence fully instructed in this affair, I don't doubt but upon his arrivall in England, it will, in consequence of his orders, be pushed with the utmost vigour; and I will not conceal from you, that I think my lord T——d more zealous for it, than in my opinion, is at present for his majesty's service, considering the nature of the treaty, and the situation of affairs in Europe.

As to the treaty itselfe, I shall not dwell upon the objections (which I have constantly made to it here, as not caring to speak my mind plainly upon it in

Poyntz  
Papers.

*Private and  
secret.*

*For yourself  
alone.*

Period IV. other respects) relating to the sum demanded by the elector of Cologne, to indemnify him for the loss of his arrears, due to him from the emperor, nor upon the subsidies demanded by the elector of Bavaria, to be paid in time of peace; because there are objections that arise more from the nature of our government, and the disposition of parliament, than from the thing itself, if the treaty itself was in all other considerations to be desired.

The article that affects me the most, is the 7th, of which I send you a copy inclosed, for fear of your not having it by you, with the marginal addition made by lord Townshend and count Plettenburgh; and likewise a copy of the 7th article of the project concerted last year at Fontainebleau, that you may compare them together; and you will see that even the 7th article, as it was projected by count Albert, differs very much from the 7th article concerted at Fontainebleau, and carries the obligation a great deal farther; and altho' it is in some measure agreeable to the 4th article of the treaty of Hanover, it is conceived in much stronger terms, for tying down the contracting parties from hearing any proposition of any nature whatsoever (tho' not contrary to the interests of any of the contracting parties) or from making any agreement whatsoever, without the *approbation of all the contracting parties*. However, had the circumstances of affairs continued to be the same as they were at the time of making the Hanover treaty, or should the ill success of Mr. Stanhope's journey bring them again to the same situation, the article as drawn by count Albert might, perhaps, have passed well enough upon the same motives as occasioned the 4th and 5th article of the Hanover treaty; but that seems not to be the case at present.

The treaty of Hanover took its rise from the sudden, strict, and surprising union between the emperor and Spain, by virtue of the treaty of Vienna, and that union was founded upon an engagement on the part of the emperor to the queen of Spain for the marriage of don Carlos with the eldest archduchess, which must have proved of the most fatal consequences to the liberties and ballance of Europe, if not prevented; and this made it absolutely necessary for the other considerable powers to unite together in time, and to make the measures to be taken for preserving the ballance of Europe, as well as the privileges and repose of the empire, part of their union, in order to disappoint the views of the emperor and Spain, and to engage, if possible, the princes of the empire in their interest, in case of a war. Therefore the 4th and 5th articles of the treaty of Hanover, were calculated as a temptation to the princes of the  
empire



empire to come into this treaty, especially those that had any pretensions to the emperor's succession, in case he should dye without issue male.

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But all our attempts, promises, and insinuations, joyned with the tendency of these articles, so much for their own interest, proved fruitless. The cheif of those princes, particularly the four electors now in question, for the sake of the subsidys, engaged themselves for two years in an alliance with the emperor, were obliged to furnish him with a certain number of troops; and they went so far as even to accede to the treaty of Vienna, by which the emperor's succession is guarantied; so that the Hannover allys were forced at great expence to seek for other confederates, and to take other measures, independent of the princes of the empire, and had the good fortune to strengthen and guard themselves on all sides, in so timely and effectual a manner, as to be able to disappoint the great designs of the emperor, and to oblige him, notwithstanding the number of allys he had acquired in the empire and the north, to sign the preliminary treaty, and come to a congress much against the will of his principall ally, the king of Spain. This increased the credit and reputation of the Hannover allys, and weaken'd the emperor soe much, as to give a new turn to the affairs of Europe, to open the eyes of several princes, whom the emperor had before cajoled and gaited by false hopes and particular views, untill time and certain events, together with the firmness of the Hannover allys, occasioned at last such a jealousy between the emperor and their catholick majestys, as to have in a manner entirely dissolved their friendship, and to have flung Spain into the interest and union of the Hanover allys; in soe much, that the emperor himself seems now disposed to hearken to any thing which the allys may demand for their satisfaction as to the points in dispute with him, by means of a guaranty of his succession, under proper restrictions and limitations. And this seems to be the present state of affairs, which shews it is no more the same, as when the treaty of Hanover, and particularly the 4th and 5th articles of it were made, and consequently the reasoning about entering into a treaty with the four electors on the same terms, as might have been prudent and necessary to doe at the time of making that treaty, seem to me in a great measure changed.

However did the 7th article of this project, goe no further than a joynt concert of sentiments and measures, for what should concern the libertys and tranquillity of the empire, and the peace in generall, as was the plain meaning of the article concerted at Fontainebleau, I would allow that it might be  
reasonable

**Period IV.** <sup>1727 to 1730.</sup> reasonable and prudent to enter into this treaty. But as there is no doubt but this article, especially with the additionall words in the margin, tyes all the contracting partys from taking the least step relating to *any guaranty*, without the consent and approbation of every one of them, it certainly obliges England not to think of the guaranty of the emperour's succession on any terms, or in any conjuncture whatever, during the time of this treaty subsisting, without the consent of each elector, that shall be a party to it, which seems to me not only to be entirely unnecessary, but subject to great inconveniencys.

There is no doubt but France, especially since the great encrease of M. Chauvelin's credit with the cardinall, desires nothing more than that the emperor's succession should be left as loose and uncertain, as possible, for reasons that are obvious. There is as little doubt but that England and Holland should, for the very same reasons, be as desirous of having the emperor's succession established under proper restrictions and limitations, and that no other consideration, besides their concern not to disoblige France and Spain, should keep them from thinking of it as soon as things are settled.

It is no less certain, that if we should now make this treaty with the four electors, in the terms of the 7th article of the project, with the marginall additions, but that France being always averse to have the emperor's succession regulated, would be able to hinder England from doing any thing at any time in a matter of such importance to the future peace and ballance of Europe; and this France might doe, without appearing openly in it herselfe, by disposing some of the electors, especially him of Bavaria, to be against any plan of that nature; and consequently in all events, altho' the present good disposition and views of France with regard to the affairs of Europe, and particularly with regard to England, should come to be changed, and their ancient maxims upon the death of the cardinal, be resumed, England, by virtue of this treaty, might be so hamper'd, as not to have it easily in her power to take in time the necessary measures for maintaining the ballance of Europe, and to provide even for her own security, by a proper establishment of the emperor's succession, and by keeping up the house of Austria, as a *counterpoise* to that of Bourbon. and I am convinced, in my own opinion, by the dayly conduct of the Garde des Sceaux, that he is so earnest for the conclusion of this treaty, particularly for the sake of this 7th article, and the consequences of it, as will make it impossible to enter into measures for settling the emperor's succession, in any conjuncture, during this treaty.

I do

I do not mean, dear sir, as you will easily believe, by what I have lately wrote to you, that England and Holland should immediately hearken to the emperor's propositions, and by that means create any jealousy or uneasiness against them on the part of France and Spain; but that we should not putt it out of our power to doe any thing at any time for a guaranty of the emperor's succession. For untill we have done something decisively, and as long as we continue free in that respect, the fears of France with regard to the settlement of the succession, may on one side keep this court firm to the present system, and to the friendship of England; as on the other side, the hopes which the emperor may entertain, that we shall be disposed to do it one time or other, may keep him within some bounds, and from coming to extremitys with his majesty, as king or elector. And, therefore, as it is not our interest to disoblige France by any hasty step in favour of the emperor, so I think we should not render the emperor desperate by a treaty, which he will soon come to know, and by which he will loose all hopes of our friendship for ever, by our putting it out of our power to doe the only thing that he has most at heart, and consequently he may be forced to run into views and measures, that may be as dangerous to the ballance of Europe, and the interest of England, as those taken by the treaty of Vienna; nay, perhaps, he may think of resuming the same again with Spain as his only resource.

There are many reasons for not concluding, at present, the treaty with the four electors; but without rejecting it entirely, we should keep the conclusion of it at a distance, and in suspense, on account of the difficultys with regard to the subsidys in time of peace, which the parliament will never grant; and the guaranty of Burgh and Juliers absolutely in favour of the prince of Sultzbach, which by reason of the protestant religion, and the near relation there must always be between the familys of Hannover and Prussia (notwithstanding the present unaccountable humour and behaviour of his Prussian majesty) would have a very ill appearance in the world; and also on account of the elector of Cologne not consenting to be a contracting party any longer than for two or three years; and lastly, that it would be necessary to learn the sentiments of the principall persons of the States upon it, with regard to the likelihood of their being contracting partys originally, or at least by accession, who being partys to the treaty of Hanover, ought to be equally concerned in this. Which last two reasons, seem to me to be in themselves, very essentiall in all events, because I think it would be very imprudent for his majesty to en-  
gage

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gage in an affair of such consequence, and which concerns so much the interest of Europe in general, without having the States equally engaged with him; and it would likewise be somewhat extraordinary, if not absurd, that we should be bound, as is proposed to the electors of Bavaria and Palatine, for fifteen years, while the elector of Cologne (who by the extensiveness of his dominions, and the situation of them, must be of much greater consequence to his majesty, and the states general, than the other two can be,) will be tyed to them for two or three years only. These instances may furnish us with sufficient reasons to alledge for deferring the conclusion of this treaty with the four electors, without taking any notice of the article that affects the emperor's succession, on which, in my opinion, we should at present, at least untill the affairs with Spain are entirely settled, be very silent.

But as soon as the treaty with Spain shall be signed, and a proper declaration made on the part of the allies about the execution of it, according to the publick articles, we must see what will be the emperor's conduct in this respect. I think it scarce can be doubted, but that he will immediately declare, that he will never consent to the introduction of Spanish garrisons, into the places of Tuscany and Parma, unless the Hanover allies will at the same time come into a scheme to guaranty his succession, which altho' a thing very much to be desired, yett the views of France and Spain (from whom the rest of the allies cannot separate) will still make it impracticable. The emperor not being able to compass this great point, will, after solemn protestations against Spanish garrisons, be either passive in this affair, without thinking to make a forcible opposition to it, or else he will in concert with the great duke, and perhaps with the king of Sardinia, or by virtue of his own great strength in Italy, even risk a war to prevent it. But the great danger he will run by a war, of losing some of his present dominions in Italy, may dispose him to avoyd it, if England and Holland take care to conduct themselves in such a manner as not to make him think that he can have no hopes at a proper season of their coming into some measures to guaranty his succession. But how to make him sensible of the good disposition of those two powers in this respect, requires great caution and prudence, but 'tis not altogether impossible, if he will not immediately by an unaccountable conduct, embroyl matters in Italy and the north, and perhaps it may not be impossible to dispose the cardinal himself, for the sake of peace, not to be averse to a scheme for establishing the emperor's succession.

But

But nothing of this nature should be intimated to him untill the success of Mr. Stanhope's journey is seen, and the views and designs of the emperor upon the conclusion of the treaty with Spain be plainly discovered. For should his imperiall majesty rashly resolve, rather than suffer the introduction of Spanisht<sup>r</sup> garrisons, to risk a war in Italy (which in consequence will likewise be kindled in other parts by the nature of the alliances now subsisting in Europe) the Hanover allys should not only conclude without loss of time the treaty with the four electors, but will be obliged pursuant to the secret articles of the treaty with Spain, to take new measures with respect to the equillibre of Europe.

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## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

*Congratulating him on the success of the treaty of Seville.*

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, November 13, 1729.

AS we were just dispatching a messenger to Paris upon other business, when Mr. Vane arrived here this morning, I have only time to congratulate you most sincerely upon your success in having concluded the treaty, in a way, which I am persuaded, will be entirely to his majesty's satisfaction. We have not yett had time to peruse the treaty, but I may assure you, that I never saw the king better pleased in my whole life, or better satisfied with any body than he is with you. He was exircamly well pleased with your leaving Spain, as he ordered me immediately to acquaint you, and I think I may venture to foretell, that the king has so just a sense of the great services you have done him and his people, and particularly upon this occasion, that whatever you may have desired, will be done in the best manner. I have many compliments and thanks to you from sir Robert Walpole and my brother. You can't have more joy upon this occasion upon all accounts, and particularly upon your own, than I have; but you must allow me still to think, my advice about your going to Spain, has not turned out ill.

Harrington  
Papers.

Copy.

## STEPHEN POYNTZ TO THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

*His concern at the disagreement with sir Robert Walpole.—Expresses and mentions Horace Walpole's regard for lord Townshend, and resolution not to accept the office of secretary of state.*

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1727 to 1730.

Sydney  
Papers.

(Paris, November 26, 1729.) MR. Walpole hopes to go over to England soon. I promise you, and I am willing to pawn my whole credit upon it, that you will find him more reasonable, and fuller of cordial respect for lord Townshend, than perhaps might be expected in the present misunderstandings, if you were not apprised of it. I am very sure that if lord Townshend had, or should see reason to quit his post dissatisfied, no *person nor consideration* in the world would prevail with Mr. Walpole to accept of it, if it were offered to him. And I am very sure, that he laments the present divisions so sincerely, that he would do any thing in his power towards healing them. I say this upon the most entire conviction; and if the event does not prove it true, will be content never to be credited again, but to pass for one, who is to be imposed on by words, and not capable of knowing those I live and converse with every day.

#### HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*Lord Townshend testifies his resolution to resign.—Is violent against the emperor, and inclined to support the king's electoral views.*

DEAR SIR,

London, January 21, 1729—30.

Poyntz  
Papers.

I Had the honour by the post to acknowledge your excellency's letters of the 1st, 20, and 21 inst. N. S. and to send you inclosed a letter from the cardinall, much to the same effect as that which you returned; because count Broglio writes in so false and infamous a manner with respect to my brother Walpole and me, almost every post, that it is thought absolutely necessary to prevent his eminence against such scandalous insinuations, for fear of their making in time some impression; and I don't doubt but that your excellency will take all occasions, without affectation, to make the cardinal sensible of my brother's as well as my sincere attachment to the union between the two crowns. For the French ambassadour represents us both as of another disposition, and attributes all his disappointments to us personally; and I could heartily wish lord Townshend did not show him so much confidence and countenance as he does. For I am apprehensive of a design on the part of Mr. Chauvelin, to change the channel of negotiation between England and France, and instead of making it pass thro' his majesty's ministers at Paris, to have it goe directly from him to count Broglio, and so to the king; which would deprive his majesty of the advantage he has always had of the reasonable and moderate temper

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pet of the cardinal, who will become entirely useless to the king's service, in case Mr. Chauvelin is to have the whole conduct of the affairs, by his writing directly to the French ambassadour, passing by, or conferring but slightly with the English ambassadour in France; and therefore I hope you will keep up your spirits against him, and not take it always for granted, that all he says in the name of the cardinall, comes from his eminence himselfe,

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Lord Townshend, since his last short journey to Norfolk, has not only declared to most of his confidential friends, but even in a calm and serious manner to me, that he is resolved to resign as soon as the session is over; and that in the mean time, he will barely give his opinion, but not press it in business, acquiescing with the sentiments of others. I told him nobody would insist upon their opinion, so as to make it prevail in foreign affairs in opposition to his, who was certainly the best judge. He has since been as active and eager in business as ever I knew him; and his violence against keeping any measures at all with the emperour, and his endeavours to make all measures electorall, preferable to all other considerations, which is entirely agreeable to the king's sentiments, make some think that his lordship has no thoughts of resigning. But I am of opinion, that when the parliament is up, if any thing should happen contrary to his desire, he may offer to quitt, as he has already done to the king, and will be taken at his word; and will some way or other jostle himself out of place.

I am in such haste, and in such concern, on account of this unsettled and embroyled state of affairs at home, that I scarce know what I write. Things, however, in parliament, will goe on as well as they have begun, but not without strong opposition. The great debate will be about the Hessian troops, but we shall carry it with much the same majority, I believe, as we did the first day's division, which was two to one.

I forgott to tell you, that at the same time, Mr. Chauvelin refused to come into a plan of measures with you, he wrote to count Broglio, to learn the ideas of lord Townshend upon it; but as the French have now consented to consider of a plan of measures to be immediately settled among the allies, I suppose Mr. Chauvelin will have been no longer averse to confer with you on that subject. I was yesterday honoured with your's of the 26th N. S. inclosing a letter to me from the cardinal of the 24th; but have not yett had time to receive his majesty's commands upon it.

Pray burn this.

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1727 to 1736.

THE DUCHESS OF KENDAL TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Desires that the money left to her by the late king, and consigned him as one of her trustees, may be paid.*

SIR,

London, February 18, 1729—30.

Orford  
Papers.

AS his late majesty was pleased to make you my trustee, you will not wonder at this application. The little trouble I have given you on that head, is enough to convince you how great a regard I have had for your assurances. But having lately engaged in an affair that will require a large sum to compleat, I hope you'll now resolve to accommodate me with the money entrusted with you, my occasions demanding the whole sum. This being a private trust that must one time or other be accounted for, it may be transferred without interfering with publick business. I can easily imagine one so continually employed, may not often think of me or my affairs, but you'll give me leave not to forget myself, especially in a thing of so great importance to me. I am, sir, your most humble servant.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND MR. POYNTZ.

*The opposition having agreed to propose a scheme for opening the trade of the East India company, with a view to raise a sum of money for the public, sir Robert Walpole thwarts their schemes by hinting that he should raise money from that society.—Debates on the affair of Dunkirk.—Sir Robert Walpole and Pelham distinguish themselves.—Sir Robert Walpole attacks lord Bolingbroke, who is defended by sir William Wyndham.—A most animated debate.—Great effects of the majority to disappoint the hopes of opposition, and to prove the stability of administration.*

GENTLEMEN,

London, March 2—13, 1729—30.

Harrington  
Papers.

I Hope this will find your excellency lord Harrington, safely arrived at Paris, to the great comfort of your excellency Mr. Poyntz; and that the death of the czar, and the disappointment the king of Prussia has mett with in his schemes at Dresden, will soon have an influence upon affairs, to the advantage of the Hannover allys; on which head, I shall say no more at present, because I am perswaded you are very impatient to know what has passed in the house of commons, on the day of the state of the nation, as what altho' in



in appearance a domestick concern, must have a greater effect upon our foreign matters, than almost any other incident either foreign or domestick, can possibly have. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730-  
1729.

I am first to acquaint your excellencys, that it having been discover'd, that the adversaries had secretly in the city negotiated a scheme for destroying the charter and exclusive trade of the East India company, and to lay that trade open to all adventurers, on a plausible pretence of their finding a great sum of money for the use of the publick; the chancellor of the exchequer, by way of cross-bite, having talked with some of the directors of that company, gave a hint to the house, as if part of his ways and means might arise from that society, which extremely alarmed and surpris'd the adversaries. But as their private subscriptions and engagements had gone a great way, they resolv'd to present a petition, with a scheme for opening that trade, and paying off the company. The petition being accordingly presented; on Thursday last, a great debate ensu'd, and about nine at night, the court prevail'd by a majority of 229 against 135, and with a generall satisfaction to the whig party. However, this did not discourage the adversaries from proceeding the next day with vigorous attacks on the affair of Dunkirk; and sir W. W.\* propos'd, after the examination of witnesses, and reading papers was over, that what had been done relating to the harbour there, was *a manifest violation of the treaties between the two crowns*. But the other side having, before he was seconded, gott upon the paper the motion for an address; pursuant to what you will find translated in the inclos'd letter to the court, left open for your perusal, the debate began at about five in the afternoon, lasting very earnest and strenuous 'till past two in the morning, and had such a turn, that the whig-party was animated to the last degree, which was chiefly occasioned by sir Robert Walpole having very artfully and vigorously fell on the late lord B. Sir W. W. took his part, and justify'd his old friend, making a comparison between B. and sir R. as if the first was every way as honest a man as the latter, which was answer'd with as much zeal, fire, and good sense by Mr. H. Pelham, as ever I heard in my life, and created an universall spirit, flame, and resentment against B. in the whole house; so that upon the division, the whigs were 270 against 149. In my opinion, it was the greatest day with respect to the thing itselfe, and the consequences of it both at home and abroad, for his majesty, and the present ministry, that I ever knew; and must, I think, prove a thunderbolt to the adversaries here, as well as to their friends on your side the water.

For

\* Sir William Wyndham.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

For all the insinuations given out, as if his majesty and the whigs in generall were weary of the present ministry, are in the opinion of most people, confounded at once; and I should think, that the ennemy must even in their own opinion, fall from that presumptuous imagination, which they had certainly entertained to the very day of the debate, of overturning the present administration.

All that remains is, that France take care, as I don't doubt but the cardinall will, to have the works according to the treaty, demolished, notwithstanding the clamour of the inhabitants, or the artfull management, which Mr. Maurepas (who is no friend to England, especially in this point, and certainly in the year 1728, did not act according to his eminence's directions) may endeavour with some other French men to use, for disappointing the execution of the works made contrary to the treatys. It is not proper for me to tell you how earnestly the severall speakers, especially the two\* brethren, asserted and maintained the present good faith of France, and particularly of the cardinall. I think your excellency must hear it from other hands, and will make a proper use of it in your discourses with his eminence and Mr. Chauvelin, to whom you will be pleased to make my sincere compliments and respect.

I am going to court on account of the queen's birth day being kept this day, and therefore you will excuse the haste and imperfections of this scrawl.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND MR. POYNTZ.

*Expectations of some important motion on the state of the nation.—Great majority in favour of government.—Inquiry into the state of the nation closed.*

MY LORD, AND SIR,

London, March 11—22, 1729—30.

Harrington  
Papers.

YESTERDAY being appointed for a committee of the whole house, to consider again of the state of the nation, the expectations of some new and extraordinary attack upon the ministry, were raised very high, both within and without doors, and the adversaries seemed resolved to surprize the house, with doing nothing, or something of moment, as they had done before by the sudden attack of Dunkirk. However, we gott intimation the day before, of what this mighty no-matter was to be, which ended in Mr. Chetwynd's referring the papers relating to St. Lucia, to the consideration of the committee,

\* Alluding to sir Robert Walpole and himself.

where

where he moved a long question, for asserting his majesty's interest, and undoubted right to the islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominigo, for preventing foreigners making settlements on those islands, and for application to be made by the king to the court of France, for removing the French settlements there. This question, after the mighty expectations that have been raised in the house in general, filled with strangers to see the result of the great attack, supposed to have been intended on the ministry, was treated with great contempt and ridicule; and after a short, or rather no debate at all, it was carried for leaving the chair by a majority of 235 to 120. And notwithstanding the court party call'd upon their adversaries to move to have the committee for the state of the nation, kept open, if they had any thing further to offer, yet the adversaries absolutely declined it; so that this formidable enquiry, that was to have confounded the ministry, has at last ended in noise and smoke, as much to the glory of his majesty's servants, as to the disgrace and contempt of their opponents. I am, with the greatest respect and affection.

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1727 to 1730.  
1729.

## HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Coalition of the tories and discontented whigs.—Their disappointment at the conclusion of the treaty of Seville.—Foiled in their attempts to excite discontent about the affair of Dunkirk.—Laments the resignation of lord Townshend.*

MY LORD,

March 13—24, 1729—30.

THE relation which the affairs here in parliament, must have to those abroad, must naturally make every foreign minister cautious to know the motives, results, and consequences of the warm transactions, that have unexpectedly occurred this session.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

The opponents of the ministers had entertained last summer, such a sanguine and certain persuasion, that it would be impossible to have a peace with Spain, and consequently that the British commerce would have still continued in an uncertain and precarious state, without satisfaction or revenge; that they had concerted their measures, to call the ministers to an account, for their indolence and neglect in suffering so patiently the insults of the Spaniards; and as this was a very popular point, to a nation jealous of their honour, as well as of their privileges of trade, it had created a great ferment among all sorts of people, gentlemen as well as merchants. In order, therefore, to distress the administration, the discontented whigs had concerted a perfect coalition with the

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

the torys of all degrees, and it was agreed to act heartily and vigorously in the same opposition; and that for that purpose, a summons should be made of all the torys to be present, without suffering any excuse; and this was pursued with so much zeal, that I believe there has been in town this year, above 110 torys, which is within a very few of the whole number elected.

The conclusion of the treaty of Seville, and consequently the re-establishment of the commerce, with articles for all due and reasonable satisfaction, was a sensible stroke to the united party of the torys and discontented whigs. However, having made a coalition, and appointed a general master in parliament, they were resolved to keep up their spirits, and to attempt the attacks; and, therefore, they at first gave out unaccountable and false insinuations, to deceive themselves and their friends of the points of Gibraltar, and the privileges of trade, not being sufficiently secured. But the explicit terms of the treaty of Seville, when published, satisfied so well all considerate men, and the tryall of that point in the house of lords, with so great a majority, to the advantage of the court, soon made the adversaries sensible, that it was impossible for them to distress the ministers, or to do any service to the emperor on that head.

They therefore had recourse to another scheme, which might serve their purpose, if compassed, as well; which was to create, if possible, a coolness and jealousy between England and France; and for that end, the reparation made by the townsmen of Dunkirk to that port, afforded, as they imagined, not only a plausible pretext to accuse the ministers of indolence, neglect, or cowardice, in not putting a stop to the proceedings of France, in a point so popular, and of such consequence to this nation, but also of laying an imputation upon France, as violating the most solemn treatys, at a time of so strict an alliance. The secrecy and art with which this point was managed and conducted, and the industry employed to create a ferment through the kingdom, and especially in this city, of a design of restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, had indeed occasioned a great flame both within and out of the parliament, upon the first opening of it. But the ministry having obtained so much time, as to have this matter seriously enquired into, and to make impartial people, see the wicked intention of this malicious enquiry, done with no other view, but to create a jealousy between England and France, and to encourage the emperor, and consequently, if possible, to destroy the treaty of Seville, or to put a stop to the execution of it,

these

these machinations of the party opposite to the court, served only to turn to their own confusion; and I never saw in my life such a spirit as there was in parliament, at the great day of Dunkirk, to support the ministry, their measures, and the alliances of the Hanover confederates, and such a rage and resentment against the opposite party, and their allys abroad, so that nothing was more clear that day, than that altho' the whigs in some popular points, such as place-bills, will follow their own inclinations, yett this parliament is determined to support the present administration and measures both at home and abroad; and are sensible of the malicious contrivances of some to bring matters into confusion, for their own private ends, and for that purpose to make the ennemys to the Hanover alliance, believe abroad, that there is not that steddyness, vigour, and union in the parliament, as there really is, for the support of his majesty's government, and his present councils.

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I shall not mention to you the affair of St. Lucia, because that was treated with so much ridicule and contempt, that the adversariys were glad to gett out of it as well as they could; and I think I may say, I never saw a parliament like to end with so much glory and honour to an administration, as this will doe, notwithstanding all the efforts, which malice, despair, and envy could invent, that were employed to confound the present system, both at home and abroad.

There is one thing which certainly encouraged the opposition of the enemy, which was some misunderstanding among the great men here, which is indeed but too true; and I am afraid, there will be an alteration, which your lordship and I shall be sorry to see, by the resignation of a great man, who will not be persuaded to keep his place, after the end of the sessions. And although he cannot be supplied in application and abilitys, yett he will, I believe, retire in such a manner, if he does go out, and that will be understood by the generality of people, that it will make no alteration in the party, in the measures, or in the administration of affairs; and the same system will still be pursued, both with respect to domestick and foreign business. But this you will keep to yourselfe, and believe me, yours, &c.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO THE HON. THOMAS TOWNSEND.

*On the expected resignation of lord Townsend.*

Period IV.

DEAR SIR,

Paris, March 26, 1730.

1727 to 1730.

Sydney  
Papers.

YOUR'S of the 19th past, acquainting me with my lord's resolution of retiring at the end of the session, did not come to my hands till six days after the other letters of the same date, which I mention more to excuse my not answering it sooner, than to fill you with jealousies of its having been detained designedly, or opened, of which I could see no marks.

Tho' I have long expected this resolution, and see and feel the reasonableness of his lordship's desiring retreat, after a life spent in hurry and fatigue, and at a season when the infirmities of age begin to make themselves felt, and give a quicker sense to the crosses and vexations arising from the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad; yet, I own, that the more I consider the consequences of this resolution, the more I am confirm'd, that far from giving his mind the relief propos'd, it will help to embitter the remainder of his life. I have long had the honor to know and admire his lordship's virtues, and am sure he is not one of those who can taste domestic quiet, under public misfortunes; or that can feel the least pleasure in seeing affairs miscarry in the hands of supposed rivals. But if it were possible for him to contract his thoughts from the care of the public to that of his family and estate, and to fill up his vacant moments with the amusements which Rainham is so well able to furnish; yet his being suppos'd to resign dissatisfied, must give a fatal wound to the whig cause, already long languishing under the expectation of this event; and must sooner or later bring those into power, who, to justify their own measures, may think it indispensably requisite to blacken those of their predecessors, and to set such enquiries on foot, as how much soever they might end to his lordship's honor, and justify to the world the integrity of his intentions, yet would entirely blast the promis'd comforts of a retreat, and waken his attention, in a very disagreeable manner, to what is going forward in the world. The winding up of affairs cannot be at a great distance: if a war should be the event, which I still think improbable, the canvassing the reasons which have brought us to it, would naturally fall within the next session; and it might not be thought agreeable to the steadiness of his lordship's former conduct, to withdraw from the yoke at so critical a conjuncture.

If a general pacification can be obtained, it must be within this summer, and such a period would certainly be the most proper for breaking off, if this were done without any appearance of resentment; and especially if his lordship, without continuing in the insupportable fatigues and chagrins of the se-

cretary's

cretary's office, and even without accepting any employment from the government, that should oblige him to attendance, would still continue to lend his counsel and assistance, and be content to pass for a hearty well-wisher to the measures, carrying on by those that should be employed, there might, perhaps, be still some hopes of preserving the whig cause, and of saving the crown from the necessity of ever trying perfidious friends. But if this cannot be obtained, I own, I can foresee nothing but total ruin and confusion to all we have been labouring for ever since the revolution. These things are so obvious, that I ought to beg pardon for presuming to repeat them. His lordship must have reasons unknown to me, not for desiring earnestly to retire, but for resolving to do it immediately, and with the appearance of distaste and resentment, which however disown'd in words, will gain universal belief, if it be done before our public affairs abroad, have taken some shape and consistency.

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1730.

When I have said this, I beg leave to assure you, that in my low sphere, I long as impatiently as my lord can do, to be entirely released from the business, which my obedience to his commands, could alone ever have engaged me in, and in this respect, his lordship's retiring, would contribute to my private ease. I would compound, by the loss of my place, to have a little leisure and retirement for the latter part of my life; but when I reflect on the times, we saw and felt in the latter end of the queen's reign, and which the breaking to pieces the whig party, must soon bring about again, I own, I can foresee no more comfort in retirement, than in business; and if my strength and health will hold out to carry me thither, I believe I shall determine to retire to one of our plantations in the West Indies, rather than to live in England, under such an aspect of affairs.

I wish you all happiness and prosperity in the change of your condition; nothing could have made England more desirable to me, than the prospect of seeing you so happy, as I verily believe the marrying into that family will make you. My utmost ambition would have been to have divided my time between Rainham and Danson, if the cause of liberty could have held up its head in England; but if it must sink, I will look out for England somewhere else; and wherever I can be free from the insults of that party-rage and oppression, which I abominate worse than death, *hic amor, hæc patria*. I send you the melon seed you desired, and am, with the truest affection and respect, &c.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

*Low state of opposition.—Lord Townshend will probably go out, and be succeeded by lord Harrington.—Writes in confidence to him alone, on the subject of an apprehended war with Spain, and the best means of avoiding it.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, March 16—27, 1729—30.

Harrington  
Papers.

*Very private.*

*Copy.*

THO' I have troubled you already with some *privates*, I could not let this messenger go, without giving you some account how things stand here, for your information *only*. We look upon the ennemy to be quite demolished in the house of commons, and that our Dunkirk day, and the closetting the committee upon the St. Lucia affair, were the greatest victories that ever were known. I hope they will have a good effect abroad, I think they must have one here at home. Things at court remain pretty much in the same situation you left them, except, that lord Townshend's going out seems every day more fixed, and it is now taken for granted, will happen asoon as ever the parliament rises. His successour must certainly be the man in the world I wish. I am sure my friends, and I believe *every body* else, have no other thought; this being likely soon to be the case, I hope you will dispatch your business, where you are, with all possible expedition. Our master is a little uneasy, that we hear not one word of the plan of measures, and I must own I am, that the declaration to the emperor is like to go heavily both with the cardinal and the Dutch ambassadors. What I now write is in the utmost confidence, and without the knowledge of any of my brethren.

I am persuaded, I need not suggest to you, reasons for bringing things to a conclusion asoon as possible. Notwithstanding all the emperor's warlike preparations, I cannot imagine, now the czar is dead, and Prussia and Poland are both wavering, that the emperor will dare to strike a stroke. We have here great hopes of the king of Prussia, and I may tell you, that the resolution about the disputes att Brunfwick, is what Kniphausen himself proposed, and seemed sure would be satisfactory. You may imagine *somebody* will not be sorry that things should miscarry hereafter, and for that reason, we should be the more upon our guard. No arguments that relate personally to yourself, I am persuaded, will have much weight, but if they had, it now comes to be more immediately your own business, and as I know you are in the rightest way of thinking imaginable, all I wish is, that you may be able to succeed in your negotiation,

to



# ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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to your own mind. A war is certainly to be avoided, if possible; but at the same time, our treaty with Spain must be executed, and that soon. Should we talk bigg to the emperor att the same time we make our declaration? or see first how that will operate? I remember in a late letter from lord Waldegrave to Mr. Poyntz, he says Rcalp\* told him, he had positive proof that we had entered into engagements with Spain, relating to the emperor's dominions in Italy, and that if the emperor could not have that security, he had better hazard a war at once: sure that hint should have been followed, and even Patino himself, I think, does not seem fond of a war; but perhaps the way to avoid one, is to seem not afraid of one, and prepared for one. But all this, you know much better than I, and therefore I must begg to have your thoughts in confidence, upon the situation of affairs, what you think is like to be the event? how the cardinal and French ministers are inclined? what the Dutch will do, and how far the court of Spain will push us? Our whole depends upon making a good end of our foreign affairs, which is the reason of my giving you this trouble. My brother is much your's, and so are our brother Walpoles, tho' they none of them know of my writing to you. My kind service to Poyntz.

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\* Imperial minister.

## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

*Mentions the discontent and displeasure of lord Townshend, because lord Harrington is to succeed him as secretary of state.—Hints that sir Robert Walpole had obtained by means of queen Caroline, the king's approbation of their measures, in opposition to lord Townshend..*

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitchall, March 24—April 4, 1729—30.

I Received the favour of your two private letters, in your own and Mr. Blair's letter; the last I immediately communicated to sir Robert and Horrace, and we agreed that the reasoning in it was so good, that it should be sent to the king; but as lord Townshend has of late taken all occasions to do you all the ill offices he could, we thought he might make an ill use of your letter, and therefore have not shewed it to him; and you will see by what I shall say to you, that we did not judge wrong about it. Ever since you have been gone, imagineing, I suppose, that you are to be his successour, (you may guess from whence we chiefly have our intelligence, and therefore, tho' my friendship to you, will not lett me conceal it from you, I am sure you will take no notice of it,

Harrington  
Papers.  
Private.  
Copy.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.

it, or lett it have any other effect, but to shew him how unjust his suspicions and representations have been) his manner of talking upon your subject, has been lower and meaner, than one could well have imagined him capable of; but his favourite topick is, your want of courage and resolution in business, and he pretends to have been told by one, to whom he says you said, you went abroad at the risk of your neck; and he takes great pains to shew that such a disposition can never succeed. He blames loudly your instructions, which he says were drawn up by yourself, and now has attacked you for having even exceeded those instructions. Your joint dispatch, which is all he has seen, has made him outrageous; he says we have been wrong from the beginning, nothing but the plan of operations will do, all thoughts of declarations or proposals to the emperour, are ridiculous, and that there is no common sense in any thing, but in a letter, Poyntz wrote before you left England.

Last week I having been much taken up in the house of lords, he, I suppose, vented himself with our master, and in short, on Sunday last, wrote the inclosed \* letter to the king, which, with the answer, he sent to Horace on Sunday night, his lordship being to go to Norfolk, as he did, on Monday morning. Before I knew any thing of this, I had prepared my letter to you both, pretty much in the manner it now is, which was approved by sir Robert Walpole and Horace; but after lord Townshend's paper, I dispaired of the king's suffering it to go. But our good friend sir Robert took it to a certain † place, and in short, we have carried our point, notwithstanding all that had past, and the king it extreemly pleased with the letter, as it now is, which, all things consider'd; I am sure you must approve. His lordship has represented us, as giving up Hanover quite, and has worked much with the king upon that head; and also, that we had neglected pushing the plan of operations, which he says, had right measures been taken, would have been settled long ago. You may imagine, in these circumstances, as well as really from an opinion, that we were always of, that it was necessary to settle as soon as possible some plan: I have pushed it very strongly in my letter to you, and I must indeed recommend it to you most earnestly, that you would either gett France to agree to the plan, or something of that kind, or shew the king that it is not your fault, and that no pains have been wanting on your part. For the same reason, I must begg you would do what you can about the German points, Mecklenburgh &c. But as I have

† To the  
queen.

Printed among the notes between lord Townshend and the king.

wrote

wrote about that in a private letter to you, I must desire you to answer me in the same manner, and that you would keep those letters by themselves, as I intend to do the draughts of them. If you succeed in these two grand points, our friend will be quite disappointed. But what a creature is he to be playing such a part. A very great person, told me this evening, that you were worse with him than sir Robert Walpole. I must again begg of you to take no notice of these hints, which I only send you, that you may know how things stand here. Nothing, I think, can be a greater proof of my friend sir Robert's regard for you, than the resentment the other shews to you. I am in hopes all will do well.

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1730.

Lord Townshend talks still of going out as soon as the parliament is up. Whither he intends it or no, I can't tell, but it must end in that. I am in great hopes our scheme of ministry will now be soon settled: as soon as it is, or I can judge any thing certain about it, you shall know it. The only thing, I think, or at least, flatter myself is sure, is what relates to you. Lett us have some brisk resolution about the plan of operations, and some strong assurances about Hanover, and we shall be able to defy him, and all he can do. But tho' I write so strong about operations, we shall be all here (king and queen not excepted) very glad, if Fonseca's proposal about Italy, could finish every thing, and therefore, it is to be managed with great caution and prudence. It is not to be wonder'd at, that the king doubts a little the sincerity of any thing flung out by the imperial ministry; but, however, I think you are now perfectly apprised of all we can do here, what our thoughts and wishes are; but the plan of operations must be pressed. Forgive me for saying so much to you, and to you only, you know our circumstances. All friends, and particularly Harry, send their compliments. Mine to Poyntz.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND  
STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*Thinks it improper to attack the Austrian Netherlands.—Proposes to guaranty the pragmatic sanction, provided the emperor will consent to the admission of Spanish garrisons in Parma and Florence.—Settles the proposed attack against the emperor.—And puts off the division of the conquered countries to a future time.*

Period IV.

MY LORD, AND SIR,

Whitehall, March 24—April 4, 1730.

1727 to 1730.

Walpole.  
Papers.*Most secret.*

I Received by Bowyer, the messenger, on the 18th instant, the honour of your excellencies most secret letter of the 14th—25th, and lay'd it before the king; but the affairs in parliament, for some days, having required my constant attendance, I have been obliged till now, to deferr the sending you his majesty's commands upon the contents of it.

Before I enter into the particulars of your excellencies' letter, I must in general acquaint you, that his majesty was extreamly concerned, to find that so little progress had been made in forming the plan of operations, and mutual security, which his majesty imputes to the extravagant views of the Spaniards on the one hand, and the backwardness, not to say timidity of the French on the other. And as the king thinks, that it is now high time to come to some conclusion upon this head, that Spain may be convinced the allies are in earnest to perform their engagements, and for that purpose are ready to take such measures as will enable them to do it by force, if there should be a necessity for it; so the emperor may see, that if he does not consent to the peaceable introduction of Spanish garrisons, such a plan is lay'd, as will make it impossible for him to give any opposition to it; which the king thinks will the more incline him to consent to any ultimatum, that shall be thought proper to be offer'd him.

That your excellencies may be perfectly apprized of his majesty's sentiments, in what manner this may be done with the greatest prospect of success, and liable to the least objection, his majesty has considered the proposal given in by the Spanish ministers, at your last conference, and the account that your excellencies give of what pass'd upon that occasion. His majesty was very glad to find, that the Garde des Sceaux had assured you, that the French were ready to restrain themselves in whatever manner should be thought proper, from acquiring any part of the emperor's possessions; which his majesty thinks, in the forming of any plan, or taking of any measures, should be thoroughly understood, as well for the service of the common cause, as for engaging the allies more heartily in the pursuit of it. For the same reason, the king entirely agrees with the Dutch ministers, that it would be highly improper to think of attacking the emperor in the Netherlands; but that all that should be done on that side, is to be upon the defensive, and to prevent the imperial troops that are there, from being sent to reinforce the emperor's army in other parts.

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The method which the king thinks would at once bring the emperor to a compliance, remove all the difficulties that the Dutch seem to have, and not be liable to most of those which the cardinal apprehended, would be for the allys to assemble a body of troops at Hailbron, or somewhere between the Neckau and the Mein, to consist of French, which should be joyn'd by Hessians, Danes, English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, upon their march towards Silefia or Bohemia, in the manner that was proposed in 1727, as you will find in Mr. Walpole and colonel Armstrong's joint letter to me of 16—27 May, that year, of which I inclose a copy; and when once such an army is assembled in those parts, it will be very easy to march into the emperor's countrys, either of Bohemia or Silefia, and intimidate him from giving any opposition to the execution of our engagements in Italy. And it is most probable, that if the court of Vienna could but have a notion, that such a measure was resolved on, they would readily give into any ultimatum, that should be offer'd on the part of the allys.

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Before this could be putt in execution, we shou'd see clearly what the king of Prussia would do, and for that reason, it will be necessary for the allys to agree to a suitable declaration to be made to him, in order to know what part he will take, which in all probability would dispose him to agree to what should be proposed to him. But if after all, his Prussian majesty should joyn with the emperor, this army, or part of it, might then march towards Grave, and by entering the dutchy of Cleves, prevent him from giving the emperor much assistance. The objection, that the cardinal made, with relation to the princes of the empire, his majesty thinks, may easily be removed, since we shall have but little advantage from our treaty with the four electors, if it will not entitle the allys to a passage for their troops through their countrys, and if they agree to it, with those that are already in alliance with us, there is little reason to apprehend any opposition from the other princes of the empire. I may in confidence acquaint your excellencies, though you will take no notice of it, that one great inducement to his majesty, for preferring a scheme of this nature to all others, is, that it is not only the most probable one to succeed, but it is not liable to the objection of overturning the balance of power, or weakening that interest too much, which at another time may be necessary for the support of it.

If some such plan as this be once agreed to, the difficulties relating to the war in Italy, will in great measure cease; since it is not to be imagined, that

Period IV. the emperor will have his own country exposed to be overrun with such an  
 1727 to 1730. army, purely for the sake of preventing the admission of Spanish garrisons into  
 Tuscany and Parma.

Your excellencies will be pleased to communicate these his majesty's thoughts to the cardinal and Garde des Sceaux, and acquaint them, that if something of this kind be not forthwith resolved on, there is great reason to fear, that the emperor may keep us in suspense, and prevent the execution of the treaty of Seville, by which we may run a risk of losing Spain, the detaching of which from the emperor, has cost the allies so much pains and trouble; and therefore the king hopes they will no longer delay coming to a resolution upon this head. You will also communicate these his majesty's sentiments, to the Dutch ministers, and even to the Spaniards, if you think it adviseable; and you will shew the Spanish ministers, how ready and forward his majesty is to take all reasonable measures for the execution of his engagements, which, if not done, cannot be imputed to the king.

Having now given your excellencies his majesty's thoughts fully upon the plan of operations, I come to answer the remaining part of your letter. The king was very much surpris'd to find, that the Dutch ministers had not yet received directions to joyn in the declaration propos'd in the instructions, since it was communicated to the pensionary two months ago, and formed upon this plan: but, however, as what the cardinal dictated to Mr. Fonseca, is in great measure conformable to that declaration, his majesty thinks, that this matter should rest, till we can agree upon an ultimatum to be offer'd to the emperor, in case he should refuse what the cardinal has propos'd to him; except that your excellencies and the Dutch ministers shou'd take a proper opportunity to let the imperial ministers know, that his majesty and the Dutch, are in the same sentiments towards the emperor; but that whatever his imperial majesty's resolution may be, they are determin'd forthwith to execute their engagements to Spain, in the manner stipulated by the treaty of Seville.

As to what the imperial ministers here lett fall in conversation, his majesty is far from having any objection to the guarantying the succession of the emperor's possessions in Italy to the Caroline arch-duchesses, if his imperial majesty would, on that condition, consent to the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Tuscany and Parma, and adjust all the disputes subsisting between him and the allies. And therefore your excellencies may concur with the Dutch ministers in endeavouring to dispose the cardinal to consent to the forming of a  
 plan

plan upon this principle, to be proposed by the allies to the emperor, as an ultimatum, in case his eminency's secret negotiation with Mr. Fonseca, should not succeed. But as this appears to have been the pensionary's thought some time ago, and seems now to be flung out in a manner by the imperialists themselves, your excellencies will take care to manage it in such a way, as that the Spaniards may not imagine it arose from his majesty, or think him backward in the execution of his engagements to Spain. And his majesty is of opinion, for the reasons your excellencies mention, that it is very possible, the French and Spaniards may both be brought to consent to it. However, though these are his majesty's sentiments, yet in order to have this proposal accepted by the emperor, whenever the allies shall think fit to make it, your excellencies will press the settling forthwith the plan of operations, and not let the cardinal divert you from entering immediately upon that consideration, by giving you distant hopes of agreeing hereafter to this proposal, and by that means lose the whole season in negotiation, and continue things another year upon the spot they are at present.

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His majesty agrees in opinion with the French ministry, that it would be a great advantage to the common interests of Europe, if a proper match could be had for don Carlos, to prevent his marrying one of the arch-duchesses, and would gladly joyn in promoting it; and his majesty wou'd have your excellencies endeavour to learn more fully the cardinal's sentiments upon it, and whether he has any particular person in view for this purpose.

The king entirely approved the assurances which were given by the ministers of all the allies, in your joynt conference to those of Spain, agreeable to what is prescribed in your instructions; and also your proposing to them, that Spain should begin, without further loss of time, to attempt the introduction of Spanish garrisons, with the force agreed upon by the treaty of Seville, to which his majesty would add, that it should be offered to the consideration of their court, whether it might not be proper for them to have, at Barcelona, a number of their troops and transports in readiness to be employed in supporting the introduction, if it should be opposed. Your excellencies were very right in assuring the Spanish ministers, that his majesty's quota, both of ships and troops, should be ready, whenever they shall be demanded; and you may let them know, that two ships of the line of battle, will be forthwith sent to joyn the four men of war now in the Mediterranean, and that two battalions of 600 men each (officers included) will be taken either from Gibraltar or Port Mahon.

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it will be the more necessary to secure forthwith the king of Sardinia in the interest of the allies; and therefore your excellencies will acquaint the cardinal and the rest of the ministers, that his majesty is of opinion, that the allies should immediately take proper measures for that purpose; and you will learn the sentiments of the cardinal and the other ministers, in what manner it will be most advisable to apply to the king of Sardinia, in order to induce him to take part with us.

The division of conquests, will, according to his majesty's scheme of a war, if it becomes necessary, be a very distant prospect. Your excellencies will therefore endeavour to put off for the present, any particular consideration on this head, but you will in general give the Spaniards to understand, that whenever this happens to be the case, the first use that ought to be made, of any advantages the allies may obtain, is to secure the execution of the treaty of Seville, and for the rest, the allies ought to have a proportionable share, and that England will expect a reasonable compensation for the part we shall bear in the expense of the war. As to what was desired by the Dutch ministers, that the regiments shou'd be specified which the king will send to their assistance, as his majesty's quota upon the foot of the defensive alliance with them, in case they should be attacked, your excellencies will acquaint them, that his majesty intends the Hessian troops for that service, if there should be occasion, and that his majesty will also have 8000 or 10,000 English in readiness to be sent wherever it may be most usefull for the service of the common cause. I have referred to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, by his majesty's order, that part of your excellencies' letter, which relates to the preventing of disputes between the squadrons, about precedence and ceremonial when they joyn, and particularly what had been agreed upon a like occasion in 1692, that councils of war should be held on board one of the Dutch ships; and as soon as I have their report, you shall know his majesty's pleasure upon it. In the mean time, his majesty would be glad to know what rank the grand prior, who is proposed to command the French squadron, has, that his majesty may have an admiral of equal rank to command his squadron.

As to the affair of the guaranty of Berg and Juliers, about which so much time, and so many confederacies and letters to, and fro, have been employed, his majesty wishes, that the French ministers would agree to the declaration, which I last sent you, and to the inclosed secret article, made conformable to it. But if you cannot prevail with them to let them stand as they are, his majesty



jesty will consent that the words, at the end of the declaration, excepted against  
 by Mr. Chauvelin, viz. *aussi bien que celui du second article separé et secret*,  
 may be omitted, rather than the negociation should break off, and on condition  
 that the French do immediately settle the plan of operations, and concur in  
 disposing the princes of the empire to consent, that the allies should make such  
 motions as are necessary for putting that plan in execution. However, the king  
 has not thought fit to let count Broglie know, that his majesty will depart from  
 these words. It being probable, from the abbé Franguiny's letters to the Garde  
 des Sceaux, and the marquis de Santa Cruz, that the grand duke, in his own  
 disposition, is not so averse to the peaceable introduction of Spanish garrisons,  
 and the securing of don Carlos' succession, being what is generally wish'd for  
 by the people of Florence of all ranks and degrees, his majesty would have  
 you offer it to the cardinal's consideration, whether it would not be right for  
 the ministers of the allies at that court, to endeavour to prevail with the senator  
 Montemagni, who is the only minister of the great duke, that has access to him,  
 to dispose his master to consent at once to the peaceable introduction, and to of-  
 fer that gentleman a handsome present, to be made him by the allies, in order to  
 engage him to do so important a service, and which would be so much for the  
 interest, and so agreeable to the inclinations of his own country; taking care,  
 however, that senator Montemagni should not imagine, that the allies were  
 the least backward in procuring that introduction by force, if the grand duke  
 should not consent to it.

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1730.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Rejoices at the success in parliament.—Opinion prevalent, that the administration  
 would fall.*

DEAR SIR,

Vienna, April 12, 1730.

I Return you a thousand thanks for the honour of your letter of the 13th  
 past. It was very good in you to think of me, and to give up so much of  
 your time in the explanation of some matters, of which the newspapers had  
 brought me but an imperfect account. However, all my intelligencers did  
 you a piece of justice, which you deny yourself, and I hope, that as an old  
 friend, I may without compliment or flattery, heartily congratulate you on the  
 share you have had in this glorious session of parliament, which has proved,  
 notwithstanding the joint efforts of the ill-intentioned, so much to his majesty's  
 honour, and so ample a justification of the conduct of his faithful servants.

Waldegrave  
 Papers.

*Draught.*

You

**Period IV.**  
**1727 to 1730.** You may easily imagine, what notions this court was led into by their in-  
 formers. It was taken for granted, that the present ministry would be but  
 short lived, and some here, were, I am very well assured, good natured enough  
 to me, to pretend to be sorry for the situation I was in, which was to involve me  
 in my friends' misfortunes. However, I have reason to believe, that their late  
 advices are very different from the former, and that they begin to find out, that  
 their present friends in England, are not to be depended upon; and prince Eu-  
 gene told me last night, that the court party had taken the upper hand, and  
 carried every thing before it. I am very much concerned at what you tell  
 me of a friend of our's resolution. On all account, I wish it was to be alter-  
 ed, tho' from the manner you write, it is hardly to be expected. I beg you  
 will present my humble respects to sir Robert; and that you will believe me,  
 that nobody can be with greater truth and respect, than I am, dear sir, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Informs him that he will not remain long at Vienna.—Of his own intention to  
 resign.—And that lord Harrington will succeed to the office of secretary  
 of state.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 21—May 2, 1730.

Weston  
 Papers.

*Apart.*

*Copy.*

THOUGH I could not speak so fully and openly in my other letter, I may  
 in this acquaint your lordship in confidence, that the time of your con-  
 tinuing at Vienna, cannot but be very short. Mr. Walpole is already here,  
 and will not return to Paris, unless it be barely upon a compliment, and to take  
 leave of the French court. Mr. Poyntz will very soon be recalled from  
 thence, his majesty designing to give him some employment here at home:  
 and as for my lord Harrington, he is, as I am persuaded, intended to succeed  
 me in the post of secretary of state, which I shall very soon have his majesty's  
 leave to resign. As I inform'd your lordship, when I last had the pleasure of  
 seeing you, of my resolution to take this step, I have not since thought it ne-  
 cessary to trouble you with any particulars concerning it. I shall only take  
 the liberty to assure you, that I am so sensible of their majesty's great goodness  
 to me, upon this and all other occasions, that I shall always to the utmost  
 of my power, contribute to support their interest and service. I cannot in-  
 form your lordship, whom his majesty intends for your successor at Vienna,  
 that being not yet determin'd, and therefore shall only add to this trouble,

my

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my sincere congratulations upon this fresh mark of the king's value and esteem for you, together with the assurances of my being always with, &c.

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P. S. Your lordship will be pleased to observe the utmost secrecy with regard to the contents of this letter.

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### HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Efforts of opposition, wholly defeated in parliament.—Lord Townshend determined to resign.—Arrangements to be taken by sir Robert Walpole, in consequence of that event.*

MY LORD,

April 21—May 2, 1730.

UPON my return out of the country, where I had been for a few days, I met with the melancholy news of lady Waldegrave's death, at which, I heartily condole with your lordship.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

This session of parliament, is in a manner come to a conclusion, and I think I may say to a glorious conclusion, for the interest of his majesty, and the honour of his ministers, for the boldness and violence of the opposition, where all the forces of the enemy from all quarters, were united and collected; and all the artillery of falsehood and scandal, was flung in to make the enemy's army appear more formidable, made the victory more complete and decisive, as is usual after great battles. Skirmishes, that have happened since the day of Dunkirk, have served only to expose the weakness of the opponents, tho' certainly intended to give the enemy abroad, courage and countenance, and to make Richenbach, the Prussian minister, and other foreign, not to say domestic scriblers, write false and wonderful accounts of the speeches made against the court. Though I cannot but think but your's will by this time become sensible, how vain their expectations must have been, and how fruitless any measures must be, that are grounded upon the hopes of a party here, strong enough to support the imperial court, in their opposition to the engagements of the treaty of Seville. For the allies begin now to feel, that their moderation is no otherwise received by the imperial ministers, than to gain time, and to amuse them, without any intention of an accommodation, as if the allies were not strong enough, nor united well enough to concert and execute a vigorous plan for fulfilling the engagements with Spain. But they will certainly be disappointed at Vienna in this empty notion, as much as they were in that of the ministers being distressed in England. I shall not pretend to tell

your

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1727 to 1730. your lordship, what plan has been concerted at Paris, you will hear that from better hands; but certain it is, that orders are given for severall battallions both here and in Ireland, to gett ready for an embarkation on the first notice, which, together with what we have already in Gibraltar and Port Mahon, will make a considerable quota on our part.

I hinted to you before the resolution of a great man to retire: that is fixed and unalterable, as soon as the parliament is up, and as severall places are vacant, sir Robert Walpole has been employed in several conferences with his majesty to fill them up, and upon his advice, the king has resolved, as I am told, to make lord Wilmington privy-seal, with a salary of 3000*l.* per ann. and lord Trevor president of the council, with 4000*l.* per ann. The duke of Dorset will goe lord lieutenant to Ireland, Mr. Horace Walpole is to be made cofferer, and 'tis thought, that lord Harrington will be secretary of state, as soon as lord Townshend has resigned. And it is believed, and not without reason, that your lordship will be named for ambassadour at Paris, as what will be agreeable to you. Nobody is yett mentioned to succeed you at Vienna; but it is not at all unlikely, but that Mr. Robinson may be sent thither minister plenipotentiary, as being perfectly acquainted with the state of affairs in Europe, untill some other shall be thought of to reside there, or untill the success of the events of this year, with regard to peace and war be seen. If your lordship has any objection to going to Paris, you will lett me know by the first opportunity, and I will mention it where it is proper; but I am told, that marshall Berwick wished to have you in France, as what might be agreeable to you.

I had like to forgett to tell you, that in the last debate upon the state of the nation, in the house of lords; lord Strafford moved that the Hessian troops were burthensome and useles; and it was carried in the negative, eighty against twenty.

This day the opponents moved in the house of commons (upon the rumour of troops being ordered to hold themselves in readyness) an address to his majesty to lay the secret article of the treaty of Seville before the parliament, and after a debate of about an hour and half, it was carried in the negative, no's 277, aye's 75, and it plainly appeared by this debate, and by the complexion of the house, that they will support his majesty in fulfilling his engagements for the execution of the treaty of Seville. Your's most affectionately, &c.

## THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

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1727 to 1730.

1730.

*King's predilection for Hanover.—Disposal of employments.—Congratulates himself that he shall have lord Harrington for his colleague.—Expresses a high sense of the great obligations which they owe to sir Robert Walpole.—Lord Townshend will resign.—Sends him a list of the new administration.*

• MY DEAR LORD,

Newcastle House, April 23—May 4, 1730.

I Am persuaded you do me the justice to think that my other letter to you, makes me as happy as man can be in the employment I now have. The prospect I have of your assistance and advice in the execution of my office, and my dependence in every thing upon your friendship, give me more joy than I am able to express. And as we all owe our happy situation to sir Robert Walpole's friendship (not forgetting Horace) I hope you will forgive me (who have seen what I daily see) if I assure you, greater obligations cannot be to any man, than you, my brother, and I, have to him, tho' it would take up too much of your time, to explain them all to you at present. Sir Robert and Horace both write to you by this messenger. • Pray write warm and affectionate letters to them both.

Harrington  
Papers.

Private.

Lord Townshend certainly goes out the last day of the sessions, which will be in less than a fortnight. He has already, as it were, taken his leave, and has the king's permission to resign the seals, when the parliament rises. I shall not say much upon this subject. I have had two free conferences with king and queen. Hanover is lord Townshend's great merit, and we have been all represented as wanting zeal, &c. I have been forced to purge myself, and have flung in a word or two for you, when proper. The king told me, his dependance for Hanover, must now be upon you and I. I am persuaded you will write such an answer to my letter, as will shew the king he may depend upon you. But I would submit it to you, whether it may not be proper for you, to take this occasion of writing a letter of thanks to the king, with assurances, that may comprehend all his majesty's interests; and if you will send it to me, under a flying seal, I will advise with sir Robert, whether it shall be given to the king or not.

I suppose you will be preparing to come home; for as soon as lord Townshend

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hend is out, I shall want you here, and must have you. Lord Waldegrave<sup>s</sup> already wrote to, to be in readiness to come to Paris, upon the first notice. Robinson, we think, should go to Vienna, but that is not fixed. Your friend, Tom Pelham, is to be secretary to the embassy to lord Waldegrave; and we all wish, for reasons we will tell you hereafter, that you would continue Mr. Weston, your commissioner. Tilson, I conclude, you will not think of removing. I send you enclosed, our scheme of employments. You will take no notice of them to any body. Sure a better scheme never was made. Lord Wilmington will, if rightly managed, be a great strength to us. God bless sir Robert, 'tis all his doing; and let us in return, resolve to make him as happy as we can, and have but one thought and one way, acting in every thing for the king's service, which must make us a happy, and I think, a successful ministry. Don't mention the list of employments to any body but Poyntz. 'Tis not quite settled.

P. S. Sir R. has been so taken up this evening, that he begs you would excuse him till the next messenger goes.

#### THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Uncertainty of peace or war.*

DEAR SIR,

Vienna, April 26, 1730.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

YOU are very obliging in continuing to inform me of what passes in England, I wish in return I cou'd send you any thing from hence worth your notice. You were rightly informed with relation to the simple stories that were sent over; I am sorry that poor Kinsky should have been so misled, he seemed to be quite otherwise disposed when I parted from him last at Hanover. We are here, according to all appearance, under a state of uncertainty; one day, nothing but peace, the next, war is unavoidable. I don't hear that any kind of preparation is making amongst the general officers for their equipages, nor that any are appointed to command the great body of troops that are on their march for Italy; it is believed, that till its determined where prince Eugene is to command, the other general will not be named, that he may take with him, those he likes best to have about him.

HORACE.

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HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND S. POYNTZ. Period IV.  
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*To press the attack on Sicily, as the most likely method to force the emperor to accede.—Order given by the king to have troops in readiness for foreign service, alarms the imperial ambassador.—Opposition move for the secret articles of the treaty of Seville.—Lose it by a great majority.—Difficulties about the double marriage with Prussia.—Lord Harrington to be made secretary of state, on the resignation of lord Townshend.—Lord Wilmington's cordial union with the minister, confounds opposition.*

1730.

MY LORD, AND SIR,

London, April 23—May 4, 1730.

AS to the public affairs where you are, your excellency will be fully informed by the duke of Newcastle, of his majesty's resolution to conform himselfe in every respect to your last dispatch, relating to the attack of Sicily; to concur with the French and Dutch ministers, in representing to the Spanish court, the difficulty of a descent upon Naples, as well as the prospect of success for fulfilling the engagements of the treaty of Seville, by that of Sicily; which in all probability, will bring the emperor to hearken to the propositions, that may be suggested to him for an accommodation, or perhaps dispose the Spaniards, if the emperor should be difficult or dilatory in his answer (which I own I very much apprehend) to close with the proposal of the great duke, to receive don Carlos in person, and settle his succession, which, in my opinion, is the most desirable scheme, if it will satisfy Spain. But in all events, it is very possible, that the great duke will not resist (notwithstanding what the emperor's threats have obliged him to declare) the introduction of the troops, when they arrive before Leghorn; and that even his own people will be disposed to forward their admission, unless the emperor, beforehand, will strike so bold a stroke, as to make himself master of Tuscany.

Harrington  
Papers.

In the mean time, while the intimation, which was given here by the king's orders, for regiments to be in readiness, without declaring for what service (altho' founded upon the proposal of 8000 men, as the king's quota) extremely alarmed the opponents here, and the friends to count Kinski, to such a degree, that they moved the house on Tuesday, for an address to have the secret articles of the treaty of Seville, lay'd before them, but without any spirit or strength to support such an extraordinary proposition, as appeared in the debate, and in the division. The question passed in the negative, by 197 against 75, and

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. indeed, the zeal was unanimously on the court's side. It is sayd, that this motion arose from a concert with count Kinsky, who sent the night before, an exprefs to his court, with an account, that 8000 men were ordered for foreign service; and he told his friends here, that upon the arrival of his exprefs, he was sure the emperour would order his troops to march into Leghorn.

As to the court of Prussia, you will have heard, that the affairs of the congress of Brunswick, are determined; but nothing is yett certain about the marriages, the king of Prussia having insisted upon that of the prince of Wales with the princess royal of Prussia; without taking notice of the other. Sir Charles Hotham's orders, on the other side, are peremptory, not to consent to one marriage, without the other; but not to declare that openly, or directly to any person but Kniphausen; and sir Charles has conducted himselfe in such a manner, as to make the king of Prussia conclude, that his majesty expects the double marriage, and at the same time, has not refused to consent to the single one of the prince of Wales. But he has been so pressed to speak out, that he has been obliged to dispatch an expresse for farther orders; intimating at the same time, as if he had it from undoubted hands, that the king of Prussia will likewise consent to the marriage of the prince royall to a princess of England, if the prince royall might be made stadthouder, or regent of Hanover, and the royall couple might goe to reside there. This proposition of the prince royall of Prussia, being made stadthouder of Hanover, was entirely rejected by his majesty, notwithstanding all his ministers were for it. In the mean time, before the courier was dispatched back again to Berlin, letters from sir Charles Hotham, brought an account that the king of Prussia might be contented, and the double marriage be made at the same time, if the princess, to be married to the prince royall of Prussia, might be made regent of Hanover, to which his majesty has consented, and the courier is sent some days since, with that consent to Berlin. This I tell you in confidence, because I don't know whether the duke of Newcastle will be able to obtain his majesty's leave, which he intends to ask this day, to inform you of it, and I must leave it your excellency to judge, whether either of you will, in confidence, mention this important affair to the cardinal only, as an instance of his majesty's readiness to come to an entire accommodation with the king of Prussia.

As I shall not return to France, except it is to take my leave of the court, his majesty is determined to send my lord Waldegrave thither, but as it will  
be



be likewise necessary to have some person, that is perfectly well apprised of the present state of affairs at Vienna, before his lordship quits that place; it is likely that Mr. Robinson will have orders to goe thither, with the character of minister plenipotentiary, but this last is not yett determined. However, I don't know how 'tis possible to find out a person that is well enough informed, or that can goe time enough to Vienna, which court must not be left without a minister at this juncture, to supply lord Waldegrave's place for the present; untill things are entirely settled, or entirely broken with the emp'our. If some orders be not sent immediately from the French court to their emissary at Dunkirk, to begin the demolishing of the works contrary to treaty, we are informed, that the adverse party will mention the affair again in the house, before all the business is over. Your excellencys know the order was positive, that the French commissary should not only make a report, but should also demolish the works, which he refuses to doe without farther orders: and Lascelles writes this word every post, the ennemys have alsoe their spys at Dunkirk, that give them an account of the progress of this affair, and even Brinsden has been there.

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Lord Townshend having declared to the king in form, that he will deliver up the seals the day the parliament is up, his majesty has resolved to make you, lord Harrington, secretary of state, but will not have it declared, untill the resignation of lord Townshend; upon which, your excellency, I presume, will have some particular notice, in confidence, from the duke of Newcastle. The accession of lord Wilmington to the administration, especially in the manner it has been done by a perfect union and concert with those already employed, has surpris'd and struck the ennemys more than any thing that could happen. I hope the Dutch intend to furnish their quota, upon the expedition for Italy, in troops, as well as the other powers; or else it may have an ill effect here.

I need not tell your excellency, Mr. Poyntz, how much those that will continue in the administration are, and will continue to be your sincere friends and humble servants; tho' indeed their majestys' inclination is so strong in your behalfe, that joyned with your own merit, you will want nobody's assistance.

#### HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Quits his embassy at Paris.—Lord Waldegrave to succeed him.—Things wear the appearance of a speedy accommodation.—Calm. and tranquillity in England.*

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1727 to 1730.

Waldegrave  
Papers.

MY LORD,

London, May 1—11, 1730.

I Am extremely obliged to you, for the honour of your lordship's letter of the 26th past, and for the noble present you intend me. As for Paris, it is uncertain whither I shall goe again; or at least, when I shall goe, which to be sure, will be only to take my leave, and therefore the best way will be to address any thing for me at London.

By the time your lordship will receive this, you will have his majesty's permission to leave Vienna, on account of particular affairs, but I believe your final settlement will end in being embassadour at Paris. I will keep my house for you, untill I can hear from you; there will be a great many, but usefull things relating to furniture, at your service: whether you will want a good chariott and a coach, not much the worse for wearing, I can't tell, but will expect your commands, as well as for every else in my power, that may be for your service.

The unanimity and vigour of the measures of the allies, to fulfill their engagements of the treaty of Seville, at the same time that they are willing to doe every thing that is reasonable for peace, will, I hope, bring matters soon to a determination one way or another. I never saw so great a calm as there is at present, after so great a storm that threatened once in parliament: nor was there ever, I believe, a greater satisfaction in all parts of the nation, as there is now in favour of the administration.

#### THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

*Sir Robert Walpole's friendship for him.*

Harrington  
Papers.

*Private.*

(Whitehall, May 2—13, 1730.) I Had the honor of your private letter, which has given us all the greatest satisfaction imaginable. I never saw sir Robert more pleased in my life, he promised to write to you by this messenger, but I find has forgot it. He is most sincerely your friend and servant. The king and queen are both extremely pleased with your private letter sending over the key. I long to have you amongst us. I hope, in a few days, we shall send for you. Harry is much your servant.

# ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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HORACE WALPOLE TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1736

*Lord Townshend resigns the seals.*

1730.

GENTLEMEN,

London, May 17—28, 1730.

I Am just now return'd from my election at Yarmouth, and as I find his majesty will expect that I should sett out very soon for Paris, I send this messenger privately, to desire that Mr. Charters may come away forthwith with my chaise, to Calais, where I hope to be on Saturday next, or the Monday following at farthest; and as the duke of Newcastle will dispatch a messenger to you, to-morrow, with an answer to your last letters, I shall only acquaint your excellencies, that lord Townshend resign'd the seals on Fryday, and I mett him on the road to Norfolk, yesterday. You will learn the rest from his grace.

Harrington  
Papers.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

*On the resignation of lord Townshend.—Informs lord Harrington of his appointment to the office of secretary of state.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 19—30, 1730.

I Have the king's commands to acquaint your excellency, that my lord Townshend having obtained his majesty's permission to give up the seals of secretary of state, which he accordingly did last Friday, his majesty intends, at your return, to honour you with them. But as Mr. Walpole is, in a few days, to go back to Paris, the king would have you continue there till his excellency comes, that as he will be able to explain to you and Mr. Poyntz, in the clearest and most particular manner, his majesty's sentiments and intentions; and you two will best apprize him of what has been doing at the court of France, since he left it, and of the present dispositions there, your excellency may, by your having all conferred together, be the better enabled at your return, to give his majesty your opinion, concerning the important affairs now depending at that court. But his majesty would have your excellency prepare yourself to come away as soon as possible, after Mr. Walpole's arrival at Paris. In the mean time, I shall, by this day's post, notify to his majesty's ministers in the several courts in the northern department, your intended promotion, with his majesty's orders to direct their dispatches to me, 'till your excellency's arrival.

Harrington  
Papers.

. Give me leave to wish your excellency joy of so distinguishing a mark of the

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. the king's favour and confidence, and to assure you, of the satisfaction that I have, in the hopes of your advice and assistance, in that share of his majesty's service, with which I have the honour to be entrusted.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON:

*General state of affairs, and dispositions of individuals.—Rejoices at the resignation of lord Townshend.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Claremont, May 25—June 5, 1736.

Harrington  
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

\* As cofferer. **YOU** may easily imagine, that I am extremely impatient for your return to us: not only that I really want your assistance, but that I long to see that completed, which I have so long wished. The only reason that you was not sent for at first, was, that it was thought Poyntz would be uneasy to be left alone, and that Horace (who has been detained necessarily, to take the oaths\* at the term) might have an opportunity of discoursing fully with you, which indeed, I myself, think will be of service. You will find every thing here, as you can wish; and I already perceive the advantage of having lost a bad brother, and shall, I am persuaded, soon find that of having a good one to the greatest degree imaginable. The foreign ministers (who have been all courted by lord Townshend, to gett them into the views and measures, in opposition to other people) must be gained by us. Chamorel will act an honest part; and I wish you could get an honest man in the room of Broglio, for it is impossible to do any thing with him.

My dear friend, you must now consider yourself in a quite different light from what you have ever been. We must now greatly depend upon you, for directing us (and we cannot have a better guide) and as we shall be jointly responsible for every thing, we cannot be too earnest for the success of our affairs. We are all here full of doubts, though lord Townshend, upon parting, said, all was as good as done, if we we did not spoil it. With what view, he said it, one may easily guess: for God sake, bring either peace or war with you. For neither will lay us under the greatest difficulties imaginable. Sir Robert is pure gay, and does like an angel; Mr. Cofferer, the same, whom you will soon see. My best respects to honest Poyntz, and believe me, &c.

P. S. The paymaster is much your's. I wish you would send an order to take lord Townshend's house in Cleaveland court, for your house must be our rendez-

# ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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rendezvous. I have ventured to make Mr. Tilson very happy. I am sure you will have use of him. Poor Weston is very doubtful about his own fate. Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1730.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Expresses his obligations to him and fir Robert Walpole.*

DEAR SIR,

May 11, 1730.

I Have received the honour of your's of the 21st past, and must repeat my thanks for the account you are so good as to lend of your parliamentary proceedings, and my congratulations on the prosperous situation his majesty's affairs are in, both at home and abroad. Waldegrave  
Papers.  
Private.  
Draught.

The news you send me relating to myself, is certainly very agreeable on several accounts, which I don't mention here, since I see that the matter is to be kept private till further orders, but you can, I fancy, guess at most of them. I had by the last post, notice given me of this, by my lord duke of Newcastle, his grace informs me, how much you and fir Robert have contributed to it. As this is not the first mark of either of your friendships to me; and that I have often assured you both of the gratefull fence I shall ever retain for all your favours, I will not enter into repetition of compliments; however, I beg you will assure fir Robert from me, that nobody can be more sensible, than I am, of his kindness on this occasion. I wish you much joy on the post you are designed for, which I take for granted, is of your own choosing. Poor Burnaby is a good deal disappointed in his expectations, by a proposal the duke of Newcastle has made to me, about his kinsman, Mr. Thomas Pelham. I hope his grace will, upon occasion, make Burnaby some amends. He has it so often in his power to do such things, that I hope he will do something for him.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

*Expresses his obligation to lord Townshend.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Vienna, May 23, 1730.

I Have received your most obliging letter of the 24th past, O. S. and am very sensible of your friendship, in the share you take in any thing that is so much to my satisfaction, on several accounts, most of them too obvious to trouble you with here. You have obliged me extreamly in what you tell me about Waldegrave  
Papers.  
Draught.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730. about lord Townshend, he did not say the least word of himself, and in his letter, he rather disclaimed the merit of it, than otherwise; tho' I was at the same time satisfied, it was in a great measure owing to him. I should have been very glad to have been able to do what you desire for young Dayrolles, with whom I am very well satisfied, but I was before engaged by the duke of Newcastle for his kinsman, who has served some time of late in the same post, but of this, I desire you will take no notice till you hear it from others, for I was recommended secrecy.

## LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. DE BOUSSET.

*On his resignation.*

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, May 12, 1730.

Townshend  
Papers.*Draught.*

TOUTES les fois que j'ay été à Hanover j'ay reconnu en V. E. une amitié si ouverte et si sincère à mon égard, que je ne sçauois me dispenser de vous faire part de la résolution que je vais mettre en execution pour me retirer des affaires sans manquer au respect que je vous dois, et à la confiance, qui a été établie entre nous. La longue et pénible maladie que j'ay eu il y a presque quatre ans, m'a tellement affoiblie la constitution du corps, que j'en ay ressenti de tems en tems depuis les terribles secouffes. Cette diminution des forces m'ayant rendu moins capable de soutenir le grand faix des affaires, j'ay été obligé de songer à la retraite. Et en ayant demandé la permission au roy, sa majesté a eu la bonté de me l'accorder de la manière la plus gracieuse du monde. Ainly d'abord que les séances du parlement seront finies je me demettrai de ma charge, et me retirerai à ma campagne, pour soigner ma santé, et jouir un peu de repos après les grandes fatigues que j'ay essuyées.

V. E. entendra peut être quelques autres raisons de ma demission; mais mes frequentes indispositions m'en ont inspirée la première pensée. Cependant j'avouerai à V. E. que quelques dégout que j'ay eus par rapport au chevalier Walpole ont beaucoup fortifié cette résolution.

J'ay pourtant le plaisir de voir que ma retraite ne changera rien aux affaires publiques, puisqu'il n'y a pas le moindre doute que messieurs les frères Walpole ne poursuivent fermement les mêmes principes et les mêmes mesures qui ont été suivies jusqu'à cette heure. J'espère que V. E. ne désapprouvera pas une résolution qui mene votre bon et fidèle ami à quelque délassement de corps et d'esprit après les longues travaux d'un employ trop onoreux pour un  
valeur.

## ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

valetudinaire. Je me rejouirai toujours de souvenir de nôtre amitié, et en toute situation où je me trouverai je serai ravi d'avoir encore des occasions de marquer le respect, et la sincérité avec lesquels je suis, &c.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1730.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. STEIN.

*On his resignation.*

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, May 5—16, 1730.

L'Intérêt que depuis que j'ay l'honneur de vous connoître, vous m'avez paru prendre à tout ce qui me regarde, m'engage à vous communiquer la résolution que j'ay prise de me retirer des affaires d'abord que le parlement se séparera. Il y a quelque tems que ma santé, qui, depuis ma grande maladie, n'a été guères affermie, m'a fait songer à la retraite et à me soustraire aux fatigues d'un employ qui ne convient nullement à un valetudinaire. Je vous avouë que la froideur qui est survenue depuis entre le chevalier Walpole et moy a contribué à me déterminer sur le parti que je vais prendre. Cependant vous devez être persuadé que je ne me serois jamais résolu à quitter le service, si je n'étois bien sûr que mon éloignement ne causera aucun changement ici par rapport aux affaires generales. Je dois rendre cette justice à Messrs. Walpole qu'ils sont entièrement disposés à s'en tenir aux principes que nous avons suivis jusqu'à présent, et je suis convaincu que les alliés du roy n'auront jamais sujet de se plaindre de leur conduite. S. M. m'a accordé sa permission de me retirer de la manière la plus obligeante du monde, et l'a accompagnée des temoignages les plus gracieux de sa bonté pour moy. J'ay pris la liberté de l'assurer que je serois toujours prêt à fournir les éclaircissements dont il me jugeroit capable par rapport à ses affaires. Comme je n'ay rien de caché pour vous, j'ay crû devoir vous faire ce détail; je vous prie pourtant de ne le communiquer à qui que ce soit.

Townshend  
Papers.  

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Draft.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. SLINGELANDT, PENSIONARY OF  
HOLLAND.

*Announces his resignation.*

MONSIEUR, après tant de marques que nous nous sommes donnés d'une confiance réciproque dans le cours d'une si longue amitié, V. E. aura lieu d'être surprise que vous aimant et vous honorant comme je fais, je ne vous

Townshend  
Papers.  

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Draft.

Period IV. vous aye pas communiqué plutôt la résolution que j'ay prise depuis quelque  
 1727 to 1730. tems de me retirer des affaires aussitôt que la séance du parlement sera finie. Mais j'espère que V. E. voudra bien ajouter foy aux assurances que je luy ay donné que les sentimens favorables qu'elle a toujours temoignés à mon égard, et la crainte d'effuyer des reproches qu'une pareille ouverture pourroit m'attirer d'un ami si partial envers moy ont été les seules raisons qui m'ont empêché jusqu'icy de lui faire part de mon dessein. Ma santé qui depuis ma grande maladie, n'a jamais été parfaitement retablie, m'a inspiré depuis longtems le desir d'être dispensé des fatigues du ministre et de passer le reste de mes jours en repos; et je ne dois point vous celer que j'ay été fortifié dans cette inclination par la méfintelligence qui est ensuite survenuë entre le chevalier Walpole et moy.

Cependant vous pouvez compter que ma retraite ne causera aucun changement icy à l'égard des affaires générales, et que je ne me serois jamais déterminé à quitter le service dans cette conjoncture, si je n'étois absolument convaincu que Messrs. Walpole sont aussi disposés, qu'on le peut souhaiter, à observer sans variation les principes que nous avons suivis jusqu'à présent. S. M. a eu la bonté de m'accorder sa permission de me retirer de la manière la plus obligeante du monde, et a accepté très gracieusement les assurances que j'ay pris la liberté de luy donner, que nonobstant mon éloignement des affaires, je serois toujours prêt de fournir tous les éclaircissemens dont je serois capable, toutes les fois qu'elle les jugeroit nécessaire pour son service. J'espère qu'après ce que je viens de vous dire, vous ne désapprouverés pas entièrement la résolution que j'aye prise qui est très nécessaire pour la conservation de ma santé et ne pourra avoir aucune mauvaise suite à l'égard du public. Cependant je vous prie que ce détail ne soit que pour vous et monseigneur le greffier.

## PENSIONARY SLINGELANDT TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*In reply.*

MY LORD,

A la Haye, le 23 de Mai, 1730.

Townshend  
Papers.

IL est de la lettre par laquelle il a plu à votre excellence de me communiquer la résolution, qu'elle a prise de se retirer des affaires, comme il est des grands coups, qui quoique prévus, ne laissent pas d'étourdir, lorsqu'ils sont frappés. J'en sens, mylord, toutes les suites, et en particulier ce que je  
 vous



perdus par votre retraite. Cependant, après avoir considéré les raisons que vous avez eu la bonté de me communiquer en ami, je suis si éloigné de blâmer le parti que votre excellence a pris, que tout au contraire je l'admire, et que je serois très porté à imiter votre exemple, si des perfonnes pour lesquelles j'ai avec raison beaucoup de déférence, ne m'en détournent, par la considération que, quelque peu utile que je sois dans mon poste, je ne puis le quitter pour le présent sans préjudice du pays, que je sers.

Je prie le bon dieu, qu'après avoir sacrifié vos plus beaux jours, au service du public vous puissiez long tems jouir dans une parfaite sâreté, et dans une heureuse tranquillité, du contentement de voir que les affaires de votre patrie, et de toute l'Europe n'aillent pas moins bien que pendant qu'elles ont passé par vos mains, et que vos amis n'ayent jamais lieu de vous regretter. Et comme tant que je vivrai, je penserai avec un plaisir extrême à un ami tel que vous; je vous supplie, mylord, de songer quelques fois dans votre heureuse retraite, que rien ne diminuera jamais le moins du monde la vivacité des sentimens d'une véritable, et très parfaite estime, et vénération, que j'ay eu pour vous depuis le tems que mon bonheur m'a concilié votre connoissance et votre amitié, et qui se sont fortifiez, et augmentez, à mesure que les affaires nous ont fourni les occasions de nous entretenir tant de bouche que par écrit.

## THOMAS TOWNSHEND TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

*Announces the death of lord Townshend.*

DEAR SIR,

Raynham, June 22, 1738.

I Believe nobody will be more concern'd than you, at the terrible calamity which has befallen our family by the loss of my father, who dy'd last night of an apoplestic fit. He had been very chearful all the evening, and retir'd to his study, when we went to supper, in perfect health to all appearance, but in about half an hour rung his bell, and was dead before any body could reach him. The affliction and misery which this sad accident has occasioned here, is not to be expressed. I hope all your family is well.

Sydney  
Papers

Period IV.  
1738-1739

REV. DR. CONYERS MIDDLETON\* TO THE HON. THOMAS  
TOWNSHEND.

*Condoles with him on the death of lord Townshend.*

DEAR SIR,

Cambridge, June 25, 1738.

IT gives me a very sensible concern, to be called so unexpectedly to the melancholy task of condoling with you on the death of lord Townshend; for besides the share which I shall always bear in every instance of grief, which can possibly reach you, I have in this a part of my own, and find myself peculiarly affected by the loss of a great man, who did me the honour of inviting me to his friendship, and by the authority of his good opinion, help'd to allay those prejudices which were unjustly conceiv'd against me. As I had been pleasing myself with the thoughts of spending some agreeable days this summer, in his lordship's conversation, so I am now touched with a kind of remorse, and condemn myself as it were of a sin for having never taken the opportunity of testifying my duty and gratitude for the marks which he had given me of his favour. But instead of administering comfort to you, which was my design at setting down, I am shewing only that I want it myself; yet were I never so much at ease on the occasion, I should spare myself that trouble, when I reflect that I am writing to one whose good sense and knowledge of the world both ancient and modern, can never suffer him to afflict himself beyond what is natural, for any accident which cannot be retrieved. It is impossible indeed that the sudden death of a kind and worthy parent, should not be greatly shocking to one of your affectionate temper; yet that very circumstance of its being sudden, which generally adds weight to the first assaults of grief, seems to have something in it, upon recollection, which tends rather to alleviate it. For it was the common wish, we know, of the wise and great in all ages, to fall as his lordship did, by the first stroke as it were of the executioner, without passing through the lingering tortures of a sick bed, or living to sully the lustre of a noble character, and sinking by a kind of metempsychosis even before death from the man into the animal.

This was lord Townshend's case. He had borne a principal part in the public council of the nation, with the glorious character of being the patron

\* The celebrated author of the Life of Cicero.



of its laws and liberties, till satiated with honours, and tired with the hurry of affairs, he withdrew himself to the liberal use and enjoyment of his private fortunes, where he gave a shining pattern to the nobility, of a virtuous hospitable splendid life, and having left a numerous issue to the propagation of his name, and the imitation of his virtues, was removed without tasting pain or sickness, to that superior happiness, which is destined to the friends and benefactors of mankind. So that if a subject of the first eminence, were left to carve his fortunes by his wishes, I do not know what he could wish more happy or more honorable than the life and death of lord Townshend. This is the reflection which people will naturally make on his lordship's death. I wish that it could help to relieve any part of that grief, which you now feel for it; but beg of you at least to take it as it is meant, for a testimony of that honor and respect, which I bear to you and your family, which your favors have given you a right always to expect from, &c.

Period IV.  
1727 to 1730.  
1730.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.



JAMES EASTON, PRINTER,  
SALISBURY.