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Miscellaneous works Of The Late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl Of Chesterfield

Consisting Of Letters to his Friends, never before printed, And Various Other Articles

Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope of

Dublin, 1777

Section IV.

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SECTION IV.

1732. IN all ſtates, where the management of public affairs, though committed to the care of a few, is ſubject to the controul of the many, differences of opinion and of party muſt neceſſarily ariſe. Where ſenates and public aſſemblies can give or refuſe their aſſent to the demands of a court; and, what is of more conſequence, where they have the power of withholding or diſpenſing the wealth of the nation, each vote acquires a value, and every man riſes in eſtimation, in proportion to his abilities or credit. The authority of the miniſter depends on the ſuperiority of his talents, or the extent of his influence: and as it is impoſſible he ſhould preſerve his power at court, but by his intereſt in the *money-giving houſe*, as lord Cheſterfield ſomewhere expreſſes it, he can hardly maintain his ground, unleſs he find ſome method of attaching to the court the majority of the members.

Oppoſition, therefore, muſt always be a minority, and, as political queſtions ſeldom admit of certainty, and frequently are of no great importance, honeſt men may divide on either ſide, and vote for or againſt the miniſtry, with a ſincere belief that they are acting for the good of their country [1].

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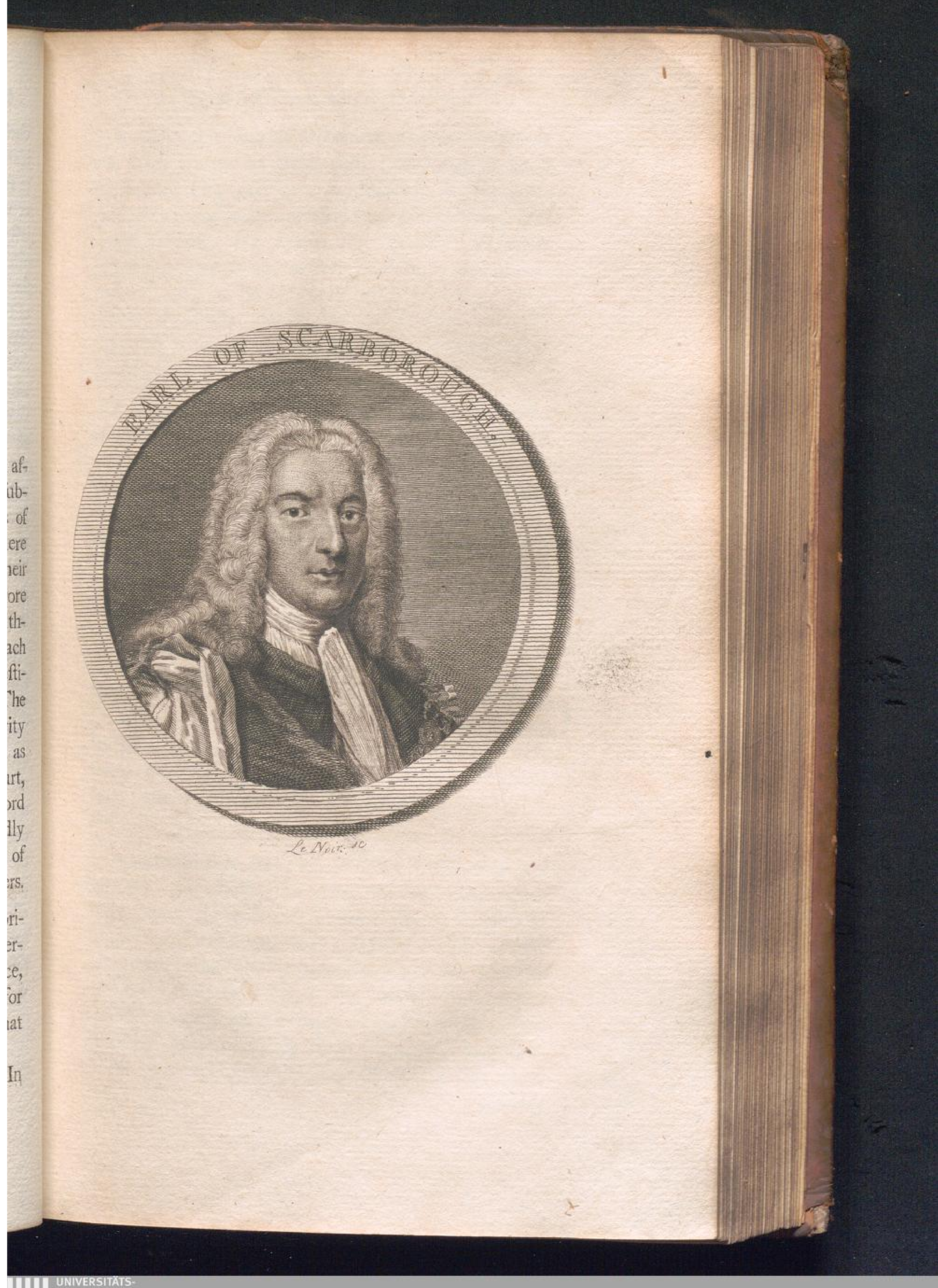

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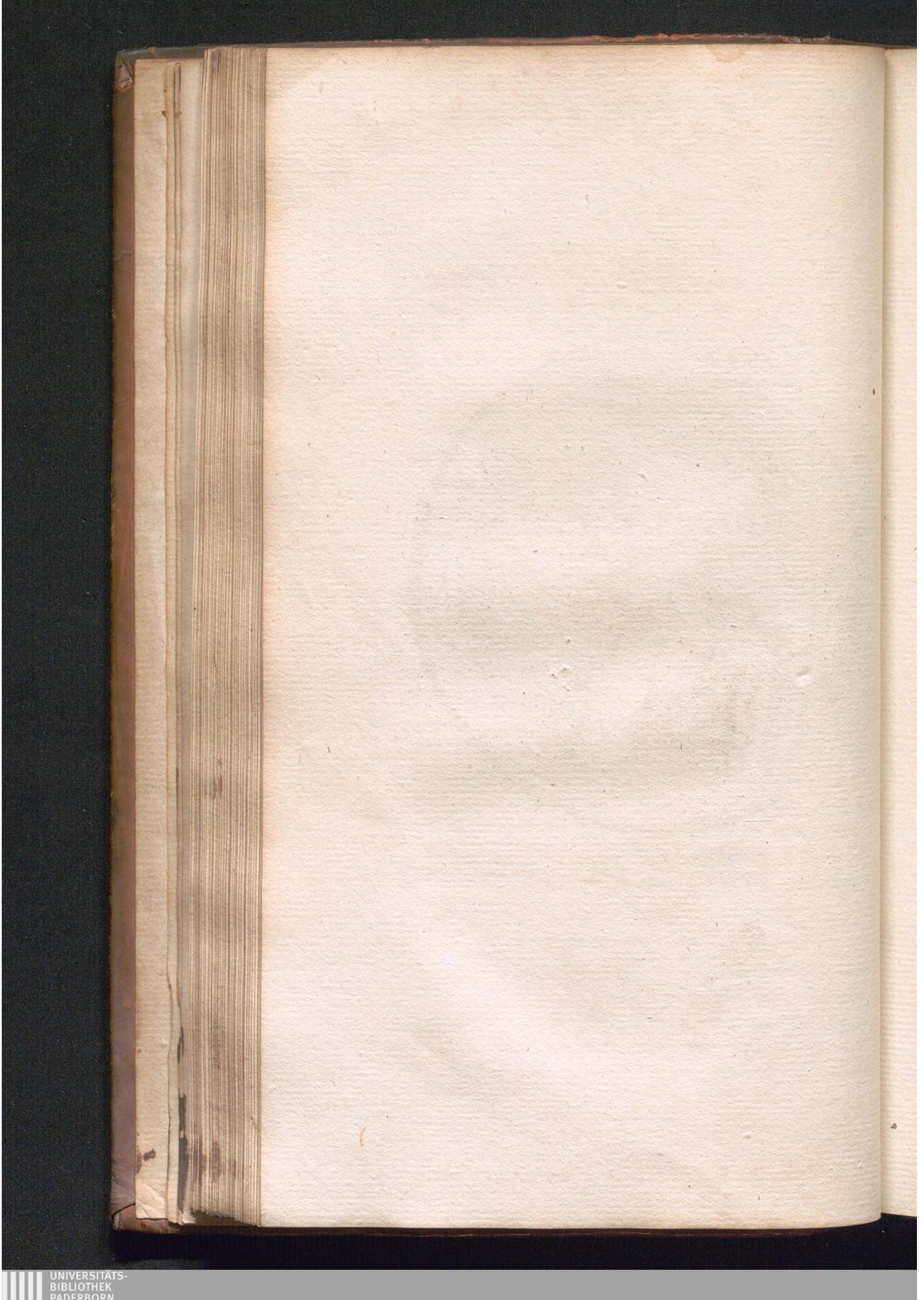

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In general it may be preſumed, that the perſon at the helm means to ſteer right; and that, if he is ſometimes engaged in a wrong courſe, his error proceeds more from neceſſity than inclination. His wiſeſt ſchemes are frequently oppoſed; he finds himſelf obliged to accompliſh his deſigns by indirect means, and, as he ventures on hazardous experiments, thoſe who create his perplexities are ever ready to triumph in his miſtakes, and make their profit of his loſſes.

Adminiſtration commonly acts under one head; oppoſition has all the diſadvantages of anarchy and confuſion. Popularity, or the affectation of it, is the aim of the leaders. Obtained with difficulty, it is not to be preſerved but by unremitted induſtry. All who are led by vanity, intereſt, or caprice, to imagine themſelves of conſequence to their country, inliſt under the banners of patriotiſm. Their army is generally compoſed of troops, which, with unequal diſcipline and different expectations, engage on the ſame ſide with no other view than that of ſharing the ſpoil after victory, or of ſupplanting each other in the diviſion. Each chief is flattered, and no one harſhly rejected. Hence every day produces new plans, new allotments of office, new expedients to retain the wavering [2], new attempts to recover the loſt.

Add to all this, that the miniſter is maſter of his ground. He chuſes his opportunities, and, never unprepared himſelf, has many aſſiſtants at hand to ſupply him with arguments and facts. The oppoſer commonly ſees but in part, has often ſhort notice, and can hardly ever divide the buſineſs in a proper manner among his aſſociates. Yet, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages ariſing from his ſituation, prejudices, and reſentments, a popular tribune, in a

country

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1732. country like this, is a moſt uſeful man. Ever on the watch, he awes miniſters into vigilance and circumſpection, and if he does not defend the conſtitution from every wound, he ſecures it from ſuch as might prove incurable and fatal.

It is difficult for a writer, engaged in a work like this, to diveſt himſelf entirely of prejudice. Truth is often inſcrutable, and, when diſcovered, cannot always be imparted with ſafety. All that can be expected is, that he ſhould make uſe of the beſt materials he can find [3]; that he ſhould ſteer a middle courſe between the oppoſite accounts, and enable as well as deſire his readers to judge for themſelves.

1733. For twelve years the miniſter had reigned without much oppoſition; but the year of the exciſe-bill was the laſt of his tranquillity. The oppoſition had gained an advantage, and, from their preſent triumph, were encouraged to attempt freſh attacks. The officers of the South Sea company, who, notwithſtanding their delinquency, were ſuppoſed to be favored by the miniſter, were called upon to produce their accounts; which were found both confuſed and defective. The diſpoſal of the forfeited eſtates of the late directors was likewiſe inquired into, and the conduct of adminiſtration, in reſpect to this diſpoſal, was ſeverely, though unſucceſsfully, arraigned. Great fault was found with the manner of bringing into parliament the bill for ſettling a portion upon the princeſs royal of England, now engaged to the prince of Orange. In theſe ſeveral debates, lord Cheſterfield bore a principal part, and he joined in one of the proteſts.

No ſooner was his lordſhip freed from the ſhackles of a court, than he ſubmitted to the chains of matrimony.

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trimony. He had, indeed, fallen into ſome gallantries before. From one of his connections, during his embaſſy in Holland, he had a ſon, who ſoon became the object of his fondneſs as well as of his cares. But his ſerious addreſſes had, many years before, been paid to Meloſina de Schulenburg, a young lady belonging to one of the moſt conſiderable families in Germany [4]. Niece to the dutcheſs of Kendal, ſhe had been particularly diſtinguiſhed by the late king, and was created by him, in 1722, a peereſs of Great Britain, under the titles of counteſs of Walſingham and baroneſs of Aldborough. Her fortune was ſuitable to her rank; and the amiableneſs of her character, the accompliſhments of her mind, her taſte for the fine arts, and in particular for muſic, rendered her a fit companion for lord Cheſterfield. By her tenderneſs and virtues, ſhe merited all the returns he could make; and by her prudent management, ſhe helped to retrieve and improve his long-neglected eſtate. On changing her condition, ſhe did not leave the dutcheſs of Kendal; and lord Cheſterfield, who was their next neighbour in Groſvenor-ſquare, moſt conſtantly divided his time between his buſineſs in his own houſe, and his attentions and duties at the other. Minerva preſided in the firſt; and in the laſt, Apollo with the muſes.

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A voluntary exile from the royal preſence, lord Cheſterfield had not neglected aſſiduouſly to pay his reſpects to the prince of Wales, and was particularly well received at his court. His royal highneſs immediately ſent his compliments to the new-married pair, and his attendants followed his example. The prince of Orange likewiſe, who, towards the end of the year, came over to England, on account of his own nuptials, did not neglect the friend to whom

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1733. whom he was chiefly beholden for that fortunate event [5]. He found him in a very different ſituation from that in which he could have wiſhed to ſee him at court; but though ſurrounded with courtiers, and expoſed to the riſk of exciting diſpleaſure, he ſhewed his affection and eſteem to the late ambaſſador by every mark of confidence and regard [6]. A dangerous indiſpoſition his highneſs was ſeized with, retarded, for ſeveral months, the celebration of the nuptials, which only took place in the month of March of the next year.

1734. Sir Robert Walpole's antagoniſts had flattered themſelves that the period of his diſgrace was now at hand. They imagined, that the nation was ſufficiently incenſed; and, as the firſt parliament under this reign was within a year of its diſſolution, they reſolved to try their intereſt by a new popular exertion. It was thought, that the repeal of the ſeptennial bill would meet with but little reſiſtance from the members who wiſhed to ſecure the favor of their conſtituents at the enſuing election. In this, however, the leaders of the oppoſition were diſappointed. Though ſeveral of the members who, eighteen years before, were the promoters of this bill, now ſpoke againſt it, they were ſtill out-numbered. Sir William Stanhope and his brothers were in the minority.

The oppoſition had no better ſucceſs in the houſe of peers, though equally ſanguine in its hopes. Lord Cheſterfield took the earlieſt opportunity of declaring himſelf. He deſired, that no words or expreſſions, employed in the addreſs of thanks for the king's ſpeech, ſhould afterwards be made uſe of, either for or againſt any propoſition that might be made, or any queſtion that might ariſe in the houſe.

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The meaning of this declaration was ſoon evinced by the active part which he took in the ſubſequent debates.

The moſt important of theſe was occaſioned by the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments. Theſe lords were ſuppoſed to have been diſmiſſed, or, as our witty earl expreſſed it, whiſpered out of their commiſſions, merely on account of their not complying with the deſires of the miniſter. A motion was made by the duke of Marlborough to reſtrain this power, which had conſtantly been exerciſed by the crown, and ſeemed inherent to the prerogative. The bill which he propoſed was intended to prevent, for the future, all officers, above the rank of colonels, from being deprived of their commiſſions, otherwiſe than by judgment of a court martial, to be held for that purpoſe, or by addreſs of either houſe of parliament. Of the ſeveral lords, who ſpoke in favor of the bill, none expreſſed himſelf with more warmth than lord Cheſterfield [7]. He was complimented on that occaſion by the duke of Argyle, who, being then ſtill a courtier, oppoſed both the bill and the motion, which immediately followed, for preſenting an addreſs to his majeſty, in order to be informed, by whoſe advice, and for what crimes, the two lords had been removed [8]. The fate of the bill decided that of the motion; both were rejected, and our earl joined in the proteſts that were drawn up by the conſiderable and reſpectable minority who divided on this occaſion.

Nothing proves more evidently than this tranſaction with what different eyes perſons, equally well-meaning, may view the ſame objects. Lord Cheſterfield ſeems to have been as ſincere in his approbation of this bill, as his boſom friend, lord Scarbo-

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1734. rough, was in his oppoſition to it. And yet, when in the laſt reign a ſimilar bill was drawn up by the late earl Stanhope, it had been equally approved by the two friends. The reaſons and the occaſion that induced them to think differently upon the ſame ſubject, are not known. Perhaps their various ſituation in life may have produced this effect. Lord Scarborough, being himſelf an officer, undoubtedly had better opportunities of being informed of every thing that had any relation to the good of the ſervice; and he ſeems to have been really alarmed at the conſequences which the bill, however well calculated to leſſen miniſterial influence, might have had in promoting military independency. It was in that light that he conſidered the queſtion: fearing, however, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected, that the deſire of keeping his places, both in the army and at court, had biaſſed his judgment, he previouſly waited on the king, and having declared his motives, with great earneſtneſs begged that he might be permitted to reſign. His majeſty preſſed him a conſiderable time to deſiſt from his reſolution, and, finding him unalterably fixed, at laſt told him, "My "lord, there is an employment you cannot in honor "give up, which is your regiment; for you know, "as well as I, we are upon the eve of a war." This argument prevailed with his lordſhip; he contented himſelf with reſigning his place of maſter of the horſe, and, on coming down from the cloſet, ordered a chair to be called, and diſmiſſed the king's equipage [9]. Being thus free to declare for the court, without incurring the ſuſpicion of being prompted to it by undue motives, he not only gave his vote againſt the ſecond reading of the bill; but, notwithſtanding the eloquent exertions of his friend, he made a motion to have it rejected, in order to prevent

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prevent the like attempts for the future. His reasons were delivered with great ſtrength and preciſion; but whether they occaſioned any alteration in lord Cheſterfield's opinion is leſs certain than that they produced none in his ſentiments for ſo reſpectable a friend.

A meſſage from the king, for a vote of credit, having been preſented at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, met in both houſes with a conſiderable oppoſition. A war had broken out in Europe, and its flames threatened to ſpread over this iſland. Prudence required that the nation ſhould be prepared at all events: and the miniſter would have been culpable, had he neglected the means of putting the kingdom in a proper ſtate of defence. It was particularly neceſſary to guard againſt any attempts that might be made during the time of anarchy and confuſion always attending new elections. Obvious as theſe reaſons ſeemed to be, they did not make an equal impreſſion upon all the members. Lord Cheſterfield, who happened to be again in oppoſition to the duke of Argyle, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his anſwer to his grace. He ſaid, that "what was demanded was not in the leaſt neceſ-"ſary for the ſupport of the king and the ſafety "of the nation, though it might be neceſſary for "the ſupport of miniſterial ſchemes, and for the "ſupport of miniſterial perſonages. Coming at "the end of the long ſeſſion of a long parliament, "it appeared to him in the ſame light as if an ap-"plication ſhould be made to a man on his death-"bed, to bequeath all he has in the world to thoſe "who are utter ſtrangers to him, nay who have been "generally reputed his greateſt enemies." He owned, indeed, what was more fully inſiſted upon by lord Hardwicke, who made a ſhort and nervous

1734. reply to his lordſhip, that by the conſtitution the kings always had a ſort of dictatorial power, during the intervals of parliament, in caſe of any ſudden or unexpected danger, to provide for the preſervation of the commonwealth; but he pretended, that the aſking for ſuch a power before-hand looked ſuſpicious, and, to illuſtrate his meaning, had recourſe to this ſarcaſtical compariſon: "No man "will refuſe to let an infant of a good eſtate have "whatever may be neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence. "For this he has no great occaſion for any letter of "credit from his guardians; but, if theſe ſhould "be ſuch fools, or ſuch unfaithful guardians, as to "give him an unlimited letter of credit, for borrow-"ing whatever he himſelf might think neceſſary "for his ſubſiſtence, it would certainly tend to "throw him into extravagance, and make him a "prey for uſurers and extortioners."

1735. It may be preſumed, that the oppoſition would have been leſs ſtrenuous, in obſtructing the views of government, could they have been convinced, that theſe views were really for the good of the nation. This they pretended to doubt; and lord Cheſterfield, as well as his friends, went ſo far as to affirm, that the veſſel of Great Britain was ſteered by the Hanoverian rudder [10]. The ground of their apprehenſions will, in ſome meaſure, appear from the following account of the ſtate of Europe at that time.

The ſtipulations of the laſt treaty of Vienna ſeemed to imply an obligation to aſſiſt the houſe of Auſtria, whenever its poſſeſſions, already much leſſened, ſhould be further invaded. The Dutch, indeed, being more expoſed to, and perhaps more diffident

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diffident of, their neighbours, had laid many reſtrictions on their acceſſion to the treaty. The French, whoſe deſigns againſt their natural and ancient rivals upon the continent this treaty was intended to check, ſoon found an opportunity of putting the real diſpoſitions of the contracting parties to the teſt. On the death of Auguſtus I. king of Poland, his moſt chriſtian majeſty immediately reſolved to ſecure that crown to his father-in-law, the unhappy competitor of the deceaſed monarch. The emperor, on his part, apprehending that, if Staniſlaus ſhould ſucceed, he ſhould always find a dangerous neighbour in him, could not conſent to his re-election. The diſpute, as is uſual between crowned heads, ended in an open rupture. But this war, carried on with unequal ſpirit and forces, was alſo attended with very different ſucceſs. Lewis XV. the young monarch of a warlike and united nation, was prepared, and certain, as he was ſaid to be, of the good wiſhes of Hanover, and of the connivance at leaſt of the Britiſh miniſtry [11], formed an offenſive alliance with the kings of Sardinia and Spain, in order to attack his enemy in ſeveral parts at once. The declining head of the empire, Charles VI. on the contrary, found, in the unwilling guarantees of his poſſeſſions, importunate monitors and irreſolute friends. In vain did he ſolicit his natural allies to ſupport him in ſo diſadvantageous a conteſt, and to maintain what was called the balance of Europe. In vain, to avoid appearing the aggreſſor, did he abſtain from the firſt hoſtilities, and leave it to Ruſſia to oppoſe Staniſlaus, and to ſettle the elector of Saxony upon the Poliſh throne: theſe precautions did not diſarm his enemies, nor procure him the aſſiſtance of his friends. The Dutch, under perpetual apprehenſions for their barrier, which the imperial court could not, and the Britiſh miniſtry would not, provide with ſufficient

troops

1735. troops [12], willingly embraced a neutrality; a ſtate which is always preferred by that wiſe republic, and was particularly their choice at that time, from the fear of being obliged to create a new ſtadtholder. This neutrality was either the cauſe or the pretence why the Britiſh miniſtry only interfered by vague propoſals and offers of mediation, which were ſlighted [13]. The miniſter, in the mean while, did not neglect to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Every year he applied for freſh parliamentary ſupplies; he fitted out ſquadrons; and took ſix thouſand Danes into Britiſh pay, for the ſame uſeful purpoſes, which, ſome years before, had occaſioned the hiring of twelve thouſand Heſſians. He carried this precaution ſtill further, and, to prevent an invaſion from powers whoſe intereſt it was by no means to attempt one, he every year increaſed the number of national troops.

1736. Such exertions of ſtrength, equally vain and waſteful, were not aſſented to without great oppoſition in both houſes. Lord Cheſterfield, convinced that theſe ſucceſſive augmentations could have but one uſe, attacked them, not only with the power of eloquence, but with the ſhafts of ridicule. With a ſatyrical vein of pleaſantry, almoſt peculiar to himſelf, he expoſed in a periodical paper [14] the harmleſs diſpoſition both of the miniſters and the troops. The ſcheme of a wax army, moving by clock-work, and anſwering all the uſes of a real one, was worthy of Swift's pen; and, if I am not miſinformed, the dean ſaw, approved, and wiſhed to have been the writer of it.

During the courſe of this political ſtruggle, lord Cheſterfield had the misfortune of loſing his brother Charles Stanhope. Though the youngeſt, he was not the leaſt beloved; and, indeed, by the accounts

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I received from the counteſs of Cheſterfield, his character muſt have been moſt amiable. By his death a conſiderable eſtate devolved to Mr. John Stanhope, whoſe ſole dependence hitherto had been upon the earl.

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After a long negociation, a treaty was at length concluded between the contending powers. The houſe of Bourbon was a great gainer by the war; and that of Auſtria an equal loſer by the peace. Lorrain, a conſiderable province, capable of maintaining an army of thirty thouſand men, hitherto governed by its own ſovereigns, though, from its vicinity, moſt commonly under the influence or in the power of France, was now, for ever, annexed to that crown. King Staniſlaus obtained the enjoyment of it, during his life, as an equivalent for Poland; and the former duke of Lorrain, in virtue of this ceſſion, procured the reverſion of Tuſcany after the death of the old duke, the laſt of the Medicis family, together with the hand of the eldeſt archdutcheſs. The king of Spain's eldeſt ſon made a moſt advantageous exchange of two dutchies for two kingdoms, Parma and Placentia for Naples and Sicily; the king of Sardinia ſomewhat extended his territories; and, as a compenſation for ſo many ſacrifices, the emperor obtained from his rivals the long-wiſhed-for guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction.

It would take much time, and afford little entertainment, to ſpecify and explain the ſeveral ſubjects of debate between the miniſters and their antagoniſts in the courſe of this and the preceding year. ſome were temporary or local; others, the reſult of former, or the foundation of future, deliberations; and all, though at the time magnified by party, are now become too inconſiderable to be mentioned any where but in general hiſtory, where the foibles and

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1736. inconſiſtencies of mankind are faithfully and minutely recorded. Strong things were, as uſual, ſaid by the minority [15]; and, as uſual, the majority endeavoured to aſſiſt the deſigns of the miniſter.

1737. Very different ſentiments were entertained by the heads of the oppoſition. As their object was to embarraſs the miniſtry, and to inflame the people, the queſtions which were ſtarted were ſuch as, if decided to their wiſh, muſt leſſen the influence of the court, and, if rejected, muſt increaſe the popular clamor. This was plainly the caſe in the proceedings occaſioned by a tumult that was excited about this time in Edinburgh. Mr. Porteus, a captain of the city-guard, had been tried and condemned to death, for having too haſtily ordered his men to fire, and having fired himſelf, upon a mob that attempted to reſcue a ſmuggler from the gallows. As there appeared, on the captain's trial, ſeveral circumſtances in his favor, a reprieve was obtained for him upon the repreſentation of the judges. But the people were not ſatisfied; and, at the inſtigation, or at leaſt with the connivance of ſome deſigning men, they aſſembled in a ſeditious manner. They forced the gates of the jail, dragged out the unfortunate priſoner, and hanged him in the ſame place where the ſmuggler had ſuffered. This was not a mere riot; it bore the marks of deſign and deliberation; and, though ſome of the facts might have been exaggerated, a mutinous diſpoſition could not be diſowned. The ſame ſpirit had of late ſhewn itſelf in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and a daring, though puerile, inſult upon government had been committed in Weſtminſter-hall [16]. It became, therefore, neceſſary to puniſh as well as to check theſe violent attempts againſt the peace of ſociety. The cate of the Edinburgh riot was brought into parlia-

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parliament; the debates lafted five months, and lord Chefterfield was concerned in fome of them. By one of the parties, this act of violence was reprefented as the natural confequence of national difcontent; by the other, as the effect of wicked combinations. Thefe afcribed the caufe to the meafures of government; thofe to the incendiary writings of a difappointed faction. Defpotifm on one fide, and jacobitifm on the other, were introduced in this difpute, with as much reafon as they are in every other political controverfy. The miniftry were driven to the difagreeable alternative, either of giving up the affiftance of military force, which fedition made more and more neceffary, or of difobliging a part of the nation, already too much fufpected of difaffection. Some of the Scotch members, hitherto the beft friends to the reigning powers, expreffed their indignation on feeing the judges compelled to appear at the bar of the houfe of lords, the magiftrates of their capital ftigmatized, and the city deprived of fome of its privileges. The manly fenfe and humane difpofition of lord Hardwicke prevented a too violent ftretch of power. That great magiftrate, (who, though conftantly attached to the court, and moft commonly engaged in parliamentary altercations with lord Chefterfield, was according to his lordfhip's judgment, not only an agreeable and eloquent fpeaker, but a moft clear and inftructive reafoner) maintained on this occafion, as well as on many others, the juft prerogative of the crown, without extending it to the oppreffion of the people. A due regard was paid to the articles of the Union, and the heavieft parts of the fentence were mitigated in the houfe of commons. But yet this unfortunate affair is thought to have left or increafed, among feveral of the inhabitants, a fpirit of difaffection, which broke out, a few years after, at the time of the rebellion.

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1737. Thus did the perſons who governed grow weaker even from their victories, and, while all-powerful at court and in parliament, find themſelves every where elſe diſtreſſed and literally out-witted. The times were no more, when a Dryden or a Swift, in ſupport of miniſters and courts, alone faced legions, and fought them with advantage. The ſuperiority of writing, as well as of ſpeaking, was univerſally judged to be on the ſide of the oppoſition. Promiſes and rewards, it was ſaid, might procure votes, but could neither create or purchaſe eloquence and genius [17]. From the epic poem [18] to the ballad [19], and from the elaborate diſſertation [20] to the periodical ſheet [21], every engine of argument or wit was levelled againſt the preſent adminiſtration. This had, and always will have, its effect; a few inſtances of ſeverity againſt ſome of the moſt unguarded offenders [22], could not reſtrain the greater number; and the popular writers in general ſucceeded in raiſing the indignation of the people, and even their laughter, which was ſtill of more conſequence.

The ſtage itſelf began to be made uſe of, as it was in the time of the Athenian commonwealth, to ſerve the purpoſes of faction, and ſpread perſonal ſatyre; and, as one abuſe generally paves the way for another, virtue and decency were no more reſpected than government. To check this growing evil, and put a ſtop to the impiety and licentiouſneſs which ſome of the dramatic writers had been guilty of, a bill was brought in, and with great expedition paſſed, towards the end of the ſeſſion, in both houſes. By this bill, the new pieces were ſubmitted to the examination of the lord chamberlain for the time being, and could not be exhibited upon the ſtage without his licence. Though this act, which

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which certainly was no innovation, might be a proper one, yet it ſeemed ill-timed, precipitate, and liable to many inconveniencies. The perſons in oppoſition did not fail to repreſent it as an incroachment upon the natural rights of a free people, and a ſtep towards attacking the liberty of the preſs. They exclaimed, that honeſt miniſters had nothing to fear from the ſtrokes of ſatyre; that bad ones ought not to be ſcreened from the only puniſhment that could reach them; and that the laws of the country were ſufficient to guard againſt exceſſes [23]. Lord Cheſterfield took up the cauſe of liberty with his uſual vivacity, and, without preparation, ſupport, or contradiction, he ſtood forth as the advocate of letters and of wit. His ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe; and, though printed incorrectly, and without the aſſiſtance of his own finiſhing hand, it has ſtood the teſt of time, and will, probably, be handed down to poſterity, as one of the fineſt ſpecimens of Britiſh eloquence [24]. Though this ſpeech did not hinder the bill from paſſing into a law, it has contributed to prevent the abuſe that might have been made of it, in reſtraining the powers of genius, and ſerving the purpoſes of miniſterial pique or perſonal diſlike.

The miniſtry were now ſurrounded with enemies, not only without, but even within the palace. The principal of theſe was the heir to the crown. Long diſpleaſed with his father's counſellors, and diſſatiſfied on account of the little ſhare he was allowed to have in the conduct and even knowledge of public affairs, the prince of Wales took no pains to conceal his diſguſt. He might, perhaps, have ſtifled his reſentment, had not the perſon who preſided at the helm forced him to become his dependent or his enemy.

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1737. enemy. His connections were reprefented as inconfiftent with his duty to the king; his favorites were ill-treated, and he was defired not to fee thofe who had made themfelves obnoxious to the court. Self-intereft concurred with ambition to widen the breach. Generofity, in fettling the prince's income, might have brought on an accommodation; parfimony precluded every hope of this kind. The king would not allow his fon, who was now married, and might expect a family, the fame revenue he himfelf had enjoyed in a fimilar fituation; and the offer of one-half, or fifty thoufand pounds, was rejected with fpirit by the prince, who had recourfe to a dangerous, and by the event, an ineffectual expedient.

He applied to the heads of the oppofition, and a motion was made by them in both houfes, that his majefty might be defired to fettle on his fon annually the fum of one hundred thoufand pounds out of the civil lift. They were foiled in the attempt, and, indeed, could not expect to fucceed. But their chief defign was anfwered; an open rupture was now declared between the prime minifter and the prince. The former could not but feel the influence of fo powerful an enemy; and the oppofition fecured to themfelves, together with the patronage of the immediate fucceffor, an increafing intereft with the people. The ftrong proteft, which was entered in the houfe of lords on this occafion, was figned, if not penned, by lord Chefterfield.

It might have been prudent in the miniftry to have been contented with this temporary fuccefs. The prince's refentment was fufficiently raifed; but the exertion of it was, for the prefent, rendered difficult and precarious. A court, deprived of the means of rewarding its attendants, can attach only thofe

thofe who are in expectation of a change, and futurity feldom makes confiderable impreffions upon courtiers. Great reftraints were laid upon the prince in his father's palace, and he could not avoid being watched or even thwarted in his actions. But this was not thought fufficient. Fear, or the fpirit of revenge, induced the minifter to carry his point ftill further. He imagined that, by greater feverity, he fhould either force his royal antagonift to fubmiffion, or render him inconfiderable in the eyes of his attendants. The king was made to refent a trifling neglect of his fon; no regard was fhewn to his excufes and intreaties; peremptory orders were fent him to part with all his friends, or quit his father's houfe; and he was even refufed the fatisfaction of feeing his mother on her death-bed.

1737.

Queen Caroline died at the end of this year, of a cruel diforder, which, being too long concealed, terminated in a painful and fatal operation. She bore the one and the other with fortitude and refignation, and was fincerely regretted by the king. As our earl had, for many years, been no greater favorite with her than his patron lord Townfhend, he cannot be expected to have been much affected by her lofs, or partial to her memory. Notwithftanding this, he allowed her perfonal graces, accomplifhments of the mind, addrefs, refolution, and perfeverance. She poffeffed more learning than commonly falls to the fhare of her fex, and was every day endeavouring to increafe it. Men of fcience were encouraged by her [25]; fhe enjoyed their converfation, and wifhed to have a place among them. Philofophy and politics were her conftant ftudy, and fhe took a pride in fhewing her fuperiority in both. Her fway over the king was founded on the opinion he had of her merit, and

fhe

1737. ſhe improved her power by her compliance with his wiſhes. The art by which ſhe governed was known to every body but himſelf. Upon the whole, ſhe had more admirers than friends, and exchanged the character of an amiable queen for that of a great one.

The oppoſition had now acquired, what they wanted before, a head equally able and willing to give them weight and ſupport. They furniſhed him with the means, and he loſt no opportunities of improving his talents and increaſing his popularity. Leſs partial to his native ſoil than his father and grandfather had been, he profeſſed a generous love for liberty [26], and a juſt reverence for the Britiſh conſtitution. His heart was as open to the ſentiments of benevolence, as his mind to the impreſſions of truth. Thoſe, who appeared animated with the ſame ſentiments, merited his approbation, and ſhared his favor. He particularly declared himſelf the patron of men of genius and of wit. Letters and arts, baniſhed from court, found a refuge under his roof; and poets, thus encouraged, proclaimed a new Auguſtus. Lyttelton was his philoſopher and friend [27], Glover became his Virgil, and Pope would have been his Horace. Thomſon and Mallet expreſſed the hopes of the nation, and their own, in the maſque of Alfred, compoſed by his order, and acted in his houſe. The tragedy of Muſtapha, and that of Guſtavus Vaſa, were intended to intereſt the people in his favor; but were both prohibited by the licenſer, under the ſanction of the laſt act of parliament.

As none of the enemies of the miniſtry had contributed more than lord Bolingbroke to deſtroy their popularity, the prince of Wales became deſirous of a more particular connection with him. He profeſſed the greateſt regard for his lordſhip, and gave him

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him room to hope, that he would one day fulfil his grandfather's intentions towards him [28]. In return for theſe expreſſions of confidence and friendſhip, his lordſhip wrote, for the uſe of the preſumptive heir to the crown, his Idea of a Patriot King, an idea which a ſucceeding reign was happily reſerved to realize.

1737.

Lord Cheſterfield had long before enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare in the prince's eſteem and favor; and it is probable, that he was one of the perſons whom his royal highneſs had been deſired to give up. If I am not miſinformed, the earl's principal view in this connection was to promote his favorite ſcheme; though it might not, in every reſpect, have been equally well received, nor indeed equally adviſeable and convenient. He wiſhed to ſee the electorate and the kingdom ſeparated from each other, and allotted to different branches of the royal family; and endeavoured to convince the ſucceſſor of the incompatibility of the two titles. Experience induced him to believe, that the prejudices of youth in favor of the native ſoil were unconquerable; and he conceived, that, whenever a war broke out, Hanover would be attacked, and Great Britain become the *(vache a lait)*, milch cow, or money-giving province. He conſidered the want of a proviſion to obviate this inconvenience as a defect in the act of ſettlement; and declared, that ſuch a ſcheme would not only tend to the preſervation and advantage of both countries, but would confirm and ſecure the royal family upon this throne, by the gratitude and affection of their people. He humorouſly added, that by that ſeparation the maxim *divide et impera* would be literally accompliſhed [29]. Could it eſcape his lordſhip's piercing eye, that time alone might poſſibly effect a change, and naturally turn the ſcale on the other ſide?

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1737. As the next parliamentary campaign was likely to be an active one, a place of meeting was appointed by the anti-minifterial party, for muftering their forces, and fettling their plan of operations.

Bath was the fpot fixed upon for that purpofe; and a more convenient one could not have been chofen. This elegant town much refembles the Bajæ of the luxurious Romans. Like that, it is diftinguifhed by its waters, its magnificence, and its pleafures. It is there that, twice a year, health, diverfions, politics, and play, attract what is called the beft company. To this place the prince carried his princefs, foon after the birth of her firft child. An event fo interefting to the nation afforded a favorable opportunity of affembling his friends, and concealing bufinefs under the appearances of feftivity and joy. The royal and much-beloved pair received the homage of the numerous concourfe of people of every rank, who flocked thither to make ufe of a liberty they were reftrained from in the capital [30]. Sumptuous entertainments were given by the corporation, under the direction of the famous Nafh. Lord Chefterfield did the honors of the place, and his fervants were employed to attend.

Having had occafion to mention the name of Nafh, a circumftance occurs to me, which, I hope, I may be allowed to infert here, as it furnifhes a frefh inftance of lord Chefterfield's judgment, and of the keennefs of his wit. It is well known, that this vain, though ufeful, fuperintendent of public pleafures firft introduced order and elegance in places of entertainment; and, on account of the authority he was indulged to affume, was ftiled the king of Bath. In confideration of his fervices, the corporation refolved to give him a public and durable mark of their gratitude and regard. A full-length picture of the

the mock monarch was made at their expence, and placed in the pump-room, between the bufts of Newton and Pope. The want of judgment that directed, and the vanity that accepted fuch a monument, were feverely lafhed in the following lines, written by the earl.

1737.

Immortal Newton never fpoke
More truth than here you'll find;
Nor Pope himfelf e'er penn'd a joke
Severer on mankind.

This picture, plac'd the bufts between,
Gives fatyre all its ftrength;
Wifdom and wit are little feen,
While folly glares at length.

1738.

More important fubjects had for fome time engaged the attention of the public. The nation had enjoyed peace about five and twenty years; for it can fcarce be faid, that peace was interrupted by the half wars of 1718 and 1727. A ftate of tranquillity fo defireable, efpecially for a commercial people, had been the conftant object of Walpole's adminiftration. The improvement of manufactures, as well as the increafe of trade and wealth, which mark this period, will incline pofterity to be more equitable than their predeceffors, in judging of a man, whofe moft unpardonable fault was to have kept his rivals out of his place fo long. They imputed to pufillanimity and felfifhnefs his pacific difpofitions; they expofed the partial and contracted views with which the negociations abroad had been conducted; and they exclaimed, that the large fums raifed for the fake of preventive and defenfive meafures were not applied to the beft ufes, the

1738. discharge of the national debts, and the preservation of the national rights.

The catholic king, or rather his queen, had, for a long time, shewed a disregard for the nation which, of all others, it is the chief interest, and in general the inclination, of the Spaniards to keep well with [31]. It cannot be denied, but that some provocations had been given by English traders as well as by those of other nations. But the means employed by the Spanish ministry to procure redress were not such as justice could authorize, or British honor overlook. Jealousy, resentment, and, perhaps, bigotry, seem to have had a great share in several instances of violence and animosity which were then exercised. For above twenty years, the Spanish *guarda costas* in America had been impowered to stop the English traders in the open seas, or at least within sight of their coasts, to search and seize both cargoes and ships; to imprison the crews, and often to treat them in a barbarous manner. Vain and ineffectual had been the representations of our court, and such will representations ever be, when unsupported by those means which a great maritime power can never want to defend its rights. The Spaniards, unrestrained in their hostile proceedings, had, on many occasions, added contumely to offence. Their depredations were become excessive, and their captures were valued at half a million. Encouraged by the supineness of the British ministry, and instigated by the active industry of the French, they publicly laid claim to Georgia and part of Carolina, and interrupted not only the general commerce, but also that particular branch stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht,

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Utretcht, and known by the name of the *Aſſiento contract* [32]. 1738.

At laſt, the nation was rouſed by theſe repeated inſults. The clamors of the merchants were heard throughout the kingdom. The voice of humanity, in favor of the ſailors, was too loud to be ſtifled. Applications to parliament were made from the metropolis and other trading cities; and neither peers nor commons could any longer refuſe their interpoſition. In conſequence, the two houſes preſented addreſſes to the king, expreſſing the wiſhes of the nation, and their own ſenſe of the juſtice of the complaint. The anſwer was favorable. His majeſty was pleaſed to promiſe, that, either by negociation or by arms, an adequate ſatisfaction ſhould be procured for the damages ſuſtained, and a ſecurity obtained for the freedom of navigation.

1739. And yet the miniſter, unable to reſolve for war, hoped to prevent a rupture between the two crowns, by the parade of his armaments, and the addreſs of his negociators. He did not wiſh to meet parliament, without having an honorable accommodation to produce, and found it the more difficult to bring the Spaniards to reaſonable terms, as they were apprized of the neceſſity he was under to accept of any [33]. At laſt, after many procraſtinations, which obliged the miniſter to prorogue and delay the meeting of parliament, he procured in the beginning of 1739, a temporary treaty under the title of convention. The pompous manner in which this convention was announced, was rather a diſadvantage to it; for, upon examining the articles, they were found by no means anſwerable to the expectations of the people and the promiſes of the court. This was proved by the popular lords;

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1739. and, in particular, by the earl of Chesterfield, who spoke against this warlike peace, as he called it, with great force of argument, as well as eloquence and wit [34]. He probably was animated by the presence of the prince of Wales, who assisted at the debate, and thought proper, in an affair which so nearly affected the glory of the nation, to vote, for the first time, and to divide with the opposition. The arguments made use of on their sides were so forcible, as to persuade several of the peers, attached to the court, to dissent from it on this occasion. Lord Scarborough, who never resisted conviction, on whatever side he found it, thought himself obliged to join the opposers, and the ministry carried their point in favor of the convention by a much smaller majority than they had procured on any other question [35]. A protest couched in very strong terms, and bearing the stamp of lord Chesterfield's manner of writing, was entered and signed by about forty peers.

The ferment occasioned by the ill-success of the preceding debate rendered the minority still more inclined to shew their disapprobation of the court measures. It was on that account particularly, that the very moderate settlement of thirty-nine thousand pounds *per annum*, for the king's younger children, proposed to be charged upon the hereditary revenues of the crown, met with any opposition. Our earl, who made a short, though severe, speech on this occasion, did not scruple to hint, that while certain branches of the royal family were provided for, at a time when the utmost oeconomy was so necessary, other branches still nearer the throne (*viz.* the offspring of the successor) remained not only unprovided but even still unprayed for.

A subsequent

1739.

A ſubſequent debate on a vote of credit to be granted to the king, gave our earl a freſh opportunity of diſplaying his wit at the expence of the miniſters. "They ſeemed," he ſaid, "to have been "playing for almoſt theſe twenty years, at a ſort "of game of hazard for peace or war; and at laſt, "by a lucky nick, out ſtarted a thing they call a "*convention*, which is neither the one nor the other; "but is to be made either the one or the other, they "cannot yet tell which, if we will but grant them "ſome extraordinary and unuſual powers, for en- "abling them to continue their game. What their "future ſucceſs may be, I ſhall not pretend to di- "vine; but I am ſure, I ſhall never be for giving "unlimited credit to ſuch awkward gameſters."

Such as it was, however, it ſoon appeared, that this convention was not thought binding by the court of Madrid. They failed in the payment of the ſum, which had been accepted by way of indemnification, and the meetings of the plenipotentiaries appointed to ſettle the articles in diſpute were ineffectual. From an error, which too often has prevailed upon the continent, it was imagined, that the reluctance which the miniſter had ſhewn to purſue vigorous meaſures, proceeded from his diffidence of being ſupported by the nation; and it was alſo imagined, that his enemies would continue to obſtruct his operations; and that the ſame irreſolution, which had too long diſgraced the Britiſh cabinet, would equally take place at ſea or in the field. War was at length proclaimed on the 23d of October, with univerſal applauſe, and the nation rejoiced in an opportunity of undeceiving their enemies, and of recalling the glorious days of Elizabeth and Cromwell.

1740.

Theſe expectations ſeemed for a time to have reconciled the oppoſite parties; and if their former contentions had not been alluded to, in the king's ſpeech,

1740. ſpeech, at the opening of the next ſeſſion, and in the addreſſes of the two houſes, it is not improbable, but that the miniſter, by complying, though late, with the wiſhes of the nation, might have recovered in a conſiderable degree their confidence and approbation. This the earl of Cheſterfield openly avowed. He ſaid that his majeſty's declaration of war had effectually healed up all the former diviſions, that he not only approved of the war, but of the declaration itſelf, as being expreſſed in the moſt proper, the moſt juſt, and the ſtrongeſt terms, that could be deviſed, and that if the meaſures now at laſt entered upon were purſued with equal vigor, an end, he hoped, a final end would be put to all heats and animoſities. He therefore wiſhed that all mention were dropped of paſt jealouſies, ſince it now appeared that the diviſion had been not between one party and another, but between the whole nation and the miniſtry. But, though he was ſupported in theſe ſentiments by the earl of Scarborough, as well as by the dukes of Argyle and Bedford, he could not ſucceed in his endeavours, and this diſappointment proved a fatal omen of what was to happen during the remainder of the ſeſſion.

Lord Scarborough's conduct, in this as well as in all other debates, cannot but inſpire us with the moſt exalted ideas of his candor, delicacy, and moderation. Strongly attached by principle to government, and by inclination to the king, he ſupported the miniſtry a long time againſt the efforts of thoſe he was moſt intimately connected with, and lived for many years upon the beſt terms both with Sir Robert Walpole and with lord Cheſterfield [36]. Forced at laſt by conviction to deviate from his former courſe, and to expreſs his diſapprobation of the late public meaſures, he did it with a becoming frankneſs and generoſity,

1740.

nerosity, wishing earnestly to reconcile both parties at this interesting period, and to unite them against the common enemies of their country. This attempt, however, was ill received: heads of parties seldom allow a latitude of thinking, and in affairs of state, still more than in matters of religion, intolerance is by every side disavowed, but too constantly practised by all.

Unfortunately a nobleman equally beloved by the nation and by his friends could not long resist the struggle between his former engagements and his present feelings. A turn to melancholy, which shewed itself in his countenance, joined to an ill state of health [37], hurried him to an act of violence upon himself. The morning of the day on which he accomplished this resolution, he paid a long visit to lord Chesterfield, and opened himself to him with great earnestness on many subjects. As he appeared somewhat discomposed, his friend pressed him in vain to stay and dine with him; which he refused, but most tenderly embraced him at parting. It happened in the course of the conversation that something was spoken of which related to Sir William Temple's negociations, when the two friends not agreeing about the circumstances, lord Chesterfield, whose memory was at all times remarkably good, referred lord Scarborough to the page of Sir William's memoirs where the matter was mentioned. After his lordship's death [38], the book was found open at that very page. Thus he seems, in his last moments, to have been still attentive to his friend, and desirous that he should know he was so. This fatal catastrophe was universally lamented, tenderly censured, and entirely excused by those who considered the unaccountable effects of natural evils upon the human mind. But what must lord Chesterfield's situation have been upon his being

1740. being informed of this unfortunate event? His excellent lady does not even now without the greateſt emotion ſpeak of the manner in which his lordſhip, on her return home at night, acquainted her with his loſs of that amiable nobleman; and he ever after lamented that he did not detain him at his houſe, ſaying he might perhaps have been ſaved, if he had not been left to himſelf that day [39].

His grief, however, did not prevent him from continuing with the ſame aſſiduity and vigor, to ſupport the meaſures of oppoſition. It appears rather that his zeal, no longer tempered by the ſteady example and mild influence of his friend, but on the contrary inflamed by his untimely end, exerted itſelf with greater energy on every occaſion. This appeared in the debates concerning a meſſage for an extraordinary ſupply, ſent to the houſe of commons in preference to that of the peers. The queſtion does not ſeem to have been of ſufficient importance to have excited his lordſhip's warmth againſt the author of this meſſage. But nothing from the miniſter could now pleaſe him, and he ſeemed to have adopted, in regard to Sir Robert, the ſentiment expreſſed in the following lines of an ancient poet, of which he ſent a comment in one of his letters to his ſon;

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec poſſum dicere quare;
Hoc tantum poſſum dicere, non amo te [40].

Yet, notwithſtanding the dryneſs of the ſubject, our earl enlivened it with ſeveral ſtrokes of pleaſantry and humour [41], and the compliment he paid to the young earl of Halifax, who made the motion, was equally juſt and delicate.

He had a much fairer opportunity of diſplaying his eloquence and reſentment, when a bill againſt penſioners, which had paſſed in the houſe of commons, was

was brought before the lords, who, as it was expected even by the opposite party [42], rejected it. In expressing his detestation of corruption, he cast several sarcastical reflections against the man whom at all times he considered as the grand promoter of it. He invariably represented him on that account as still more dangerous to the morals than the liberties of his country.

Had the earl been capable of listening to ministerial whispers, it was often in his power, particularly at this time, to have made whatever terms he pleased. I am well informed that the post of lord lieutenant of Ireland was from his early life the object of his ambition; and that he might have been appointed to it during the present administration will appear from the anecdote I shall here refer to [43].

National concerns did not however so entirely engross his thoughts, but he found leisure for other pursuits. Paternal solicitude warmed his heart as much as patriotic zeal. Having laid down to himself the plan of a rational education, he followed it through all its branches, and did not shew his talents in a more conspicuous light, when he supported the rights of a kingdom, than when he condescended to be the instructor of a child. Chesterfield writing by choice exercises for the use of his son, infinitely surpasses Dionysius driven by necessity to teach grammar at Corinth.

The brilliancy of his talents was equally evident in the facility and variety of his compositions. From the most intricate political researches, he could in an instant relax to the tone of polite conversation; and I have been told, that oftentimes in a mixt company, after having distinguished himself by superior wit and pleasantry, he has taken up the pen and set

down

1740. down the heads of a new ſpeech. Several of his pieces of poetry would have done honor to thoſe diſtinguiſhed writers he was ſo familiar with, though they were compoſed, as well as many of his moral and political eſſays, during the period of the oppoſition.

This wonderful eaſe and extent of genius was juſtly extolled by his cotemporaries. It was particularly ſo in an ode inſcribed to his lordſhip, which will be ſeen in the note [44].

As the war the nation was now engaged in had been foreſeen for a long time, it was univerſally hoped that it would be carried on with ſuch vigor as to put a ſpeedy period to it. But either from an imperfection in the plans, or from error in the execution, the event by no means anſwered the expectations, or at leaſt the wiſhes of the public. Powerful fleets were fitted out, ſeveral millions ſpent, and ſome damage done to the enemy; but engagements with their armadas were avoided, their flotas remained unmoleſted, their poſſeſſions were reſpected, and the loſſes of trade were very nearly equal on both ſides. It ſeemed, as lord Cheſterfield expreſſed it, that ſome malign planet hung over Britiſh counſels, and retarded or diſappointed every vigorous reſolution. The ſucceſs and miſcarriage of Vernon were equal proofs of the temerity and deficiency of our projects; and Haddock's unaccountable inaction induced the witty earl to ſay that the words *flagrante bello* ought to be changed into *languente bello*.

The ſudden death of the head of the empire towards the end of this year, greatly changed the ſtate of affairs in Europe and the ſyſtem of the court of London. It would be difficult to give a clearer account of the immediate conſequences of this unfortunate event, of the efforts that might and ought to have

have been exerted on this occaſion, and of the miſtakes and weak attempts of the adminiſtration, than the following words preſent to us [45]. "The em-"peror left nothing but the pragmatic ſanction for "the ſecurity of his heirs, which proved of ſo little "ſignification notwithſtanding the great names with "which it was filled, that almoſt every one of the "electors, like moſt other electors, thought it a pro-"per opportunity of making the moſt of his vote, "and all at the expence of the helpleſs and aban-"doned houſe of Auſtria.----But in the midſt of "theſe royal dreams of dominion, havock, ſpoil, "and plunder, the king of Pruſſia ſtarts firſt into "action, pleads a right, but takes poſſeſſion by "force, and avows a reſolution to hold it by the "ſame means.----The deplorable ſituation of the "emperor's family affected every Engliſh heart.--- "The pretenſions of the Pruſſian monarch were limit-"ed to certain dutchies and lordſhips in Sileſia; and "as the event proved that he would have been ſatisfied "with much leſs than he claimed, it cannot be enough "wondered at, that ways and means had not been "uſed to bring him to terms by treaty and negocia-"tion.----But inſtead of experiments to ſoften him, "which might gain ſo potent an ally to aſſiſt in the "preſervation of the houſe of Auſtria, and obtain an "increaſe of power to the proteſtant intereſt, the "ſpirit of war alone prevailed againſt him. So little "was any thought or deſire entertained of gaining "him in a friendly manner, and ſo little was appre-"hended from France at that time, that certain per-"ſons, for a while, enjoyed a ſcheme for the par-"tition of his dominions, and a convention was ac-"tually formed for that purpoſe."

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1741. In this ſituation were public affairs, when a motion was made in both houſes for addreſſing the king to remove from his councils the miniſter to whom the national diſtreſſes and difficulties were imputed. Lord Cheſterfield was not one of the ſpeakers in the debate which aroſe on this violent motion; but he divided with the fifty-eight peers who were the minority, and joined with the thirty proteſters.

His health of late had been greatly impaired, and in order to retrieve it, he was adviſed to leave his native country for a time, and to ſeek in ſome foreign land a ſeaſonable relief. He accordingly croſſed the ſea ſoon after the diſſolution of parliament. He paſſed through Liſle, and had the pleaſure of finding at Bruſſels his friend Voltaire, with whom he ſpent a few days, and who read to him ſeveral paſſages of his new tragedy of Mahomet. Hence he directed his courſe to Spa, the waters of which had been recommended and proved very beneficial to him. He ſtaid about ſix weeks in that general rendezvous of the beſt and worſt company of Europe, where the buſy and the idle reſort alike for diſſipation. As he was himſelf eminently qualified to be a citizen of the world, he was courted and agreeably entertained by perſons of different nations, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and their merit. Among theſe was a Pruſſian envoy at one of the German courts. With him lord Cheſterfield often converſed about his ſovereign, who then began to excite univerſal admiration. The earl, who wiſhed to ſee that prince the friend rather than the enemy of Great Britain, expreſſed in lively terms his opinion of him, and called him *l'homme de Pruſſe* (the man of Pruſſia). This was reported to the king, to whom lord Cheſterfield's character was not

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unknown, and who perhaps thought him *l'homme d'Angleterre* (the man of England). To be praiſed by ſuch a judge was highly pleaſing to the monarch, and he ſent him a preſſing invitation to come over and ſee him at Berlin. If the earl had not been engaged in the miniſtry in 1745, he intended to have undertaken that journey; and it is to be regretted that a meeting, which might have been beneficial to the intereſts of mankind, could not take place. The king ever after ſpoke with great regard of lord Cheſterfield, and often ſaid he thought him the beſt friend he had in England. The earl on his ſide ſeemed rather an enthuſiaſt in his praiſes, not only in public converſation, but in his private letters to his ſon, to whom he certainly always diſcloſed his moſt ſecret thoughts [46].

Of all the cities in the world, Paris ſeemed to be that which lord Cheſterfield would have choſen for his reſidence, if he had not been born an Engliſhman, and ſtrongly attached to the conſtitution of his own country. He could not but diſlike the form of government and political principles of the French, though in other reſpects he found their character the moſt congenial with his own. His former connections in their capital, together with thoſe which lord Bolingbroke procured him, muſt have rendered that place peculiarly ſuited to his taſte. Preſſed however as he was for time, and hurried on by the ill ſtate of his health, he could not ſtay there above a fortnight in going, nor much longer at his return. During theſe ſhort intervals, he was a moſt acceptable gueſt in the beſt ſocieties, and a partaker of their pleaſures. The hotels of Coigny, Matignon, Noailles, were open to him, as well as the houſes of Mad^{e} de Tencin [47], de Monconſeil, Martel, ladies equally diſtinguiſhed

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1741. diſtinguiſhed by their rank, their merit, and their wit. He frequently ſaw ſome of the principal *literati* of that country, ſuch as Sallier, Crebillon, Fontenelle, but chiefly his old friend Monteſquieu. He often remembered, when ſome years afterwards he was deprived of the ſenſe of hearing, what that celebrated man, whoſe ſight was much decayed, told him, *je ſais etre aveugle* (I know how to be blind); and endeavoured, though not with the ſame ſucceſs, to be able to ſay, *je ſais etre ſourd* (I know how to be deaf.)

As his lordſhip's health had been judged to require the aſſiſtance of a warmer climate, he uſed what expedition he could to reach the South of France. In his way he viſited Lyons, Avignon, Aix, Niſmes, Marſeilles, and Montpelier. It is with pleaſure that we trace him, during the courſe of this journey, writing regularly to his ſon, then only ten years old, and giving him accounts of the moſt curious particulars relative to the towns he paſſed through, partly extracted from other travellers, and partly from his own maſterly obſervations. He added to theſe ſome compendious geographical lectures, and began a ſketch of Engliſh hiſtory, which it were to be wiſhed he had afterwards thought proper to reviſe and complete.

Public affairs recalled lord Cheſterfield to England ſooner than he might have deſired, and prevented him from enjoying, during the enſuing winter, the pure air and mild temperature of ſome of the fineſt provinces of Europe. The great events that had taken place in the ſummer, required the preſence of all thoſe who wiſhed well to their country, and were able to contribute to its welfare.

The houſe of Bourbon, which, for about a century paſt, had invariably purſued the project of lowering

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the houſe of Auſtria, now ſeized the opportunity of completing its deſtruction. The electors of Saxony and Bavaria, and, ſoon after, the king of Spain, formed pretenſions to the emperor's ſucceſſion. The king of the Two Sicilies joined his power to theirs. Exaſperated by the neglect with which his demands had been treated, and by the vain ſchemes of his rivals, the king of Pruſſia had acquired, by conqueſt, a greater extent of territory than his claims originally amounted to in Sileſia, and was encouraged by the French, who, notwithſtanding their known ſpirit of gallantry, made war againſt the moſt accompliſhed, as well as the moſt beautiful princeſs in Europe. Moſt of the other German and Italian princes had been the late emperor's ſecret friends; and thoſe who were beſt inclined, ſhewed themſelves but cold friends to his daughter. By the influence of her ambitious neighbours, who commanded the votes of four electors, and terrified or ſilenced the reſt, the imperial dignity was wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria, after having been conſiderably above four hundred years in that ancient and now almoſt extinct family. The elector of Bavaria, whoſe power as a prince could give no umbrage to France, was choſen emperor, and the queen of Hungary deprived of her poſſeſſions. Bohemia was already overpowered, the city of Prague taken, Upper Auſtria over-run, and Vienna menaced with a ſiege. A corps of French troops, poſted on the confines of Hanover, threatened an invaſion. The king of Great Britain, who could not be reſtrained from his annual viſit to the capital of his electoral dominions, was obliged to ſign a neutrality for one year. It was more than ſuſpected, that this neutrality extended its influence to the operations in the Mediterranean, and that admiral Haddock had orders to permit, at leaſt to overlook, the ſailing of a Spaniſh ſquadron to the

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1741. Weſt Indies, and the conveyance by ſea of a Spaniſh army into Italy. Hungary, which received the fugitive queen with a zeal becoming a nation ſo faithful, though ſo often ill-treated, was in danger of being attacked by the Turks. Ruſſia was prevented by a Swediſh war and by inteſtine commotions from aſſiſting her natural ally. The Dutch trembled for their barrier; and it was apprehended that a regard to his ſecurity might force even the king of Sardinia into the confederacy.

Thus was the balance of Europe unaccountably diſturbed, and to all appearance completely deſtroyed; a balance, which had coſt the nation ſo many lives to maintain, and involved it in a debt of thirty millions in the times of queen Anne; and which, during the reign of her ſucceſſor, was thought of ſo much importance as to furniſh a pretence for a multiplicity of tedious negociations and oppoſite alliances. A ſtriking inſtance this, among many others, of the inſufficiency of treaties to confine the ambition of princes, and to ſecure their faith.

Thoſe who were ſincerely concerned for the liberties of their country and of mankind, found no circumſtance more alarming in this revolution, than the fatal aſcendency gradually acquired, and now openly aſſumed by the French over the Weſtern world. The natural ſtrength of their empire was much increaſed by the opinion which they had univerſally inſpired of their irreſiſtible power. The fear of engaging the French king to take part openly with the other branches of the houſe of Bourbon in the preſent conteſt, as well as the intimations that were given of his intentions to take this part, if any conſiderable blow were ſtruck in the Weſt Indies or elſewhere, intimidated the miniſtry, and produced an irreſolution in the Britiſh councils, and inactivity

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inactivity in the British arms. The nations which had, at first, beheld with wonder, the Ocean covered with English ships, and, from the little resistance met with at Porto Bello, conceived, that the Spanish dominion in the Indies was held by a single thread [48], now accustomed to the sight of impotent efforts and harmless expeditions, turned their admiration into contempt, and their former readiness to shew their attachment to so respectable an ally into denials and distrust. France being considered as the only power worthy to be regarded, and as the sole mistress of the balance of Europe, made use of her influence to *distribute kingdoms by caprice, and exalt emperors upon her own terms* [49].

The discontents raised in Great Britain, not only by a series of miscarriages and losses, but by the clamorous representations of disappointment and revenge, did not fail to have considerable influence in the elections for the new parliament. The opinion of the public was fixed at least as to one object, and the efforts of the minister could no longer stem the torrent. There are times when corruption defeats itself, when promises and threats become equally ineffectual, and when gold itself is found to lose its weight.

The session began on the first of December; and on the fourth his majesty's speech was delivered. It was drawn up with great art; and, according to annual custom, re-echoed by complimentary addresses from both houses. This, however, did not pass without some shew of opposition in the house of peers. Lord Chesterfield, who, in his travels through other countries, never lost sight of his own; and while in pursuit of health and amusement did not neglect collecting materials, and preparing himself for business, thought it proper to shew, that his com-

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1741. plaiſance and partiality to the French did not extend to their politics. Recovered to his former ſtate of health, and animated by the ſtrong motives of national intereſt and national honor, he thundered out what may be called his firſt Philippic againſt the miniſtry. He begins with a plain, yet ſtrong, repreſentation of the diſtreſsful ſcene of Europe, and recommends to the lords a general addreſs to the throne after the manner of their anceſtors, ſuitable to the dignity of thoſe from whom it comes, and to the occaſion upon which it is made. From the allowed difficulties and dangers attending the preſent ſituation, he argues that what was loſt could not be regained but by meaſures different from thoſe which had been purſued, and by the aſſiſtance of other counſellors than thoſe who had ſunk the nation into contempt, and expoſed it to the ravages of all their neighbours. Nothing, in his opinion, could raiſe more confidence in foreign powers ſtill attached to them, or more intimidate thoſe whoſe deſigns it was their intereſt to defeat, than an open teſtimony of their reſolution, neither any longer to approve that conduct by which the liberty of the half of Europe had been endangered, nor to laviſh praiſes on the men, who, in twenty years, never tranſacted any thing for the benefit of their country. He then enters into an artful enumeration of paſt meaſures, expoſes their inſignificancy, and ſeverely arraigns thoſe of cowardice, if not of ſomething worſe, who, notwithſtanding all admonitions, conſtantly purſued them. Why the queen of Hungary, notwithſtanding all the motives of juſtice and compaſſion that pleaded in her favor, was ſuffered to be overpowered by the natural enemies of this nation, the rivals of their trade, and the perſecutors of their religion, the whole world, he ſays, has long aſked to no purpoſe. Inſtead of paying ſubſidies for troops, never

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to be employed, and enriching foreign princes with the plunder of a nation, which they cannot injure and do not defend, he laments that the king of Pruſſia's friendſhip was not obtained at any rate, and mentions with indignation the late Hanover neutrality. Leſs ſanguine, however, for a land war, the expences of which, he owns, were certain, and the events hazardous, he lays the ſtreſs of his argument on the naval armaments. Having deſcribed the ſuperiority of Engliſh fleets, ſea-officers and ſailors, and avowed the aſſertions, however pompous they might appear, that the Britons are placed the centinels at the barriers of nature, and arbiters of the intercourſe of mankind, he obſerves, that this dominion on the Ocean was aſſerted in former times, in oppoſition to powers far more able to conteſt it than thoſe whom his country had ſo long ſubmiſſively courted, and were now evidently afraid of. He laſtly exhorts them not to deſpair; but, expecting their ſafety only from a change of counſels and of meaſures, not to praiſe before examining, becauſe inquiry comes too late after approbation. This diſcourſe was juſtly applauded by the ſpeakers on the other ſide, as well as on his own; but it did not prevent the uſual compliment from being paid to the crown, or rather to the miniſtry.

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The oppoſition had no better ſucceſs in the following debate, and, indeed, vigorous reſolutions could hardly prevail in a houſe where miniſters of a pacific turn bore ſo conſiderable a proportion. A majority of no more than twelve prevented a cenſure from being paſſed on the neglect ſhewn by the miniſtry, in permitting fourteen out of the nineteen officers, belonging to the eſtabliſhment at Minorca, to be abſent at a time when that important iſland was threatened with an invaſion. Lord Cheſterfield

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1742. was very active in the examination of the witneſſes, the diſcuſſion of the points in debate, and the proteſt that enſued upon the negative put to the motion. As he anſwered the lord chancellor on this occaſion, he was obliged to unite preciſion with clearneſs, and to prefer argument to declamation. He allowed, however, ſome ſcope to his imagination in appealing to the bench of biſhops, whether the intereſts of religion, as well as reaſons of policy, ought not to have produced ſome attempts towards making the Minorquins good proteſtants and affectionate ſubjects. There was likewiſe ſomething ſtriking in theſe remarkable, I had almoſt ſaid prophetic, words, "I think, I am in duty obliged to "forewarn your lordſhips, that if ever this iſland "ſhould be loſt by any future neglect, the whole "nation will impute the loſs to your having put a "negative at this time upon ſuch a motion . . . . ; "for after the loſs is incurred, no puniſhment you "can inflict upon the perſons guilty will be an "atonement for your former indifference, which "will be conſidered as the original cauſe of that "loſs."

The diſpoſitions of the new houſe of commons were much ſooner diſcovered than thoſe of the houſe of peers. The prime miniſter could no longer command a majority. So high were the popular prejudices againſt him, that his dependents found it expedient to abandon him, in order to preſerve their intereſt at his expence [50]. Parties, indeed, ſeemed ſo equally balanced, that no buſineſs of importance could go on; and the trial of ſome of the controverted elections ſhewed where the preponderancy lay. To ſupport his credit, the miniſter endeavoured in vain to divide the oppoſition; they divided, indeed, but not till after his fall. The offers made

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to the prince of Wales were peremptorily refused, as coming from the man whom he accused of being the author of the grievances at home, and of the miscarriages abroad. Thus, no longer able to continue at the helm, and in danger of meeting with greater severity if he persisted in his resistance, he resigned all his places. The king, prepared for this necessary sacrifice, accepted of his resignation; but thought proper to shew his regret of losing him, by bestowing upon him the most satisfactory marks of personal regard and protection [51]. In order to vacate his seat in the lower house, he was raised to the upper, by being made a peer. The new earl of Orford's good humour, good nature, and experienced benevolence, secured him the affection of his relations, friends, and numerous attendants. Time did justice to his character [52]; a veil was drawn over his errors, and even his political competitors seem universally to have allowed him abilities, and at least comparative merit [53].

The fall of the minister was not attended with that total change of men and measures, which the majority of the country party had expected. By this revolution, Mr. Pulteney, who had for a long time been the leader of the opposition in the house of commons, found himself in a situation that rendered him, in some measure, the arbiter between the crown and the people: but this place was too exalted, too much exposed, to be secure. The triumph of a popular tribune seldom continues for any length of time; and he who can do what he will, unless he attempts all, must soon give way to those who are more daring. He thought, that by declining to take the rudder, he might have preserved his authority with the public, and his influence at court. But his moderation was unsuccessful.

Personally

1742. Perſonally diſliked by the ſovereign for what he might have done, and by a great part of the nation for what he did not do, he irrecoverably loſt the party he deſerted [54], and obtained from the other a title without power [55].

The vacancies occaſioned by the removal of the old miniſter, and of a few of his moſt immediate dependents, were ſoon filled by thoſe whigs who, from a diſlike of the perſon, diſapprobation of the meaſures, or eagerneſs after the places, had before joined the diſcontented of other denominations. The new adminiſtration admitted but few either of the tories, or of the violent republicans, and thus contracting their political ground, they left the diſtinction of the *broad bottoms* to the ſucceeding oppoſition. Theſe, gloried in that comprehenſive name, but rejected with ſcorn that of faction with which they were branded.

The moſt conſiderable acquiſition made by the court was that of lord Carteret; and, at the preſent juncture, none could be of greater importance. His great knowledge of the affairs of Europe, enterpriſing genius, and high principles of government, very pliable to the deſires of a maſter, raiſed him to the place of prime miniſter; a place, at this criſis, as little to be envied as it was difficult to be filled. The king, whoſe language he ſpoke, and whoſe views he ennobled, at the ſame time that he indulged him in his favorite prejudices, ſoon gave him as great a ſhare of his perſonal affection as he ever could beſtow. The drooping ſpirits of the nation began to revive. A Richelieu was expected to take place of a Mazarin, and the people rejoiced at the exchange of an over-cautious guide for one, who, animated with the ancient ſpirit of chivalry, ſeemed to have been ſent from heaven to ſatisfy their moſt ardent thirſt of glory.

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Lord Chesterfield might have expected to have had some share in the new administration, having been so instrumental in bringing about the late revolution. But whether through jealousy in the chiefs, dislike in the monarch, or unwillingness in the earl to accept of engagements, unless he knew and approved of the terms [55], he was left out of the list; and this neglect may appear a sufficient excuse for his refusing, some years after, to be concerned in the ministry with those who, at this time, shewed themselves so indifferent, if not averse, for admitting him into their association.

Some thinking persons there were, who seeing the name of Chesterfield omitted in the list of the ministry, and that of Argyll soon struck out of it by himself, began, even at this early period, to find fault with the choice, and mistrust the abilities of the new pilots. Of the many satyrical pieces published at that time, I shall only transcribe part of an ode, which seemed stronger marked, and was better received, than most other poetical productions of the same date [56].

Thus deprived of the assistance of some of the most considerable of the party whom he had been connected with, and was now obliged to oppose, lord Chesterfield found, in a succession of young spirited peers, a seasonable supply of auxiliary forces. These were the duke of Bedford, the earls of Halifax and Sandwich, lords Talbot and Lonsdale, together with a few supporters of the late minister, who now joined the new opposition.

The earl's eloquence was particularly animated in the famous debate on a bill passed in the house of commons, the object of which was to encourage witnesses to give in their evidence against the late minister, by the promise of indemnity to themselves

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1742. for the ſhare they might have had in the corrupt tranſactions he was ſuſpected of. Lord Carteret, formerly the accuſer of Sir Robert, now ſtood forth the advocate of the earl of Orford. Never did the acuteneſs, comprehenſiveneſs, and preciſion, of that eloquent ſpeaker ſhine more eminently than on this occaſion. He was complimented both by thoſe who ſupported the ſame ſide with himſelf, and by thoſe who oppoſed it. There was ſomething particularly intereſting and elegant in the manner in which lord Cheſterfield began his anſwer, or rather his ſecond Philippic. "I have ſo long," he ſaid, "honoured "the abilities, and ſo often concurred with the opi- "nion of the noble lord who began the debate, that "I cannot, without unuſual concern, riſe up now to "ſpeak in oppoſition to him; nor could any other "motive ſupport me under the apparent diſadvan- "tage of a conteſt ſo unequal, but the conſciouſneſs "of upright intentions, and the concurrence of the "whole nation." This exordium did not prevent him from exerting all his powers in the ſupport of the bill, which he repreſented as ſuggeſted by neceſſity, authorized by ſimilar inſtances of former and even preſent times, free from the imputations of injuſtice and cruelty. He then entered into a particular diſcuſſion of the nature of oral evidence, and endeavoured to remove the ſuſpicions about witneſſes being induced by ſuch an encouragement to give a falſe teſtimony, without being liable to detection. He was particularly vehement at the end of his ſpeech. As it had been aſſerted, that no real charge could be alledged to juſtify an unuſual mode of ſeverity, "We are upbraided," he ſaid, "with our own declarations, that the perſon menti- "oned in this bill would quickly find accuſers, when "he ſhould be diveſted of his authority. Behold him

"now,

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"now, ſay his advocates, reduced from his envied "eminence, and placed on a level with his fellow-"ſubjects! behold him no longer the diſtributer of "employments, or the diſburſer of the public trea-"ſures; ſee him diveſted of all ſecurity, but that of "innocence, and yet no accuſations are produced. "This, my lords, is a topic ſo fruitful of panegyric, "and ſo happily adapted to the imagination of a "perſon long uſed to celebrate the wiſdom and in-"tegrity of miniſters [57], that, were not the preſent "queſtion of too great importance to admit falſe "conceſſions, I ſhould ſuffer it to remain without "controverſy. But this is no time for criminal in-"dulgence, and therefore I ſhall annihilate this "ſhort-lived triumph, by obſerving, that to be out "of place is not neceſſarily to be out of power. A "miniſter may retain his influence, who has reſign-"ed his employments; he may ſtill retain the favor "of his prince, and poſſeſs him with a falſe opinion "that he can only ſecure his authority by protecting "him; or, what there is an equal reaſon to ſuſpect, "his ſucceſſor may be afraid of concurring in a law, "which may hereafter be revived againſt himſelf." An objection had been raiſed againſt the bill by ſome of his noble antagoniſts, which was founded on the regard due to their dignity, and the cautiouſneſs they ought to act with in charging thoſe with crimes who had a ſeat among them. This objection he turned into an argument to incite the lords to be watchful againſt the leaſt ſuſpicion that might fall upon them, to eject pollution from their walls, and preſerve their power by keeping their reputation pure and untainted. The bill was rejected, not ſo much perhaps becauſe ſuch an exertion of power could only be juſtified by the ſupreme law of neceſ-ſity, as on account of the obvious conſequences that might have attended a too full diſcovery. The

1742. country party in the houſe of commons highly reſented the negative put by the lords upon their bill, and as vainly attempted to paſs a vote of cenſure on this indiſputable prerogative.

Another bill, which had been paſſed in the ſame houſe, met with no better fate in that of peers. Under pretence of ſecuring trade and navigation in time of war, it implied a ſevere reproof of the preceding adminiſtration, and laid a reſtraint upon the preſent board of admiralty. The earl of Winchelſea, who preſided at that board, expoſed the defects of that bill in ſuch a diſtinct manner, as to oblige his antagoniſts to admit that it could not be paſſed without ſuch alterations as would have made it quite a new one. It may be doubted whether lord Cheſterfield, who wiſhed the bill not to be rejected, without ſome attempts to amend it, was altogether ſincere in the following expreſſions, "Were all "men like the noble lord whom I am now attempt-"ing to anſwer, vigilant to diſcover, ſagacious to "diſtinguiſh, and induſtrious to proſecute the inte-"reſt of the public, I ſhould be far from propoſing "that they ſhould be conſtrained by rule, or re-"quired to follow any guide but their own reaſon." Some irony was perhaps likewiſe mixed with great good humor and truth in the introduction to the reply. "As the known ſincerity of that noble lord "allows no reaſon for ſuſpecting that he would be-"ſtow any praiſe where he did not believe there was "ſome deſert, and as his penetration and acuteneſs "ſecure him from being deceived by falſe appear-"ances of merit, I cannot but applaud myſelf for "having obtained his eſteem, which I hope will not "be forfeited by my future conduct."

The parliamentary buſineſs had been, during this ſeſſion, ſo extenſive and ſo important, that lord Cheſterfield

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Chefterfield was detained in town longer than was confiftent with his defire of taking another journey to Spa. For though the waters of that place had greatly relieved him of his diforders, which were vertigos, languors, and other nervous fymptoms, he was far from being entirely cured, and found fuch a return of his complaints during the winter, as made him conclude that his fhattered tenement, as he expreffed it, would admit of but half repairs, and muft have them annually. " In fhort," fays he in a letter to his phyfician Dr. Cheyne, " after all the at-" tention and obfervation I am capable of, I can " hardly fay what does me good and what not. My " conftitution conforms itfelf fo much to the humor " of the times, that it changes almoft daily its " friends for its enemies, and its enemies for its " friends." Being difappointed of croffing the fea, he took his refuge at Bath, where the waters never failed to give him a temporary relief.

As lord Chefterfield was not lefs zealous for the fervice of his friends than for that of his country, and was univerfally confidered as the beft judge as well as patron of men of letters, he had frequent opportunities of being ufeful to them ; one of which had offered during the courfe of the laft winter. The relict of the great duke of Marlborough, being defirous of fubmitting to pofterity her political conduct, as well as her lord's, applied to our earl for a proper perfon to receive her informations, and put the memoirs of her life into a proper drefs. Mr. Hooke, the celebrated writer of an excellent Roman hiftory, was recommended by him for that purpofe. He accordingly waited upon the dutchefs, while fhe was ftill in bed oppreffed by the infirmities of age. But knowing who he was, fhe immediately got herfelf lifted up, and continued fpeaking during fix hours.

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1742. hours. She delivered to him, without any notes, her account in the moſt lively as well as the moſt connected manner. As ſhe was not tired herſelf, ſhe would have continued longer the buſineſs of this firſt ſitting, had ſhe not perceived that Mr. Hooke was quite exhauſted, and wanted refreſhment as well as reſt. So eager was ſhe for the completion of the work, that ſhe inſiſted upon Mr. Hooke's not leaving her houſe till he had finiſhed it. This was done in a ſhort time; and her grace was ſo well pleaſed with the performance, that ſhe complimented the author with a preſent of 5000 *l.* a ſum which far exceeded his expectations. As ſoon as he was free, and permitted to quit the houſe of his benefactreſs, he haſtened to the earl, to thank him for his favor, and communicated to him his good fortune. The perturbation of mind he was under, occaſioned by the ſtrong ſenſe of his obligation, plainly appeared in his ſtammering out his acknowledgments; and he who had ſucceeded ſo well as the interpreter of her grace's ſentiments, could ſcarcely utter his own.

As the majority of the nation were greatly prejudiced in favor of the new miniſters, they found no difficulty in obtaining from the two houſes whatever they demanded; and they profeſſed to have no other views but to proſecute the war with vigor, in order to procure a ſpeedy and honorable termination of it. A conſiderable ſupply in money was voted to the heroine, who ſo bravely defended her hereditary rights. Sixteen thouſand men of the Britiſh army were ſent over to her aſſiſtance in Germany; and the Dutch were induced, though with difficulty, to make a third and conſiderable augmentation in their forces. A neutrality was obtained of the king of Pruſſia by negociation, and

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óf the king of the two Sicilies by menaces. The elector of Saxony was detached from the grand alliance. The king of Sardinia was enabled to make a vigorous and ſucceſsful ſtand againſt the united forces of France and Spain in Italy; and a conſiderable intereſt was created in the empire in favor of the family who had ſo long given it a head.

The ſucceſſes of the campaign equalled at firſt the promiſes and wiſhes of thoſe who had planned it. Never perhaps, from one year to another, was there a revolution more rapid and more complete. The queen of Hungary, no longer over-awed by the activity of her near and ambitious neighbour, treated her other enemies as ſhe had been treated by them. She not only cleared her Auſtrian territories of the new emperor's troops, but retaliated upon him in the ſevereſt manner his threatened ſiege of her capital, by driving him out of his own. Bavaria, for the time, made her amends for the loſs of Sileſia; Bohemia was recovered; and whilſt one French army was beſieged in Prague, the other which, in expectation of coming to its relief, had been obliged to quit the neighbourhood of Hanover, was forced to ſtruggle againſt ſword and famine, and never could penetrate through the paſſes of Bohemia. Of ſeventy-five thouſand men, led into Germany under the conduct of the experienced generals Belleiſle and Broglio, ſcarce twenty thouſand returned to their native country. The Spaniſh forces, not being joined by the Neapolitan troops, ſhared a ſimilar fate; and the infant of Spain, who, with a corps of Frenchmen attempted a paſſage through the Alps, was equally unſucceſsful. Even the operations at ſea, though leſs brilliant, were calculated

1742. lated to retrieve the honor of the Britiſh flag; and the blocking up of the French and Spaniſh fleets in the port of Toulon, ſeemed to ſecure to Britain the empire of the ſea.

In moſt wars, opportunities are offered to either of the contending parties to obtain a good peace, which all wiſe nations muſt prefer to the moſt glorious victories. France, baffled in her deſigns, for want of an earlier and better directed exertion of her power, ſaw the deciſive inſtant fled, and found herſelf reduced to the neceſſity of offering moderate terms to the queen of Hungary. But in proportion to her advances, the queen and her allies raiſed both their expectations and their demands. Lord Stair, in whom the gallant ſpirit of the Edwards and the Henrys ſeemed to revive, formed the moſt ſanguine projects, and offered to his enterprizing nation the flattering proſpect of an expedition to Paris. The Britiſh king, inflamed with that thirſt of glory which inſpired his youth, when he fought by the ſide of the great duke of Marlborough, and learned to conquer under him, had long wiſhed himſelf, like king William, at the head of a confederate army; and, in order to form it, ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians were taken into Britiſh pay.

This meaſure, as expenſive to England as it was beneficial to Hanover, was ſtrictly canvaſſed in the next ſeſſion of parliament. Lord Cheſterfield declared his ſentiments immediately on the opening of the ſeſſion. When the addreſs of thanks, implying compliments to the miniſtry, was propoſed, he openly avowed his reluctance to applaud, before the circumſtances of the new meaſure were diſcloſed, and their conſequences juſtified by the event. His object indeed, was that of a good citizen, as well as

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of a wiſe ſtateſman. It was the ſaving of Engliſh treaſure and Engliſh blood. He by no means could approve the waſting of both in viſionary ſchemes and impracticable attempts. He thought the purpoſes of the war, at leaſt upon the continent, could now be attained, if by waſteful, unfaithful, unprofitable confederacies, their common and too powerful enemies were not provoked, without any chance of being thoroughly ſubdued. When, in the beginning of the next year, the expediency of taking ſo many additional forces into pay was conſidered [58], he diſcloſed in the ſtrongeſt manner his political principles, and perhaps his reſentment. As it fell to his lot to anſwer his old friend and new antagoniſt the earl of Bath, he ſpared no pains to ſhew himſelf not inferior to ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſpeaker. It were to be wiſhed, that in the courſe of this debate, as well as of that which came on the next year upon the ſame ſubject, his lordſhip had not uſed, in ſpeaking of his ſovereign, ſome expreſſions which the heat of oppoſition could ſcarce excuſe. The reaſons on which his oppoſition was founded, were contained in the proteſt entered on this occaſion. The name of lord Cheſterfield was at the head of the four and twenty peers who ſigned it; and, in order to leave no doubt of the ſhare he had in it, he introduced it in a manner which proved at leaſt that he was in earneſt. "To "ſhew, my lords, that I do not oppoſe the miniſtry "for the ſake of obſtructing the public counſels, or "of irritating thoſe whom I deſpair to defeat, and "that I am not afraid of truſting my conduct to the "impartial examination of poſterity, I ſhall beg "leave to enter, with my proteſt, the reaſons "which have influenced me in this day's (Feb. 1, "1743) deliberation, that they may be conſidered "when this queſtion ſhall no longer be a point of "intereſt,

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Ministers engaged in a war, and especially in a continental one, are necessarily obliged to procure continual supplies; and in the imposition of new taxes, a thing in itself always unpopular, and only justified by successful expeditions, are constantly opposed by their enemies, whose interest it is to obstruct their measures, and to eclipse their glory. An instance of this appeared with regard to the money raised by the new bill for retailing spirituous liquors. The pernicious effects of these liquors upon the common people had been very obvious in the increase of mortality in this great metropolis. Physicians as well as divines had joined in their endeavours to check so great an evil. Their remonstrances had been attended to; and in concurrence with their advice an act had been passed in the ninth year of this reign (1736), which prohibited any person from selling spirituous liquors, in smaller quantities than two gallons, without a licence. Fifty pounds were to be paid for this privilege of administering draughts of poison to fellow-subjects; and few people perhaps would have purchased it at that rate. But the act, from the difficulty of its being executed, had failed of its effect. It had been found impossible to detect all the petty dealers by whom it was infringed. Informations had been discouraged, and informers rendered infamous; and as spirituous liquors, and in particular that which is called gin, continued to be sold in small obscure shops, almost in every street, few people thought it worth their while to take out these expensive licences. Thus was the law defeated, the quantity of distilled spirits every year increased, and

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and drunkenneſs, with its fatal conſequences, rendered more prevalent by the very efforts made to check it. The number of gallons conſumed in one year appeared to amount to ſeven millions. A new bill was therefore propoſed, and paſſed in the houſe of commons, by which a ſmall duty of one penny per gallon was laid on at the ſtill head, and the price of the licences reduced to twenty ſhillings. It was eaſily foreſeen that, by this act, a conſiderable ſum would be raiſed; but it was not equally clear that the conſumption of theſe deſtructive liquors would be leſſened, and the progreſs of vice in any degree ſtopped. On the contrary, lord Hervey and other oppoſers of the bill, repreſented it as an indulgence granted to thoſe who would pay the tax, a legal eſtabliſhment of vice, and a method of increaſing the income by the deſtruction of the people. In a caſe which ſo nearly affected the intereſts of ſociety and religion, the eccleſiaſtical lords, and in particular the biſhop of Oxford (Dr. Secker), expreſſed themſelves with a zeal becoming their order. They attacked the bill by arguments. Lord Cheſterfield expoſed it to ridicule by admirable ſtrokes of irony and wit. His ſpeeches were exquiſite pieces of humor and ſeverity. He ſtiled the money that was immediately raiſed on this bill, the drinking-fund; and the law which authorized the levying of the duty, the effect of that practice, of which it was intended to be likewiſe the cauſe. It is reported that, on ſeeing the reverend bench voting on the ſame ſide with himſelf, he ſaid he doubted whether he had not got on the wrong ſide of the queſtion, not having had the honor of being in the company of ſo many lawn-ſleeves for ſeveral years.

1743. His lordſhip had leſs ſcope to diſplay his vein of pleaſantry in the debate for quieting of corporations. It is ſufficiently known that many of the ancient charters granted to particular boroughs were charged with clauſes, which the alteration of times and circumſtances have rendered abſurd and impracticable. Such clauſes, therefore, gradually ſink into diſuſe; example ſupplies the place of rule, and a ſeries of precedents, in this as well as in many other inſtances, is conſidered as the beſt interpreter of obſolete laws. But yet, ſome inconveniencies have frequently ariſen from this preſcriptive deviation. The neglect of ſome of the forms or conditions preſcribed by ſuch charters, in the election of officers, though often overlooked, had more than once afforded a pretence to miniſters, to lay aſide the nomination of obnoxious perſons, and even to threaten communities with the forfeiture of their charters. This had been the caſe with regard to the mayor of Melcomregis in the county of Dorſet. The charter confined the election of that ſuperior magiſtrate to the rank of ſimple burgeſſes, and, as it made the mayor alderman for life after he had paſſed through his office, it ſeemed to exclude him from ever becoming mayor again. By this proviſion, the number of aldermen in a ſmall town muſt ſoon become equal to the number of inhabitants, and, in order to maintain the annual elections, the condition had been neglected for one hundred and twenty-five years. This neglect was taken notice of on the following occaſion. In the late election of members of parliament, the mayor was thought to have been too much influenced by a party nomination, and he was ſoon after threatened with, and proſecuted by, a *quo warranto*. The cauſe, being determined againſt him at the court of king's bench, was brought by appeal

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appeal before the houſe of lords, where the ſentence was confirmed upon the unanimous advice of the judges. Yet as, in the courſe of the proceedings, the abſurdity of the clauſe, and the authority of an uſage ſanctified by a practice of above a century, were ſtrongly urged by the oppoſition, and indeed allowed by the majority, a motion was made for a new law, to ſecure for the future the election of officers in corporate towns, when made according to ancient cuſtom, though not agreeably to the expreſs letter of the charters. A bill was accordingly drawn up and preſented, but was found in many reſpects improper and inſufficient. Lord Cholmondeley expoſed the danger of aſſenting to an indiſcriminate violation of charters. Lord Hardwicke allowed that the bill was in itſelf fundamentally right; but inſiſted that, in its preſent form, it would produce more and greater evils than thoſe it was intended to remedy. He ſhewed that if the preſcription were limited to a very ſhort time, the moſt dangerous conſequences would follow, and if it were fixed at a very long term, little or no effect could be expected from it. But why too long or too ſhort, anſwered lord Cheſterfield, is there then no medium, and could not ſuch a medium be hit on? Yet, notwithſtanding his lordſhip's efforts, it ſeemed to be at laſt allowed on all ſides, that although the evil complained of was real, yet it was perhaps one of thoſe it became the legiſlative power to wink at, or not attempt to cure radically, till the abuſe ſhould prove conſiderable enough to require it.

As ſoon as the ſeſſion was over, the monarch ſet out for the continent. An equal number of Britiſh and electoral troops, joined to a ſmall body of Auſtrians, defended the banks of the Mayne againſt

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1743. a ſuperior army of the French. A conſiderable reinforcement of Heſſians and Hanoverian auxiliaries was advanced at a ſmall diſtance; but their nearer approach was ſtopped by the enemy, and the junction could not be effected without a battle. Lord Stair, who commanded the confederate, otherwiſe called the *pragmatic* army, ſoon met with a ſtrong oppoſition to his ſchemes, both from the miniſters at home, and from the foreign generals. The firſt ſeemed inclined to an œconomical half war, the laſt wiſhed to preſerve their troops. This unhappy conflict had prevented the marſhal from endeavouring to change an unfavourable ſituation, and from attempting to extricate himſelf by a deciſive ſtroke. His camp, which occupied the ſtring of a bow, was greatly outflanked by the French, who were maſters of the country around him, and in a great meaſure cut off his communications. He found himſelf engaged in an ill managed defenſive campaign, when his genius led him on to an offenſive one. The king was impatiently expected to put an end to theſe irreſolutions. He came at laſt towards the middle of June, with the duke of Cumberland, and put himſelf at the head of a divided, diſcontented, and diſheartened army. In want of all neceſſaries, and under the impoſſibility of attacking the enemy, but with great diſadvantage, he was forced, eight days after his arrival, to begin his operations by a retreat. This had been foreſeen by the enemy. Marſhal Noailles, their commander, had poſted his army in ſuch a manner, as to render the defiles, and in particular that of Dettingen, through which the Britiſh troops with the king were to paſs, expoſed to attacks on all ſides. By this judicious diſpoſition, and the fire of a numerous artillery, he thought himſelf certain either of reducing the confederates to a

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ſituation not very different from that of the Romans ſurrounded by the Samnites in the Caudine forks, or of cutting them off, without any danger to himſelf. He is even ſaid to have entertained the hopes of making the king his priſoner. But all his meaſures were diſconcerted, and the fortune of the day reverſed, by the raſh impetuoſity of one of his general officers, who, inſtead of obeying his orders, and patiently waiting for his enemies, croſſed a rivulet, and engaged himſelf in the marſhy defile he was poſted to defend. This obliged the French general to march to his ſupport, and to abandon the advantage of his ſtrong poſts, as well as of his batteries on the other ſide of the Mayn. A general action was thus brought on, in which the gallantry of the troops, fighting under the eye of their king, animated by his words, and ſpurred on by his example, ſoon ſnatched the victory from the hands of their rivals, and forced thoſe to fly from whom before they were retreating. The conſequences of this action were not ſo conſiderable as they might have been, if the enemy had been immediately and cloſely purſued, their retreat over the Rhine cut off, or a powerful diverſion made towards French Flanders. Inſtead of this, the field of battle was left to the enemy, who, not caring to venture upon another trial after the junction of the Heſſians, retired leiſurely to their own country. Lord Stair finding his projects ſlighted, himſelf diſregarded, and foreign counſels and concerns preferred to national intereſt, thought proper to reſign, and, as he expreſſed it, to return to the plough [59]. The duke of Marlborough, with ſeveral other officers, followed the example of the general, and, on their return, communicated their diſguſt to their countrymen.

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1743. The members of the new cabinet were not much more fortunate in their political than in their military operations. The emperor, deserted by those to whom he owed his vain title and his real ruin, wished to break a connection so fatal to his house, and to effect, almost on any terms, a reconciliation with the queen of Hungary. As she had at that time little dependence but on the support of Great Britain, however she might have been influenced by female pride and just resentment, the English ministry could, and perhaps ought, to have obliged her to accept the advantageous offers that were made her. Unhappily both the counsellors near the king, and those in London, were far from being of this opinion. The advances of an humble enemy were haughtily rejected; those of the French were not better received; and the two factions that divided the cabinet threw on each other the blame of the ill success of the Hanau negociations [60]. The new treaties of Dresden and of Worms were not concluded with greater unanimity. Though they procured to the queen of Hungary the assistance of the Polish and Sardinian monarchs, they drained the British treasury, and proved detrimental to the common cause. The one renewed the jealousies of the king of Prussia, the other alienated the Genoese, and rendered the Neapolitan neutrality ineffectual. Even the twenty thousand men, who were with great difficulty obtained from the Dutch, and marched more as spectators than as auxiliaries, furnished a pretence to the French king for attacking their barrier. Flushed with success, he invaded their country, and by a series of victories and conquests brought that flourishing commonwealth to the brink of ruin; thus verifying lord Chesterfield's prophecy, that, if Holland should ever be induced or obliged

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to become a joint adventurer in the ſame project, her ſufferings would be ſo much the greater, as ſhe was more expoſed to the ſtrength and fury of the enemy [61].

Nothing but lord Cheſterfield's indignation and zeal for the honor of his country could juſtify the ſeverity of his ſpeech on the next meeting of parliament. Though he declared he did not intend to deny any of the panegyric to his majeſty, or even to his miniſters, yet, by an artful diſtinction between the words *behaviour* and *conduct*, he more than hinted, that, while he did not diſpute the bravery of the monarch on the day of action, he thought himſelf at liberty to refuſe his approbation to the management of the campaign.

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He expreſſed himſelf with ſtill greater freedom in the debates about continuing the Hanoverian troops in Britiſh pay after the expiration of the term for which they had been hired. No doubt, the heat of party carried him much too far, when he painted their conduct, with regard to the Engliſh, in the blackeſt colours. In the ſubſequent campaigns they effectually cleared their character; they gained the eſteem, and have ever ſince preſerved the friendſhip, of their fellow-ſubjects. The whole ſtrength of both parties was diſplayed on this occaſion, and the queſtion, under different forms, was fully debated by the moſt accompliſhed orators of the time. In the houſe of commons ſtood, on one ſide, Sir William Young, Mr. Horace Walpole [62], Mr. Fox, and lord Percival [63]; and on the other, Mr. Nugent, Mr. G. Grenville, lord Quarendon, and Mr. Pitt. In the houſe of peers, the miniſterial party was chiefly ſupported by the dukes of Newcaſtle and Argyle, the marquis of Tweedale, the earls of Cholmondeley and Bath, and by the lords

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1744. Bathurſt, Carteret, and Hardwicke; while the chief oppoſers were the dukes of Bedford and Marlborough, the earls of Sandwich and Halifax, the lords Hervey, Lonſdale, Gower, and Talbot. But none of them made a more conſpicuous figure than our earl, who did equal juſtice to his cauſe, and to thoſe from whom he diſſented. The earl of Morton [64] was diſtinguiſhed in a particular manner by him. He called him the moſt formidable as well as moſt candid of his antagoniſts; one who diſdained the hateful arts of ſophiſtry, and who forced reverence, eſteem, and love, even from thoſe whom their conſcience obliged to oppoſe him. Notwithſtanding the liberties he took with the royal character, he paid ſome compliments to the perſonal virtues of the king, and lamented that his honeſt heart was too eaſily miſled by artifice and miſrepreſentation.

But while the parliament was engaged in theſe uſeleſs and acrimonious debates, the French court, highly exaſperated that their overtures of peace had been rejected, was aiming, by a ſudden effort, to terminate the war. While patriots were contending, and ſtateſmen lulled in ſecurity, an invaſion of the iſland was preparing, the more alarming as it was unexpected. Cardinal de Tencin, the petulant ſucceſſor of the more moderate Fleury, who owed his dignity to the pretender, was reſolved to make at leaſt the appearance of an effort in his favor. With this view his eldeſt ſon was ſent for from Italy, and preparations made to convey the young adventurer into England, with a conſiderable body of troops, in hopes of dividing the nation, and of diſturbing, if not ſubverting, the government. Several ſhips of war and tranſports had been aſſembled at Breſt and Rochefort, with as much

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much ſecreſy as expedition; fifteen thouſand men were ready to embark at Dunkirk, Boulogne, and Calais; and count de Saxe, the moſt active of the French generals, was appointed to command this expedition. It is even ſaid that he had taken a trip to London in the courſe of the winter, and had concerted the plan of operations with ſome of the diſaffected party. The month of February was pitched upon for this undertaking; the tranſports were ready, and the fleet intended to ſupport them was cruiſing in the channel from the Lizard to the Downs, before the Britiſh cabinet were ſufficiently rouſed. Happily a violent ſtorm that aroſe, drove aſhore, deſtroyed or damaged the tranſports, greatly annoyed the French fleet, and nearly occaſioned its deſtruction. In the mean while, Sir John Norris, who with great difficulty had ſlipt out of Portſmouth, had found means to join the ſhips that came out from the river, and to aſſemble a fleet ſuperior to that of the enemy; but he was prevented by wind and tide from coming up with them. The Engliſh coaſt, however, was now ſufficiently guarded; all orders of men took the alarm, and expreſſed their zeal for the reigning family [65]; ſeveral noblemen raiſed regiments at their own expence, to employ them in the ſervice of their king and country; and the earl of Stair, together with the duke of Marlborough, no longer remembered their cauſes of complaint. They offered their ſervices to the king with great zeal, and were reinſtated in their former command, thus forgetting their animoſities to unite their efforts againſt their common enemy.

But even at this very inſtant a debate of ſome conſequence aroſe in the houſe of peers. The law paſſed in the reign of queen Ann, making it trea-

ſonable

1744. ſonable to correſpond with the pretender, was, on account of this attempt, and of ſome diſcoveries that had been made, moved to be extended to his ſon. A bill was paſſed in conſequence in the houſe of commons, and when it came before the lords, the earl of Hardwicke propoſed to revive a clauſe for continuing the forfeiture of titles and eſtates upon the poſterity of thoſe who ſhould be convicted of treaſonable correſpondences, during the lives of the two ſons of the pretender, after the death of their father. The duke of Bedford, the young lord Hervey, and eſpecially lord Talbot, warmly oppoſed the clauſe, which was defended with great ability by the lords Cholmondeley, Ilcheſter, and Carteret. The earl of Cheſterfield took part with the former. He ſupported with great eloquence what he called the cauſe of future generations, as well as of juſtice and humanity. He availed himſelf of the authority of biſhop Burnet, who, when the law of forfeiture was paſſed for Scotland in 1709, voted againſt it, and left it upon record that he did ſo [66]. He endeavoured to ſhew the abſurdity of the propoſed clauſe from political arguments, its iniquity from moral principles, and its contrariety to fundamental laws. "I hope," ſaid he, "to be heard "with more attention, as I cannot be ſuſpected of "any private views, or imagined to ſpeak from any "other motives than conviction. I have no chil-"dren to excite my tenderneſs, or turn me aſide "from the moſt rigid juſtice. Theſe are times, in "which it is no diminution of happineſs to reflect "that the pleaſures of a parent are denied, times "in which it may be reaſonably the deſire of every "lord rather to leave behind him a good example "than a numerous poſterity.---The reverend pre-"lates are leſs intereſted in the deciſion of this great "queſtion than the reſt of your lordſhips, ſince their

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" titles do not deſcend to their poſterity, and there-
" fore if they oppoſe this clauſe, they can only op-
" poſe it from their perſuaſion that it is abſurd and
" unjuſt. But you, my lords, whoſe titles and whoſe
" fortunes are hereditary, and who think it ſome
" part of your happineſs that your poſterity will en-
" joy your honors---have ſtill other reaſons to influ-
" ence you to oppoſition. You, my lords, whoſe ho-
" nors are antient, and who derive fame and dignity
" from the actions of your illuſtrious anceſtors, un-
" doubtedly deſire to tranſmit theſe advantages to
" future generations. And you, my lords, whoſe
" honors are lately conferred upon your families,
" muſt deſire that they may, in time, obtain the
" ſanction of antiquity. But if this clauſe ſhould
" once be made a law, the exiſtence of our noble
" families is at the mercy of every prince, of every
" miniſter, of every informer---It will be no ſecurity
" to be without guilt; he only can imagine himſelf
" out of danger, who is without fortune---Let us
" not, my lords, make ourſelves infamous to our
" poſterity, by bequeathing them a law, which muſt
" keep them in perpetual alarms, and which will
" give wickedneſs ſo much advantage over virtue---
" Let us not break through all the rules of morality
" only to inſure liberty---If we muſt offer incenſe to
" the throne, let us offer it at our own expence,
" that poſterity may rather ridicule our folly than
" curſe our wickedneſs; and let us reſolve not to
" proſtitute the power, with which the virtue of our
" anceſtors has inveſted us, to the deſtruction of
" thoſe, who, in time, will count us among their
" progenitors, but with this difference, that, as we
" may reflect with veneration and gratitude upon
" that courage and honeſty by which we are enno-
" bled, they will mention with ſhame and con-

" tempt

1744. "tempt that cowardice and flattery with which they "are enflaved." I could not refift the fatisfaction of tranfcribing thefe valuable fpecimens of Britifh eloquence, and cannot help thinking, that even Demofthenes himfelf would not have difowned them.

And yet if a Phocyon had appeared in the midft of fuch an harangue, would not the Greek orator have apprehended the pruning of his periods [67], as our animated earl muft have done the animadverfions of the more calm lord chancellor, who analyfed and anfwered his fpeech? Allowing him the merit of oratory, he feemed to difpute with him that of precifion and clofe reafoning. He demonftrated the juftice of the forfeiture from the origin of hereditary poffeffions; he referred its propriety to the law of neceffity, fuperior to all other laws; he fhewed how much the love of our country ought to be fuperior to all other motives, and reprefented the ftrength of parental attachments as a guard againft public offences. The practice of all ages and of every nation was likewife urged in defence of the law, both by him and by the bifhop of Oxford (Dr. Secker). This prelate took pains to reconcile the punifhment of fathers upon children with fome texts of the old teftament, which had been adduced againft it, and appealed to the authority of the great Roman orator [68], an authority furely fuperior on fuch a point to that of bifhop Burnet! It is with peculiar fatisfaction I obferve, that this interefting debate gave rife to a moft excellent work entitled *Some confiderations on the law of forfeiture for high treafon.* This book, which was written and publifhed without the name of the author, a few months after the alarm of this French invafion, is now well known to have been written by

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by the noble ſon of the great promoter of this bill, whoſe talents he poſſeſſed, whoſe ſteps he followed, whoſe honors he merited, and alas! for too ſhort a time attained [69].

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As our earl had been happy enough to form early connections with men of ſuperior parts, abilities, or virtues, he every year experienced the regret of being deprived of ſome of his friends. His attachment to Mr. Hammond has been already mentioned. This gentleman, for whom he had procured a ſeat in parliament [70], died in the courſe of this winter. Lord Cheſterfield was greatly affected with his loſs, and teſtified his regard and eſteem for this amiable companion and poet, by taking care of what he left behind him, his Delia and his works. Theſe, conſiſting of elegies written in the true ſtyle of Tibullus, had been intruſted to his care, and they were publiſhed by him, ennobled with a preface expreſſive of his feelings, and worthy of his pen [71].

Superior in parts, but not equal in ſentiments, died in the courſe of the ſame winter the great Mr. Pope. Lord Cheſterfield, who for many years had enjoyed as conſiderable a ſhare in his intimacy as any of his cotemporaries, and who, by having paſſed many days with him at his houſe at Twickenham, had the beſt opportunities of obſerving him in his private hours, did juſtice to his memory on all occaſions. He conſidered him as not inferior to Horace [72], and imputed the aſperity of his muſe to the feelings of the poet, rather than to the natural diſpoſition of the man. On his part, Mr. Pope often expreſſed the high opinion he had of his noble friend. Among ſeveral inſtances I find the following upon record. "Being one day in company at lord Cob-"ham's with a great number of perſons of diſtinc-

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1744. "tion, who were ſcribbling verſes on the glaſſes, he "was deſired by lord Cheſterfield to oblige them "with a diſtich *extempore.*" "Favour me with your "diamond, my lord," ſaid the poet, and immediately wrote on his glaſs,

"Accept a miracle inſtead of wit,
"See two bad lines with Stanhope's pencil writ."

A finer though equally ſhort panegyric was made of him and of Mr. Pulteney by the ſame hand [73].

"How can I, Pulteney, Cheſterfield, forget,
"While Roman ſpirit charms and Attic wit."

With theſe ſentiments, it is rather ſurprizing that he ſhould have omitted him in his will. I have been informed that ſome coolneſs had ariſen between them on account of the dutcheſs of Marlborough, whoſe character, under the name of *Atoſſa* [74], Mr. Pope was in vain ſolicited to ſuppreſs.

That celebrated dutcheſs herſelf paid the great debt to nature, the 18th of September, 1744, in the 85th year of her life. Her eſteem for, and attachment to lord Cheſterfield, were in her own manner ſtrongly expreſſed in her will. She beſtowed upon him her beſt and largeſt diamond ring, together with the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds, and the reverſion of her Wimbledon eſtate, on failure of the Spencer family, "out of the great regard ſhe had "for his merit, and the infinite obligations her grace "received from him." She deſired his lordſhip to take upon him the care of ſuperintending the hiſtory of the great duke of Marlborough, the writing of which ſhe committed to Mr. Glover and Mr. Mallet. There is ſomething ſo particular in her grace's manner of expreſſing her intentions with regard to that work, that, I believe, the reader will not be diſpleaſ-

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ed to find part of the article of her will relating to it in a note [75]. 1744.

War was at length openly declared by the French court againſt the Britiſh king and the Auſtrian queen; and to puniſh the Dutch for what they had done, as well as to deter them from doing more, hoſtilities were begun on their barrier. This ſtep was announced by the ambaſſador Fenelon [76], who, in taking leave of the States General, declared to them his maſter's diſpleaſure, unleſs they immediately abandoned their allies, and accepted of a neutrality. They demurred, took a middle way between war and peace, and, in the mean while, the French king himſelf, at the head of one hundred thouſand plenipotentiaries, appeared on their frontiers. As no preparation had been made, two or three of the ſtrongeſt towns were taken almoſt without reſiſtance. Theſe conqueſts would probably have been followed by many others, had not a ſudden event put a ſtop to this brilliant expedition for this campaign. The paſſage of prince Charles of Lorrain over the Rhine obliged the French to recall a conſiderable part of their army, in order to defend their own provinces. The confederates were now much ſuperior in Flanders; and count Saxe, with an army not equal to half the number of their forces [77], was reduced to the neceſſity of acting upon the defenſive. But the commanders of the allied army were too generous to take advantage of this inequality. War was made againſt the prime miniſter much more than againſt the enemy. The generals, influenced by oppoſite intereſts, ſpent their time in contentions with each other; the Dutch were irreſolute, the Auſtrians unprepared. No action was attempted, for want of harmony; no ſiege, for

1744. for want of cannon [78]; and in thoſe plains where Marlborough had gathered laurels, forage was now collected, and contributions raiſed [79].

Theſe diſſentions in the miniſtry extended their influence on the operations in the Mediterranean. Two admirals, each choſen by one of the parties, were ſent out together, with a ſuperior force, to block up the united fleets of France and Spain. It was previouſly known that they could not agree; and it was even ſuſpected, that one of them would not aſſiſt the other. The event of the action near Toulon proved the juſtneſs of theſe ſuſpicions, and the fatal effects of pique and reſentment. The ſubſequent trials of the admirals at home ſhewed equally the effects of favour and partiality. The commander who fought was diſgraced, againſt the inclinations of the king; and, notwithſtanding the clamors of the nation, the cautious one was acquitted.

The king of Pruſſia did not care to truſt any longer to a miniſtry, the majority of which were far from being zealous in his cauſe. Apprehenſive for his own conqueſts, if once the queen of Hungary were enabled to cruſh her other enemies, and enraged that his interceſſion in favor of the unhappy head of the empire had been deſpiſed, he thought proper to employ more powerful ſolicitors; and, by his ſeaſonable diverſion in Saxony and Bohemia, forced prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, and fly to the defence of his ſiſter's dominions. This fatal ſtep turned the ſcale on the ſide of the French, and put into their hands the fortune of the war.

Lord Carteret, being thus diſappointed in his extenſive projects, could no longer maintain his ground againſt the efforts of thoſe whom he deſpiſed. The people, who had hitherto only experienced an increaſe

increaſe of taxes from what was called the *drunken* administration, eaſily yielded to the inſinuations of his enemies, and the ſovereign was obliged to ſacrifice the only man he confided in, to private jealouſies and to public clamor.

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A treaty had been for ſome time negociating between the old part of the miniſtry and the members of the oppoſition; but it was not concluded before the cloſe of this year. It was called the *coalition*, or *broad-bottom treaty*. Lord Cheſterfield, who was at the head of that party, had long declared for an honorable peace; or, till that could be obtained, for an excluſive exertion of Britiſh forces on that element where they are truly formidable. On this principle a league was formed between the two parties, to drive out the miniſter, who was looked upon as their common enemy. This was a matter of no ſmall difficulty. Lord Carteret had got poſſeſſion of the royal ear; and the only way to effect it was to perſuade the king, that his favorite meaſures would be purſued, and carried on with greater efficacy, by miniſters of a more popular caſt. Lord Cheſterfield was propoſed as being equal to the obnoxious miniſter in his political knowledge of the intereſts of princes, and as the moſt likely perſon to prevail with the States to join heartily in the common cauſe. Neceſſity alone could induce George II. to employ a man whom, for a number of years, he had been taught to conſider as his perſonal enemy [80], and whom, in return, he had not treated as a friend. He had, however, no great objection to avail himſelf of the earl's intereſt in Holland, and was even willing to ſend him from thence, as lord lieutenant, to Ireland, if for no other reaſon, to keep him ſtill at a diſtance. But

1744. he wanted to make the admiſſion of the earl into the cabinet a reward for ſervices rather than a condition of his being employed; and perſiſted in delaying, at leaſt for a time, to receive him into the cloſet. Lord Cheſterfield peremptorily inſiſted upon both theſe circumſtances. The audience was accordingly granted; but the monarch, ever ſuperior to diſſimulation, received him with great coldneſs. *You have received your inſtructions, my lord,* were the only words which he ſpoke, in anſwer to the earl's application to be honored with his majeſty's commands. This is not the only inſtance, in this reign, of a ſubject's forcing his way to his maſter, and obtaining or recovering his favor.

Thus was lord Cheſterfield, after an oppoſition of ten years to public meaſures, called upon once more to take a part in adminiſtration. Admitted on his own terms, and without being obliged to ſacrifice either his friends or his principles, he had the ſatisfaction of being called by the voice of the nation: and while one part of Europe dreaded the influence of ſo able a negociator, the other loudly expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at ſo judicious a choice. To ſhew how far he was able to anſwer the great expectations univerſally entertained of him, will be the ſubject of the following ſection.

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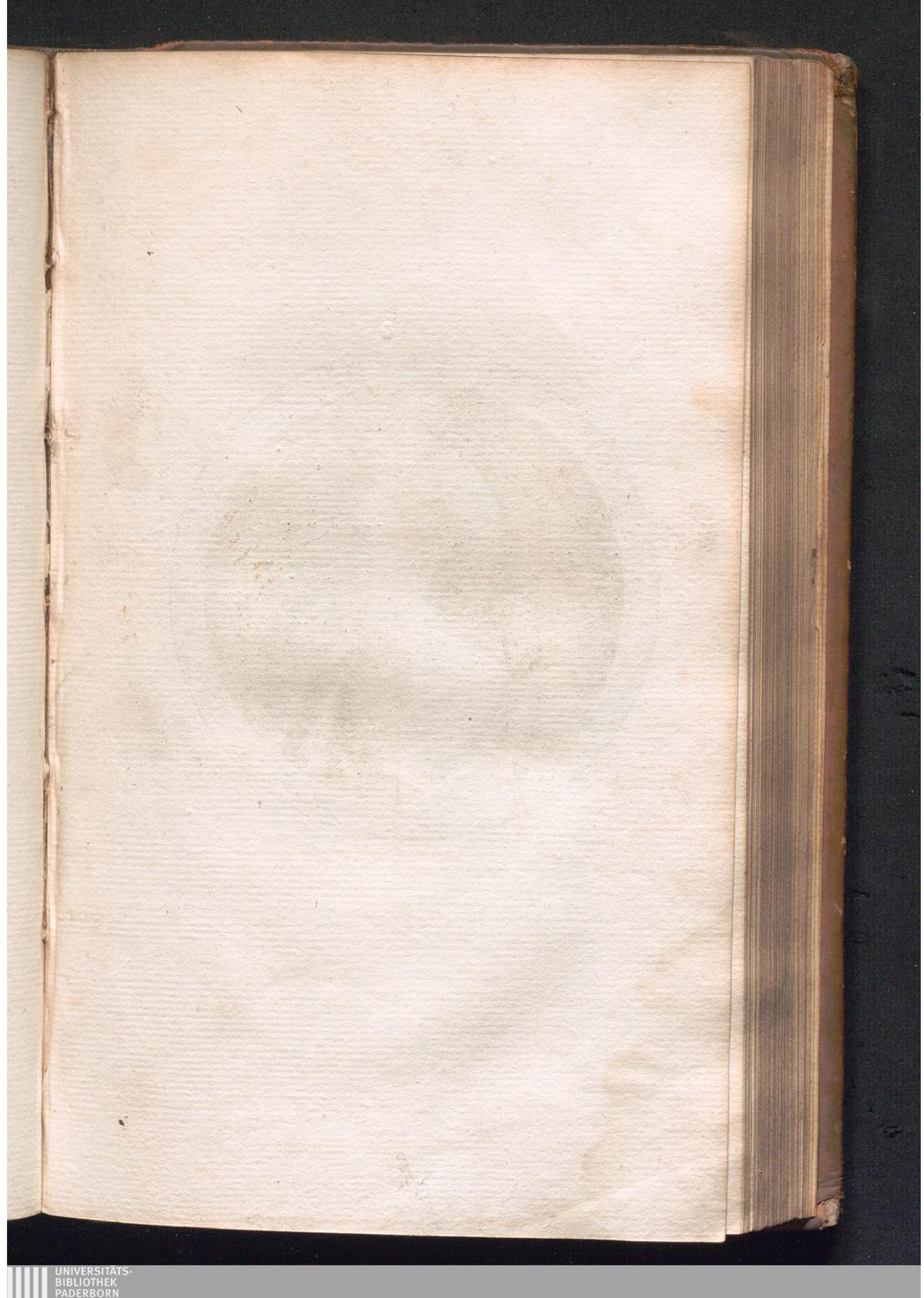

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THOMAS PRIOR ESQ.R

Massard sc.