MEMOIRS

OF

THE ADMINISTRATION

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY PELHAM,

COLLECTED FROM THE FAMILY PAPERS,

AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

By WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.

ARCHDEACON OF WILTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1829

CHAPTER VI.
1744—1745.

Opening of the Session—Arrangements for the formation of the Broad Bottom Ministry —Objections of the King to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt—Embarrassment of the Pelhams—Declarations conveyed to the Allies, on the change of Ministry— Fruitless attempt to engage the Dutch as principals in the war.—Arrangements and negotiations with the Republic—Favourable aspect of military affairs—Expulsion of the Prussians from Bohemia—Quadruple alliance of England, Holland, Austria, and the king of Poland, as Elector of Saxony—Death of the emperor Charles VII. Parliamentary proceedings after the recess—Discussion on the grant for the British troops to be employed in Flanders— Subsidiary engagements with foreign powers— Debates on the motion for a subsidy of £500,000 *to the queen of Hungary—On the vote of credit for* £500,000*—On the proposal for annual parliaments, and for taxing places and pensions—Opposition of Mr. Pelham to the repeal of the act, vesting in the aldermen of London, a negative on the proceedings of the Common Council— Successful operations of the British fleet in the Mediterranean— Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of admirals Matthews and Lestock—Supplies— Laws for the encouragement and protection of agriculture and trader-Bills for promoting the discovery of a North-west passage, and for the improvement of naval discipline—Close of the session— The King, as Elector of Hanover, engages as a principal in the war—Death of lord Orford—Its effects on the situation of Mr. Pelham.*

ON the 27th of November, Parliament assembled, and a speech, as suggested by the Pelhams, was delivered from the throne.

After a brief review of the state of foreign affairs, and an encomium on the firmness and constancy of his allies, the king lamented the events of the preceding summer; and pressed the necessity of adopting speedy measures, to prevent the ill consequences that were likely to ensue. He, however, testified his satisfaction, that the vast designs of his enemies had partially failed, and his hope, that they would ultimately be defeated, by the united efforts of Great Britain and her allies. Avowing his intention never to abandon those allies, he farther

announced his determination to prosecute the war, with their assistance, in the manner most conducive to a safe and honourable peace, and most likely to give perfect security to the religion, liberties, and commerce, of his subjects. He concluded by adverting to the representations he had made, especially to the States General, for fixing the proportions of troops and expense, to be contributed by each of the confederate powers.

This speech was received with unequivocal approbation, and addresses were voted in both Houses, without a division.

In expressing their concern at the disadvantageous issue of the campaign, the peers testified their surprise, that *some* powers (obviously meaning Prussia), should have taken a part so contrary to their true interests. They exulted in his Majesty's magnanimous resolution to prosecute the war, and in the constancy and firmness of the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. They announced their approbation of the precautions taken for frustrating the designs of France on Italy, and for maintaining the British interests in the Mediterranean. They rejoiced in his Majesty's determination, to pursue the course most conducive to an honourable peace, and applauded his intention not to abandon his allies. After acknowledging in warm terms, the sound policy of defining the proportions of aid, to be furnished by each of the allied powers, they expressed their gratitude for this gracious communication of his Majesty's views, and their readiness to support him, in the prosecution of measures, so necessary for the interest of Great Britain at this critical juncture. The Commons, on their part, adopted the general outline of this address; but omitted the allusion to Prussia, which was deemed, by several of the ministers, and by Mr. Pelham in particular, to be impolitic, in reference to a power, so formidable as an enemy, and so useful as an ally.[*]

Indeed, the general feeling towards the excluded secretary was decidedly unfavourable; all parties seemed to rejoice in his disgrace; and Mr. Pelham encountered little opposition in parliament, while the new arrangements were in progress; for, the only public question, which, during the space of a month, occasioned any debate, was that

[*] Journals of the Lords and Commons.

relating to the land-tax of four shillings in the pound, introduced among the Ways and Means.

On the 5th of December, when this impost was brought forward, Mr. Archer proposed to supersede it, by doubling the tax levied on places and pensions. The arguments used in favour of this amendment were, that the burthens on land, and those on places and pensions, should be equalized; and the act of Charles II. imposing a duty of one shilling in the pound on land, two on places, and three on pensions, was cited as a precedent. Complaints were also made of the amount of fees and salaries; the improper motives from which places and pensions were conferred; the corrupt influence which they afforded to a minister; and the spirit of avarice or luxury, which they engendered in great families. It was farther urged, that the allurement of lucrative offices, was not requisite to engage men of wealth in the public service, since the patriotic ambition of such persons, if not checked, would alone ensure their gratuitous exertions; that those only who were unable to support themselves, should be intitled to support from government; and that, under these regulations, a sufficient number of efficient individuals, for the service of the state, would always be found. To deter the servants of the Crown from combating this visionary theory, it was invidiously remarked, that from reasons of decency, no placemen should speak or vote on this question, because they must be considered as actuated by personal and private interest.

The chief speakers who supported Mr. Archer, were Vyner, Fazakerley, and Southwell. They were opposed by Sir William Yonge, Winnington, and Scrope; but the principal arguments against the proposal, were comprised in a speech by Mr. Pelham, alike remarkable for sound sense, knowledge of human nature, and practical notions of government.

He began by observing, that the spirit of reformation, which had so often manifested itself in the House of Commons, required to be rigorously controlled, lest it should excite, in the other branches of the legislature, and among the people, a desire to reduce that House to its antient functions, which were merely assent or dissent to bills passed elsewhere, without any attempt at amendment, except by petition to the sovereign, for redress of what might be construed into a grievance. “We should, therefore,” he continued, “for our own sakes, as well as

for the sake of the constitution, take care to set bounds to that spirit of reformation, which now seems to be flowing in upon us; and the proposition before us, I regard as one of the most dangerous productions of that spirit, especially considering the doctrines it promulgates. By one of the doctrines, I myself," he emphatically added, "should be excluded from speaking or voting upon this occasion, or indeed upon any question of a public nature; for no question could be brought before the House, in which the servants of the Crown might not be supposed to have some temporal interest; and if the principle of excluding them were admitted, no placeman having a seat, could speak or vote on private bills. But this doctrine," he added, "has never yet been admitted, and I hope never will. A gentleman who has a place in the government, and a seat in the House, serves the Crown in the executive, and his country in the legislative part of the government. These two capacities are distinct; but were never yet thought to be incompatible. On such a principle, we should exclude the king from any share in the legislature, because he enjoys the supreme executive power; for, to this absurd conclusion we are led, by supposing it inconsistent for any gentleman to have a share in the executive, and at the same time in the legislative part of our government. Therefore I must deem myself as capable of judging impartially on this, or any other question, as if I had no place under government; for, if I did not, I am sure I should accept no place, as long as I had the honour of a seat in this assembly."

He noticed another doctrine, involved in this proposition, as still more extraordinary. It had been asserted, he said, that no man ought to have pecuniary reward from the public, unless he needs it for his support; and that men of fortune ought not to be attracted to the public service, by lucrative motives; because, if the expense is to be the same, it is indifferent whether the service be rendered by men of fortune, or men of no fortune. "I have always heard it admitted, that our liberties can never be in danger, so long as they are entrusted to men of family and fortune; and the reason is obvious, as well as unanswerable. The security of property must always depend upon the preservation of liberty. Under a despotic government there is neither property nor liberty; for every man's estate, as well as his life, depends on the caprice of an arbitrary sovereign. Has not, then, a man of fortune more reason to avoid such a melancholy predicament, than a man of no estate? Has it not always been, with great reason urged, that our

liberties are in no danger from our standing army, because it is commanded by men of the best families and fortunes? Will you then agree to a regulation, that would exclude them all from our army and navy? But it is alleged, that if all lucrative motives were removed, men of fortune would, from other motives, take the trouble of having a share in our government, and even expose themselves to the danger of righting our battles, both by land and sea. This might be supposed in a Platonic republic, but I have good reasons for concluding that it could not be expected in this or any other country. Besides, it would be unjust; for if a rich man renders any service to the public, he has certainly as good a right to a reward, as if he were poor; and to deny him that right would be an act of injustice. In a country where the people are poor, they can give no pecuniary rewards; they can give nothing but honour and esteem. But in a country like this, where the people are rich, they can give, and ought to give pecuniary rewards, as well as honour and public esteem; and these they ought to give, without distinction, to the rich, as well as poor; for otherwise the rich, I am afraid, would spend their estates in ease and quiet, and leave the business of the commonwealth to be performed, and its battles to be fought, by those who had no other subsistence, than what was allowed by the public for their services. This, in my opinion, would be attended with many dangerous consequences. I shall mention only two: the danger of having the counsels, and even the armies or squadrons of the commonwealth, betrayed to the enemy, and the danger of having the public treasure wasted or plundered.

"When a public counsellor, or officer, has a large landed estate, it is a pledge to the public, of fidelity as well as of honesty; as such a man is not surely so liable to be bribed by foreign courts, as one of no fortune. Were he to betray the counsels, the armies, or the squadrons, of his country, he must leave his country; he could not afterwards expect to live securely in it; but he cannot carry his landed estate along with him, and he must be largely bribed by the enemy, to enable him to live with equal splendour in their country. Whereas, to a man of no fortune, all countries are alike; and a certain establishment in an enemy's country, might be a greater temptation, than a precarious post in the service of his own.

"With regard to the public treasure, how could it be secured, if no man of fortune would accept any public employment? which, I am

afraid, none would do, if they were to have, as it is vulgarly said, nothing for their labour, but their pains. We know what large sums of public money are, and must be entrusted, in the hands of some public officer. If such officers possessed no landed estates, nor had any other means of subsistence, except a precarious salary from the public, would they not be strongly tempted to abscond with forty or fifty thousand pounds of the public money? Or, should they misapply a large amount to their own use, and waste it in extravagance, how could the public be reimbursed? To these, and many other evils, might we be exposed, if we had no men of fortune employed in the executive part of our government; and, therefore, as we ought, by all means, to encourage such men to accept such employment, I trust that this new doctrine will never be admitted in our commonwealth.

"But the proposition now before us, would be of still worse consequence, by the double tax proposed. You would reduce all the public salaries, so low, as not to be worth the acceptance of any gentleman of fortune; which would bring the government into contempt, and ultimately throw the country into confusion. I must, therefore, consider this proposition as much a Platonic scheme, as if you were to pass such a law as has been mentioned; and I am afraid it would be attended with worse consequences, for even an arbitrary government is better than anarchy, which would ensue, if you made your government contemptible.

"For these reasons, I hope that my honourable friend will waive his motion; for, although I am under no apprehension that it will pass, I dread the consequences of making it the subject of a division. The people, by some late management, have been led to think, that salaries and pensions have an influence upon the proceedings of this assembly. A question, upon such a motion, would, I fear, confirm them in this opinion; for, many may hear of the question, who neither hear, nor can comprehend the reasons for deciding in the negative; and, therefore, I hope that the honourable gentleman will not press his motion to a division."

It does not appear that this debate created much interest; for only 148 members voted: the amendment was rejected by 95 against 53; and, when the House resumed, the original motion was carried.

Before the adjournment for the holidays, which took place on the 22nd of December,[*] the formation of the new ministry was completed. This had been an affair of no small difficulty, in consequence of the strong objections of the king, to the admission of those, who had acted in violent opposition to his foreign measures. Against none were those prejudices more inveterate ‘than against lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt. Lord Chesterfield, in reward for promoting the recent coalition,[†] was recommended to be lord lieutenant of Ireland; and at the same time selected as embassador to the Hague, for the purpose of inducing the States General to declare war against France. When his nomination was proposed by the duke of Newcastle, his Majesty peremptorily answered: “He shall have nothing. I command you to trouble me no more with such nonsense. Although I have been forced to part with those I liked, I will never be induced to take into my service, those who are disagreeable to me.”[‡]

Mr. Pitt, who then held the office of lord of the bedchamber to the prince of Wales, had also received from the Pelhams, through his friend and patron, lord Cobham, the promise of the place of secretary at war; but to this the king refused to consent, in resentment for his violent attacks against his Majesty’s Hanoverian partialities. The Pelhams, therefore, could not venture to press his nomination; but soothed him by the promise, that the first opportunity should be taken, to overcome the objections of the sovereign.

Although his Majesty was gratified by the exclusion of Mr. Pitt, yet he still felt the highest indignation at being compelled, by the earnest remonstrances of his ministers, to acquiesce in the appointment of lord Chesterfield, and to agree to the admission of many persons into

[*] Journals of the Commons.

[†] Glover observes, that the Junta having selected lord Cobham and lord Chesterfield, to negotiate with the Pelhams, lord Chesterfield affected to act separately from his colleague, and even, in his presence, entered into conversations and whispers with the Pelhams, so openly, as to provoke his indignation.—*Glover's Posthumous Mem. p.* 25.

[‡] Mr. Stone to lord Hardwicke, Dec. 6, 1744, MS.

power, who were peculiarly obnoxious to him. In addition to the earl of Harrington, who had recently succeeded earl Granville, as secretary of state for the Northern department, and to those who retained their places,* the duke of Dorset was appointed lord president of the council, the duke of Bedford first lord of the Admiralty, in the room of the earl of Winchelsea, and lord Sandwich second commissioner at that Board. The duke of Devonshire was nominated lord steward of the household; Mr. George Grenville, nephew of lord Cobbam, obtained the seat at the Board of Admiralty, wbich was vacated by Dr. Lee; while Mr. Waller, who had long been one of the disaffected Whigs, was appointed cofferer of the household, on the dismission of lord Sandys. Mr. Compton and Mr. Gibbon were removed from the Treasury Board, to make room for Mr. Lyttelton, an adherent of the prince of Wales, and for Mr. Arundel, a friend of Mr. Pelham. Mr. Dodington was appointed treasurer of the navy, on the removal of Sir John Rushout, and lord Hobart captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, on the resignation of lord Bathurst. To conciliate the Tories, earl Gower was re-appointed privy seal, on the resignation of lord Cholmondeley, who was made joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, with

* The principal persons who retained their posts were; * Mr. Pelham, first lord of the Treasury, and chancellor of the Exchequer. * The duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the Southern department. * The marquis of Tweeddale, secretary of state for Scotland. * Lord Hardwicke, lord high Chancellor. * The duke of Argyle, keeper of the great seal of Scotland. * The duke of Montagu, master of the Ordnance. The earl of Stair, commander of the Forces. * The duke of Grafton, lord Chamberlain. * The duke of Richmond, Master of the Horse. The duke of Bolton, governor of the Isle of Wight. The earl of Pembroke, groom of the Stole. Lord Monson, first commissioner of Trade. Mr. Winnington, paymaster of the Forces. Sir William Yonge, secretary at War. Lord Edgecumbe, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. The earl of Chesterfield, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Fox, and the earl of Middlesex, lords of the Treasury. Lord Archibald Hamilton, lord Vere Beauclerc, lord Baltimore, and George Anson, esq. lords of the Admiralty.

All those marked * were of the Cabinet.

lord Torrington. Sir John Hinde Cotton was appointed treasurer of the chamber, and Sir John Philips a lord of trade.

Thus was a ministry formed, which has been ludicrously styled the Broad Bottom Administration, as comprising a grand coalition of all parties. The Whigs were fully satisfied, because their influence was predominant in the cabinet; and the Tories, though considered as accessary and subordinate, were yet pleased, because many of their leaders, who had been hitherto excluded, were admitted into offices of trust and power.

These arrangements, however, were not completed without the most decided dissatisfaction in the royal mind; and we find on this occasion a letter from the duke of Newcastle to the Chancellor, expressing a strong sense of the embarrassments, created by his Majesty's displeasure.

"*Claremont, December* 30*th,* 1744.

"It is high time we should meet, to consider lord Chesterfield's instructions, who proposes to go to Holland next week.

"I must own, I do not like lord Harrington's notions; they are widely different from our answer given to Boetzlaar in May; from our paper delivered to the king; and from the king's speech; and, I think, are little more than lord Granville's way of thinking upon the subject. I am as little for breaking with the Dutch as any body; but we must not, because *we seem to be in,* forget all we said to keep lord Granville out. But this only among ourselves.

"We found the closet on Friday almost as bad as ever; and I have reason to think the present resolution is, to suffer us generously to do the business this session, and to kick us out afterwards. This accounts for the continuance of the behaviour, to those who are in, and the reverse to those who are out; and this accounts for the more violent behaviour, if possible, of the Leicester Fields' Court."

Soon after the date of the preceding letter, the chancellor had an audience of the king, in which his lordship endeavoured in vain to reconcile his Majesty to the recent changes, and induce him to give

that cordial support to his ministers, which he had hitherto withheld. Of this interview, we are fortunately enabled to submit to the reader an account, from notes made by the chancellor himself, which he communicated to the duke of Newcastle, in the form of a dialogue. It exhibits a striking proof of the king's indignation, at being compelled to dismiss his favourite minister, and to receive into his service, persons, against whom he fostered a decided aversion; it also displays the spirit, good sense, and respectful firmness, with which the chancellor offered his remonstrances.

January 5th, 1744-5.

Chancellor.—Sir: I have forborne, for some time, to intrude upon your Majesty, because I know, that, of late, your time has been extremely taken up. But, as the parliament is to meet again in a few days, I was desirous of an opportunity of waiting upon your Majesty, to know if you had any commands for me. If there is any thing, that it might be particularly agreeable to your Majesty, to give me your commands upon.

[Pause of above a minute, and the King stood silent.]

Chancellor.—Sir: From some appearances, which I have observed of late, I have been under very uneasy apprehensions, that I may have incurred your Majesty's displeasure; and, though I am not conscious to myself of having deserved it, yet nothing ever did, or ever can, give me so great concern and so sensible a mortification, in my whole life.

[Pause of above a minute, and the King silent.]

Chancellor.—I beg your Majesty will have the goodness and condescension for me, to hear me a few words upon the motives of my own conduct, the nature of your present situation, and the manner in which I humbly think, it may be improved, for your service.

Whatever representations may have been made to your Majesty, I, and those with whom I have acted, if I know them at all, have had no view in the whole, that has passed of late, but your service, and that of the public. I considered with myself, that the principal point of the public service, and your Majesty's great object at present, is the

carrying on the war; and though your Majesty may have been told, that we were against the war, that was a misrepresentation; we were zealously for it, but we were for it upon some practicable plan, and in such a way as we might see that it could be supported. I was always convinced, that as your Majesty was engaged, it was necessary to be carried on, until an opportunity should arise, of making a reasonable peace, for the sake of your Majesty, and for the sake of your allies. I saw at the same time, that in the condition and disposition in which your allies are at present, it would require vast sums of money, and perhaps greater annual expenses, than this country ever bore in any former war, either in king William's or queen Anne's reign. It would be impossible for any administration to carry them through, without taking some methods to reconcile the minds of men to the management of the war, and making it in some degree popular. This could not possibly be done, without taking the nation to a certain degree along with them. I beg your Majesty would consider the situation you are now in. Your old servants, and the old corps of Whigs, who are connected with them, are ready and zealous to support you. The gentlemen, who are newly come in, have come in upon that foundation; and have bound themselves by their declarations and engagements, to support, by themselves, and their friends and followers, the measures for carrying on the war; and I think the strongest of those measures has been opened to them. The gentlemen, who have lately gone out of your service, have, for reasons best known to themselves, declared that they will concur in all measures to support the war, and pretend to build a merit upon it. For my part, I never saw or heard of a situation, which, if rightly improved, afforded a prospect of greater advantage to the Crown than this. In parliament, there have been generally three parties, the court party, a determined opposition, and a flying squadron. But I never yet saw a time, in which all these three parties were brought to declare for the support of government, in the grand essential measures of that government, and of which for some time all other measures will be but subordinate to it. There are two points for the support of the war. One is, the great proposition* from Russia; and, though that cannot be brought about, without a large new burthen, yet, if it can be turned, in any practicable shape, I see a

* For taking thirty thousand Russian troops into the pay of Great Britain.

great disposition to make it effective. The other is the additional subsidy to the queen of Hungary, which is to be a method of keeping up your Majesty's Hanover troops, for two views combined together; I mean the defence of your German dominions, and the support of the common cause, according to the general reason of the war.

The King.—As to that, if they do not like it, I am very easy. I do not desire it for my own sake. I can call home my troops, for the defence of my own dominions.

Chancellor.—I do not mention it, in the view of a particular point of your Majesty's, but as part of the general system of carrying on the war, and as an instance of *their* readiness, to comply with expedients to get over their old prejudices. But, Sir, there still remains something very material behind; how this situation may be best improved, and the advantage of it not be lost?

The King.—I have done all you asked of me. I have put all my power into your hands, and I suppose you will make the most of it.

Chancellor.—The disposition of places is not enough, if your Majesty takes pains to shew the world, that you disapprove of your own work.

The King.—My work! I was forced; I was threatened.

Chancellor.—I am sorry to hear your Majesty use those expressions. I know of no force: I know of no threats. No means were employed but what have been used in all times, the humble advice of your servants, supported by such reasons as convinced them that the measure was necessary for your service.

The King.—Yes, I was told, that I should be opposed.

Chancellor.—Never by me, Sir, nor by any of my friends. How others might represent us, I do not pretend to know. But, whatever had been our fate, and though your Majesty had determined on the contrary side to what you did, we would never have gone into an opposition, against the necessary measures for carrying on the war, and for the support of your government and family. For myself, I have served your Majesty long, in a very laborious situation, and am arrived at a length of

service, which makes me very indifferent, as to personal considerations. Taking your money only, is not serving you; and nothing can enable me to do that, but being put into a possibility and capacity of doing so, by your gracious countenance and support. But, Sir, to return to what I was mentioning, of making the proper use, and of taking advantage of your present situation.

The King.—The change might have been made, by bringing in properer persons; and not those brought in, who had most notoriously distinguished themselves, by a constant opposition to my government.

Chancellor.—If changes were to be made, in order to gain strength, such a force must be brought in, as could bring that strength along with them, otherwise it would have been useless. On that account, it was necessary to take in the leaders, and that with the concurrence of their friends; and, if your Majesty looks round the House of Commons, you will find no man of business, or even of weight, left, capable of heading or conducting an Opposition.

[Pause—the King silent.]

Chancellor.—Sir; permit me to say, the advantage of such a situation, is a real advantage gained to the Crown. Ministers may carry their point in parliament, and frequently do so, by small majorities, and in this way they may struggle on long; but, by the same way, the Crown always loses both its lustre and its strength. But when things are put upon a national foot, by a concurrence of the heads of all parties, and yet so as not to discourage your old friends, then a real solid strength is gained to the Crown; and the king has both more power to carry his present measures, for the support of government, and is more at liberty to chuse and act as he pleases. Your ministers, Sir, are only your instruments of government.

The King. [Smiles.]—Ministers are the king, in this country.

Chancellor.—If one person is permitted to engross the ear of the Crown, and invest himself with all its powers, he will become so in effect; but that is far from being the case now, and I know no one, now in your Majesty's service, that aims at it. Sir; the world without doors is full of making schemes of an administration for your Majesty for the

future; but, whatever be your intention for the future, I humbly beg that you would not spoil your own business for the present.

The King.—I suppose you have taken care of *that.* If you have not success, the nation will require it at your hands.

Chancellor.—If right measures are not pursued, nor proper care taken, then the nation will have reason to require it; but success is in no man's power; and that success must greatly depend on your Majesty's shewing a proper countenance and support to your servants, and to what you have already done. I humbly beg leave to recommend it to your Majesty, for your own sake, and for the sake of carrying those points, which are essential to you and the kingdom. In times of peace, sometimes a session of parliament may be played with, and events waited for; but in a time of war, and of such a war as this is, the case is quite different, and the ill success of it will not be the ill success of the ministry, but of the Crown. It may be the loss of the whole.

[Pause—the King silent.]

Chancellor.—Sir; there is another advantage that may be made of your present situation, which I think a very material one. The swarms of libels, which have gone about of late years, have greatly hurt the credit, and weakened the strength of government; and that weakness has produced an impunity to them. From this source, has sprung much of the confusion and disorder, which have been so justly complained of. I should think the present situation would afford an opportunity, greatly to suppress and keep under that spirit; and, though this is the season of the year in which they used to abound, scarce any thing material of that kind has appeared this winter.

The King.—I myself have seen twenty.

Chancellor.—What strokes of that kind your Majesty may have seen, in the weekly papers, I cannot take upon me to say; but I have yet seen hardly any libellous pamphlets. In the last winter, before this time, there were volumes of virulent pamphlets published, which did infinite mischief. But, whatever has happened hitherto, if this work gains some

solidity and[*] *m* * * in the nation, it will strengthen your Majesty's hands, and enable your magistrates to punish them effectually. Those who, perhaps, used to patronize and support them, will turn against them, and juries will be found now ready to convict them.

[Pause—the King silent.]

Chancellor.—Sir; I ask your Majesty's pardon for troubling you so long, but I thought it my duty to lay my thoughts before you.

In a letter to the lord Chancellor, dated Claremont, January 6, 1744-5, the duke of Newcastle observes:—

"*Claremont, January 6th*, 1744-5.

"At the same time, that I return you my most sincere thanks, for your communication of your yesterday's conversation, I give you the best proof of my obedience to your commands, by sending back the paper, which I should otherwise more gladly have kept, for my own instruction, and which I have shewed to *nobody* else here, having *nobody* but my brother with me. Give me leave, my dear lord, to express my approbation, gratitude, and astonishment, at the same time. The force of words could not, more truly, more ably, more strongly, and more decently, express what is proper, in our situation, to be laid before his Majesty, than you did,

> "Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
> Quam si dura silex, aut stet Marpesia cautes."[†]

[*] Illegible.

[†] Virgil's Eneid, b. vi. 1. 470.

> "And what he says and swears, regards no more,
> Than the deaf rocks, when the loud billows roar."
>
> *Dryden's Virgil*, b. vi. l. 635.

"This almost sullen silence is the greatest proof of the supposed intended measure, at the end of the session, which was most admirably touched upon.

"There are cart-loads of letters from Holland, &c. The Austrians are marched some days towards the Rhine; the Hanoverians were to march, but stop for farther orders, at the unanimous representation of all the generals of all the nations. This is a sad *contretems*. I tremble for *Flanders*. It does not appear, that count Saxe's army is lessened one single battalion.

"You remember we are to meet to-morrow night, on lord Chesterfield's instructions."

In the midst of these difficult arrangements, Mr. Pelham was embarrassed by a misunderstanding which occurred with his brother. Although in virtue of his office, as first lord of the Treasury, he was usually denominated the prime minister, yet, in effect, he exercised that authority only in conjunction with the duke of Newcastle, who, not only from his exalted rank and station, but from his influence as the leader of the Whigs, considered himself as entitled to the principal direction of affairs.

Even at the commencement of their joint administration, the official jealousy of the noble secretary, which, as we have before observed, constituted a prominent feature in his character, broke forth; and we find it strongly expressed in a letter to his friend, the Chancellor, dated so early as November 7th, 1743.

"There is one thing I would mention to you, relating to myself: it must be touched tenderly if at all. My brother has been long brought to think, by lord Orford, that he is the only person fit to succeed him, and that has a credit with the king, upon that foot; and this leads him into lord Orford's old method, of being the first person upon all occasions. This is not mere form; for I do apprehend that my brother does think, that his superior interest in the closet, and situation in the House of Commons, give him great advantage over every body else. They are indeed great advantages; but may be counterbalanced, especially if it is

considered *over whom* those advantages are given; I only fling this out and make no remarks upon it."*

The difficulty of their situation, and the necessity of union, to oppose with effect the influence of lord Granville, had, for a time, induced the duke of Newcastle to suppress his feelings, and act in concert with his brother. But lord Granville, was no sooner removed from office, than the duke began to give vent to his anxieties. He deeply felt the reserve and indignation of the king, who attributed to him the change in administration; and he could ill brook the superior favour of his brother, in the closet, and the consideration which he possessed, as manager of the House of Commons. Hence, that perfect concord, which the situation of the two brothers required, at this period, was interrupted; and it was not until a few days before the re-assembling of parliament, that a reconciliation was effected. On this occasion, we find an interesting letter, from the duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*Newcastle House, Jan.* 19*th*, 1744-5.

"I cannot forbear taking the first opportunity to express to you, the great satisfaction I had, in the confidential conversation we had last night together, so necessary and proper for our respective stations, and so agreeable to that true love and affection, which I know in reality there is between us.

"I shall not touch upon any disagreeable incidents, that may have occasioned a contrary behaviour; but only just mention what, I am persuaded, will, with ease and satisfaction to us both, improve and confirm the mutual disposition at present in us, to do what is so right and necessary for ourselves and our friends, who, I find, begin to think themselves concerned, in any possible difference or coolness between us. I know my own present situation at court, as well as any body. I can bear a good deal; but cannot bear, that any of my colleagues, especially those who are become considerable only by the measure, should take advantage of the ill will and resentment, that I have drawn upon myself by it. This you, and you alone, can prevent. I am sure you

* This extract forms the latter part of a letter of the same date, inserted in chap. ii. page 107.

will not think unreasonable what I now propose: that every thing, as far as possible, should be first talked over by you and me, before it is either flung out in the closet, or communicated to *any* of our brethren; I always except the chancellor, who, I know, is a third brother: that we shall have no reserve, either *public* or *private* with each other: and, that in our transactions with the other ministers, and other persons, who may be to be negotiated with, we should always let it be understood, that we speak in the name of both, or in the name of neither. This conduct, once established, will grow easy and natural, and effectually prevent any jealousies, on one side, or disagreeable warmth, occasioned by them, on the other.

"In order to make this practicable, I will call every morning, as regularly at your house, as I once did at Sir Robert's. There the scheme of the day shall be settled, to be handed out to others afterwards, as shall be necessary; and a frequent intercourse with ease, at each other's houses, and at all hours and times, will also make this very easy to us.

"I have only one thing to add, which relates to the closet. You must take an opportunity to let the king see, that I feel his behaviour; that I don't deserve it; and that I am and must be always a principal part of this present scheme; and indeed it would be very unjust, that I should be the object of the resentment of all our enemies, and be destroyed by my own bull.[*] You see I write in good humour; I do so most sincerely. I beg you would attend to it. Indeed it is in your power to make yourself, and every body easy, as far as relates to *ourselves.* If you think so, I am sure you will do it. I am, with the same real affection and inclination I ever was, my dearest brother," &c.

Mr. Pelham, with his usual good nature, willingly acceded to the arrangements, proposed by the duke, in this affectionate letter, and harmony was consequently restored. We shall, however, find, in the course of the narrative, other instances of misunderstanding between them, which produced uneasiness to themselves, and perplexity to their friends. Yet, from the candour of Mr. Pelham, and their mutual

[*] Alluding to the brazen bull formed for the tyrant Phalaris, by Perillus, who was the first victim of his own cruel invention.

affection, their personal contentions caused little obstruction to the affairs of government.

The change of ministry in England, produced a pause of great anxiety, both at home and abroad. The exclusion of lord Granville, the supposed advocate of a vigorous policy, led to the inference, that his opponents were anxious for peace, and would induce the king to relax his exertions, if not to abandon his allies. The hopes and fears of all men, however, proved ill founded, for even the advocates of peace felt the necessity of strenuous efforts, to attain that object; and, in confirmation of the royal speech, a prompt and general notification was transmitted to foreign courts, that England would not abandon the cause in which she was engaged.

Mr. Pelham, himself, in a private letter to Sir Thomas Robinson, his majesty's minister at the court of Vienna, declared his own sentiments to be, decidedly, for making the most strenuous exertions, as the means of obtaining honourable and reasonable terms of peace.

"DEAR SIR, "*December 25th*, 1744.

"I conclude you have heard, before this time, of the great alterations that his Majesty has made, in his administration here. I shall make no remarks upon it, but leave the world to judge from its consequences. This only I can assure you; it will make no difference, as to the support of the true interest of the court where you are. We may not promise so much; but we will perform what we do promise. And in my poor opinion, we shall be better able to perform, when we know what we do, than when every thing was to be taken upon trust, and without considering the means of execution.

"Another thing I can venture to say, that the removals were made to confirm, for the present, at least, the old part of the administration; and I hope will give courage to them, so as to enable them to support and carry on with vigour the present war, until honourable and reasonable terms of peace can be obtained."

In the mean time, the members of administration had been seriously intent on effecting their long meditated change in the system of foreign policy. Their project being chiefly grounded on the concurrence of the

Dutch, a confidential intercourse with the leading members of that Republic, had already been established, through the agency of Mr. Trevor, British minister at the Hague, for the purpose of ascertaining their views and resources, and of inducing them to take a decisive part in the operations of the campaign, by declaring war against France. But all the efforts of Mr. Trevor could not overcome the timidity of the States, or suppress their general complaints, that England did not sufficiently participate in the burthen of the war. They likewise protested against the unreasonableness of the demand, that they should declare war against France, while the British monarch, as elector of Hanover, not only continued neuter, but had procured a subsidy from England, for the only troops which he had sent into the field, although France had declared war against him as king of England. The ministers, therefore, had no alternative but to accept the aid, which the Republic might still be inclined to grant, as an auxiliary; and to press the king of England, in his character of a German prince, to declare war against France; without which, it was universally apprehended, that the grand alliance would be weakened, if not dissolved.

On this principle, the British cabinet framed their arrangement for the campaign; and in concurrence with the Dutch, prosecuted their negotiations with some of the German States, the success of which was promoted by the fortunate change in the situation of the queen of Hungary.

Notwithstanding the disastrous close of the campaign in the Netherlands, and the retreat of prince Charles from France, the aspect of military affairs in other parts of the theatre of war, had become more auspicious. On advancing into Bohemia, prince Charles acquired strength, by the junction of the Austrians, under count Bathiani, and by other reinforcements. With an army, thus rendered superior in number to that of the enemy, the prince drove the king of Prussia from post to post, retook Prague, compelled his royal antagonist to retire into Silesia, and not only preserved the hereditary dominions, but even threatened to invade the Prussian territory.

In Italy, the affairs of the allies became also more favourable. After the relief of Coni, and the retreat of the Bourbon forces across the Alps, the king of Sardinia lent a favourable ear to the representations of England; was gratified by a confirmation of the Treaty of Worms;

and in consequence concurred in active preparations for the ensuing campaign.

Meanwhile the quadruple alliance, which had been long in agitation, was concluded on the 8th of January, 1745, between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony. The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, engaged to furnish thirty thousand men for the defence of Bohemia, in consideration of a subsidy, amounting to £150,000, of which one-third was to be paid by Holland, and two-thirds by England. On the recovery of Bohemia, and the restoration of Saxony to a state of security, the king of Poland consented to supply ten thousand men, for the service of the allies, in the Netherlands, or in the empire, under a subsidiary provision of £90,000.[*]

The contracting parties agreed to support Saxony, if attacked; and the Republic of Poland and the empress of Russia, were invited to accede to the alliance.

Scarcely was this treaty concluded, when a new incident occurred, to favour the views of the allies, and restore their interest in Germany. By the death of the emperor Charles the VII, on the 20th of January, the union between France and Bavaria was dissolved.[†] This auspicious event roused England to the exertion of all her power and influence. The king instantly opened a negotiation with the States General, and obtained their hearty cooperation, in mediating an adjustment between the queen of Hungary and Maximilian Joseph, the new elector of Bavaria, and in promoting the election of Francis, the consort of Maria Theresa, to the vacant throne of the empire, in opposition to the views of Prussia and France.

After some difficulties, occasioned by the ambitious and punctilious spirit of the Austrian court, the earnest exhortations of the British cabinet prevailed. A treaty was signed at Fuessen, on the 20th of April, by which the new elector renounced his pretensions to the Austrian

[*] Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 123. Gent. Magazine, for the year 1745, p. 167

[†] Annales de Marie Therese. Cont. of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 125.

succession, guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction, engaged to recall his auxiliary troops from the French army, and promised his vote for the grand duke of Tuscany; while Maria Theresa acknowledged the validity of the late emperor's election, and restored all the dominions, which she had conquered from Bavaria.

A favourable impulse was thus given to the tide of foreign affairs. The reconciliation of the courts of Munich and Vienna frustrated the projects of France in the empire; and the accession of the Saxons suspended the operations of the king of Prussia, against the hereditary countries of the House of Austria.

The subsidiary treaties with the courts of Vienna and Turin were renewed by England, and similar engagements, concluded in the preceding year, with the electors of Cologne and Mentz, were now confirmed.

This succession of fortunate events, occurring soon after the dismissal of lord Granville, produced a salutary change in public opinion. On the meeting of parliament, after the recess, at the time when affairs were beginning to take so beneficial a course, the clamour against Hanoverian influence was suddenly suspended; and, though attempts were made to stigmatize the conduct of government, as a mere continuance of old measures, by new men, little difficulty was encountered in obtaining the necessary supplies.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham executed the delicate task of explaining the views, and vindicating the policy of ministers. In the discussion of the question for the grant of twenty-eight thousand men, to be employed in Flanders, which was introduced on the 23rd of January, by Sir William Yonge, a faint attempt was made by Mr. Powlett, to limit the term of service to two months, on the plea of waiting the decision of Holland, that the country might no longer be burthened with the expense of a land war, if that Republic should persist in her present policy. To this objection, which was obviously intended to identify the proceedings of the actual ministry, with those of the excluded secretary, Mr. Pelham replied, by a candid exposition of the principles on which he purposed to act.

Without inquiring into the causes or conduct of the war, he maintained, that there was no way of obtaining an honourable peace, except by vigorous exertions. The proposition of Mr. Powlett he treated as absurd; because, while it evinced a disposition to abandon our allies, it imposed on the nation the useless expense of maintaining an army, during a season when it could not act. But he, at the same time, protested against the erroneous representations of those, who conceived his intention to be, that Great Britain should undertake the entire charge of the war, and continue, from year to year, exhausting her strength and resources, without plan or concert. With respect to the Dutch, he was anxious to avoid speaking of their intentions, either in too sanguine or in too desponding a tone; but, that the House might have proper grounds, on which to vote these troops, he would venture to assert, that the States would reinforce the army in Flanders, with the large contingent of forty thousand men, exclusive of an efficient detachment on the Lower Rhine, and adequate garrisons in the Barrier Towns. They had also engaged to contribute one third of the subsidy to the king of Poland, and one half of that to the elector of Cologne, and had offered their due proportion towards any other pecuniary succour, that might be deemed necessary. He added, that, however just might be the opinion here entertained, that the Dutch had not been sufficiently punctual in their engagements with us, or sufficiently zealous in support of the common cause; yet their conduct was by no means relished by the court of Versailles, which had answered their complaints, against the interruption of their trade by the French ships of war, with recriminations on the hostile conduct of Holland, since the commencement of these troubles in Europe, and with an admonition, that it must be changed, before the wonted marks of friendship could be shewn.

He concluded, by anticipating an unanimous adoption of the proposed grant; since those who were so sanguine as to hope, that the continuance of the war would be glorious to the arms of Great Britain, must vote for it; while those who desired to have no opportunity neglected, for procuring a safe and honourable peace, must be convinced, that the only course for attaining that object, would be by manfully facing the enemy.

Sir Roger Newdigate and lord Strange inforced the objections of Mr. Powlett. But Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, contrary to expectation,

defended the proposal, by declaring, that, for the first time in his life, he concurred with the court. He concluded by asserting, that the British ambassador, lord Chesterfield, would, with a very ill grace, solicit the Dutch to enter into the war with more vigour and dispatch, should the parliament pass a vote to disarm the country.

The objections of the Opposition were, however, ably answered by Mr. Pitt, who, notwithstanding his exclusion from power, displayed his characteristic eloquence, in support of the ministry. Unfettered by official considerations, he spoke more fully and explicitly than Mr. Pelham; and, in vindicating the present measures, he did not refrain from reiterating his reprobation of the former system pursued by lord Carteret. Taking his seat, with the apparatus and mien of an invalid, to use the expression of a member then present,[*] he addressed the House with equal grace and energy.[†] "If this were to be the last day of my life, I would spend it in the House of Commons, since I judge the condition of my country to be worse than even that of my own health. I hoped that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pelham) who spoke some time ago, would not only have persuaded, but awed the House, into an approbation of the measure; and that I should have had no occasion to enter into a detail, to which, I am apprehensive, my strength is not equal."

He argued, that the question was changed, since the preceding year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in his Majesty's councils.

---

[*] Mr. Yorke, in his Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, voi . xiii. p. 1054, says, that Mr. Pitt, who was constitutionally subject to the gout, was frequently obliged to make his appearance in the House on crutches.

[†] Mr. Yorke, in his notes to this speech, in the first instance applies this remark of Mr. Pitt to Mr. Pelham; but afterwards expresses a doubt whether it might not contain an allusion to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne. This second remark appears to be less founded, because Mr. Pitt designates the speaker, as the gentleman who spoke some time before; whereas Sir Watkin had immediately preceded him in the debate. Besides, the expression of *awing* the House, was only applicable to the station and speech of Mr. Pelham.

"The object seemed then, to multiply war upon war, expense upon expense, and to abet the House of Austria, in such romantic attempts, as the recovery of the *avulsa membra Imperii,* without regard to the immediate interest of Great Britain. The object now is," he continued, "to enable ourselves, by a close connection with Holland, to hold out equitable terms of peace, both to friends and foes, without prosecuting the war a moment longer than is necessary, to acquire a valid security for our own rights, and those of our allies, as established by public treaties." He recapitulated the miscarriages and errors of the government, since the change of ministry in 1742, directing occasional invectives against lord Granville, who, when not ten men in the whole nation were disposed to follow him, had supported himself in the closet, on that broken reed, a dependence on foreign princes. Among the political errors which he exposed, were those of neglecting to pursue Maillebois, on his march for the relief of the French garrison in Prague; of relinquishing the meditated attack on Dunkirk; of forbearing to urge the queen of Hungary to reject the French overture at Prague; of not improving the victory of Dettingen; and, lastly, that of turning a deaf ear to the proposals made by the late emperor,[*] through the channel of prince William of Hesse. In censuring the convention with Austria, subsequent to the Treaty of Worms, he rejoiced that the cabinet council had done their duty, by refusing to sanction what the rash hand of a daring minister had signed. He complimented Mr. Pelham on his genuine patriotism, and capacity for business; and commended the present ministry, for pursuing moderate and healing measures, such as tended to place the king at the head of his people.

"I perceive," he exclaimed, "a dawn of salvation to my country breaking forth, and I will follow it as far as it will lead me. I should, indeed, consider myself as the greatest dupe in the world, if those, now at the helm, did not mean the honour of their master, and the good of the nation. If I find myself deceived, nothing will be left, but to act with an honest despair."

He then noticed the symptoms of a good disposition in the States General, upon which Mr. Pelham had enlarged; and added, that if they

[*] The convention of Hanau.

completed their last augmentation of twelve thousand men, they would have a more numerous army in the field, than they had maintained during king William's war. In the heat of argument, he turned once or twice to Sir Roger Newdigate, and asked, with an air of disdain, "Can this be called an old measure from a new ministry?"*

The united efforts of the minister and Mr. Pitt, produced a decisive effect; and the motion passed, with the single negative of lord Strange.

But the most delicate question, agitated in the course of the session, was that relating to the subsidiary engagements with foreign powers, which was introduced to the consideration of parliament, on the 14th of February, in a speech from the throne.

In this speech, after graciously expressing his satisfaction with the unanimity and zeal of both Houses, the king thus addressed the Commons:

"I return you my thanks, for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which you have provided so considerable a part of the supplies; and I doubt not that the same zeal on your part, will enable me to make good the alliances, in which I am already engaged, and to concert such other measures, in this important conjuncture, as shall be judged necessary, for the support of the queen of Hungary, and for prosecuting the present war with vigour, in order to secure a safe and honourable peace."

His Majesty then announced to both Houses, his intention to lay before them a treaty, which he had, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary and the States General, concluded with the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and earnestly exhorted them, to maintain the same steadiness and harmony in their deliberations as they had hitherto shewn, which would not fail to give encouragement to his allies, and add weight to their efforts.

* Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, printed in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1055.

In reply to this speech, the peers unanimously voted a loyal address, conveying assurances of their concurrence, in all measures necessary for the honour of the crown, the support of the queen of Hungary, and the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The Commons simply voted an address of thanks, and referred the speech to a committee of the whole House, for farther consideration of the supply to be granted to his Majesty.*

On this point, the ministry were involved in a peculiar difficulty; because the greater part of these subsidiary engagements had been contracted under the ministry of lord Granville; and, in giving them effect, they could scarcely avoid the imputation of inconsistency, in imitating the conduct of a statesman, whose continental policy they had so unequivocally condemned. From this dilemma, however, they extricated themselves, with equal dexterity and success. In consequence of the national odium excited against the Hanoverians, they prevailed on the king to acquiesce in the discharge of those troops from British pay; but, as so large a force could ill be spared, arrangements were privately made, for transferring them to the service of the queen of Hungary, who was to be gratified with a proportionate increase of subsidy.

This question was discussed in the committee of supply, on the 18th of February, after the debate relative to the force to be employed by England in the Netherlands.

The treaties submitted to the House, on this occasion, were, first, that concluded with the elector of Mentz, on the 27th of April, 1744, by which, in consideration of an annual payment of £8,620, for four years, he engaged to guard his capital and territory against the enemy; secondly, that with the elector of Cologne, signed July 4th, by which, for an annual sum of £24,299, half of which was to be paid by the Dutch, he stipulated to provide a body of troops, ready to serve in camp or garrison; and thirdly, that with the queen of Hungary, signed on the 11th of August, by which, as the supply of £300,000, already granted to her, was exhausted, and she was unable to maintain even

* Journals. Hansard’s Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1173.

her present force in the field, the king had engaged to advance a farther sum of £200,000, that she might be enabled to raise an additional levy of forty thousand men, and also to furnish the king of Poland with £50,000, to defray the expense of marching his troops to her assistance.

The grants for the fulfilment of these treaties were proposed by Mr. Pelham; and, after a slight discussion, the two first were voted unanimously. But the motion for a subsidy of £500,000 instead of £300,000, as previously paid to the queen of Hungary, provoked considerable opposition, and involved the ministry in the charge of following the footsteps of lord Granville.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham observed, that having resolved to make vigorous efforts, we could not otherwise realise that intention, than by enabling our allies to exert the strength which they possessed. With this view, the parliament had granted an annual subsidy to the queen of Hungary, from the commencement of the troubles in Europe. That aid had been economically and judiciously applied; but, as the farther sum of £200,000 was now required, some explanation might be necessary. The danger to the Austrian succession, and to the balance of Europe, had been augmented by the violent aggressions of the king of Prussia; hence it was of the highest importance to make a timely offer of all the assistance, that could be prudently afforded to our ally. The king, from paternal regard to his British subjects, had determined to forego any claim for continuing the services of his electoral troops; and with one moiety of the £200,000 which they cost us, the queen of Hungary would be enabled to hire at least eight thousand fresh troops; while we, with the other, might attach the same number of auxiliaries to our army in Flanders. Vigorous offensive operations were evidently contemplated, in the approaching campaign, in which the Dutch were heartily disposed to join, but at the same time, expected that England would not abate her exertions. When the contingents to be furnished by both powers, to the army in Flanders, were completed, there was reason to hope that it would be superior to any force which the French could bring into the field, while prosecuting their German schemes; and if they turned their whole strength to the Netherlands, our allies in

the empire would send reinforcements, which would enable us to make head against them.*

The grant encountered little opposition; but the surmise, that the obnoxious Hanoverians were to be transferred to the service of the queen of Hungary, afforded a plausible pretext, of which the friends of lord Granville did not fail to take advantage. They hoped to foment division, by imputing to the Pelhams a collusive disavowal of their preceding votes, in favour of the Hanoverians, and by charging their new colleagues with a glaring inconsistency, in sanctioning the employment of these very troops, merely under another denomination.

The conduct of ministers was warmly vindicated by Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding his former antipathy to the Hanoverians. He commended the proposed grant, as a measure alike honourable to the minister who advised, and to the prince who adopted it, and calculated to give pleasure to every honest heart. It might be urged, he said, that the queen of Hungary might take the Hanoverians into her pay, when dismissed from ours; but to that, he declared, he should have no objection; and, as he supposed she was at liberty either to take or refuse them, they ought not to be forced upon her; neither should they, by our votes, be proscribed from every court in Europe. The ill consequences apprehended from continuing them, as part of our army, on the basis of a rival establishment, had already been removed by his Majesty's wisdom and goodness.

Sir Henry Liddel, with much warmth, declared, that it was indifferent to him, through what channel the Hanoverian troops were paid, provided their services were not lost to the public; but the remark, which had just been made, seemed to require explanation. It led to an inference, that the Hanoverians and the British could on no occasion act cordially together; but he was prepared to repeat the testimony he had formerly given, of the good harmony which had subsisted between them, during the last campaign; and hoped for

* This speech is taken from Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1174. Another is given by Hansard from the London Magazine.

assistance, in framing a motion, to take the sense of the House, on their compatibility or incompatibility of serving together.

It was feared, that this proposal might revive the discussions, which had already created so much odium; and Mr. Pitt adroitly eluded the obnoxious question. He soothed Sir Henry Liddel, by a just compliment to his honourable feelings, and reminded him, that his proposed inquiry would only serve an interest, in the removal of which, they both doubtless rejoiced, and which they would be sorry to see restored.

This temperate and judicious reply, produced the desired effect; Sir Henry Liddel thanked Mr. Pitt for repressing his warmth, and candidly observed, that as the question might be improper at this juncture, he would relinquish his intended motion. The debate was closed by Mr. Pelham, with great spirit, though in his usual tone of candour and conciliation. He charged those who had opposed the measure, with a wish to revive animosities, which every honest man desired to suppress, and added, that he trembled at the recollection of what had formerly been said, on this delicate subject, at the same time he declared that, in moving this question, he adhered to his opinion, that the objections against the Hanoverian troops were altogether groundless.

The hope of a schism between the Pelhams and their new colleagues was disappointed; for Sir John Philips was the only member of administration, who signified his dissent; and the resolution passed almost unanimously.[*] On the 19th, when the House resumed, on the report of the committee, the grant was voted without a division.[†]

In fact the question relative to the Hanoverian troops, had become so little interesting, that a motion by Sir William Yonge, on the 22nd of February, for a grant of £57,965 as an allowance of two months pay, to those troops on their return home, encountered but a feeble

[*] Mr. Yorke's Journal, in Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1173. Journals of the Commons.

[†] Journals of the House of Commons.

opposition. In the committee it was carried by 181 against 40; and on the report, by 244 against 40. It is remarkable, that Sir John Philips, though in office, opposed the motion, while Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir John Hinde Cotton, and most of the Tories, voted with ministers.*

On the 22nd of February, the Treaty of Quadruple alliance was laid before the House of Commons, by Mr. Pelham; and on the 21st of March, the subsidy of £100,000, stipulated in that treaty, to be paid by England to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was granted without opposition, and having been approved by the Lords, received the royal assent.†

The system of foreign policy, was only once more brought into discussion, during this session. The debate arose from a motion, made on the 21st of March, by Mr. Pelham, on the vote of credit for £500,000 proposed in the Committee of Supply.

After alluding to the engagements of his Majesty, and to the circumstances which rendered the fulfilment of them difficult, he congratulated the House, that so powerful a prince, as the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had put the last hand to the Treaty of Warsaw, and thus shewn, that a strength, sufficient to support the common cause, might be raised in the empire. He said, that his Majesty had used his endeavours, to hire eight thousand men, to complete his quota of forty thousand, which he had agreed to contribute, on condition, that a like number should be produced, in the pay of the States General. These negotiations, however, he admitted, were not yet sufficiently matured to be laid before parliament. His Majesty had applied to Denmark for troops; and if that court returned a negative answer, he would take into pay eight thousand Flemings, as a cheaper, though not so eligible, a contingent. He alluded to another great power, Russia, whose vigorous aid might turn the scale; and inquired whether the Crown should not be enabled, during the interval

* Mr. Yorke's Journal, in Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1201. Journals of the Commons.

† Journals of the Lords and Commons.

of parliament, to make, or to accept, advantageous offers, when the sum, required for that purpose, would not exceed the supplies for the current service. He preferred a vote of credit, to the expedient, recommended by some gentlemen, of leaving a latitude in the appropriation clause, which was practised in the preceding year.

An objection being made to this proposal, on the plea that proper information was still wanting, relative to the state of affairs abroad, and to the disposition of the Dutch, Mr. Pelham replied, that the Dutch minister had waited on the king, in the morning, to communicate a resolution of the States, for placing their troops under the command of the duke of Cumberland, assisted by the Austrian general, count Königsegg. He adduced this, as the strongest proof of their disposition to act with England, on the offensive, and added, that they would contribute their share towards sieges, and other contingencies of the campaign.

Notwithstanding this explanation, the debate continued, but the argument chiefly turned on the general and common objection to votes of credit; namely, the danger of reposing too much confidence in ministers, and the unconstitutional precedent of granting money, without a specification of the nature and extent of the service, for which it was intended. The motion was, however, carried in the committee, by a considerable majority; and, though the discussion was renewed, with great vehemence, when the House resumed, the division proved equally favourable to government.[*]

Before we conclude our account of this session, we must notice a debate of great importance, although it drew forth no observations from Mr. Pelham. It arose on the proposal for instituting, or as it was erroneously called, reviving annual parliaments.

The history of our country sufficiently shews the danger of governing without a parliament, or with a parliament, which cannot be

[*] In the Committee, the votes were 185 to 54. On the Report, 242 to 109. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 125. Journals of the Commons. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's Parl. Hist. xiii. p. 1246 to 1250.

dissolved without its own consent, both being alike contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and fatal to the liberties of the people. The long parliament, in the time of the great rebellion, overthrew our constitution in church and state, and subjected the country to the yoke of a military despot. The government of Charles II, and James II, who presumed to rule without the aid of parliament, gave rise to evils, which were remedied only by the glorious Revolution of 1688. It is, however, singular, that the leaders of that Revolution did not introduce into the bill of rights, any clause to regulate the duration of parliaments.

It was deemed sufficient that the royal prerogative could not dispense with the great council of the nation, because the king could not levy supplies, without the consent of parliament, and because his own permanent revenue was not sufficient for the ordinary expenses of government. But experience shewed the impolicy of protracting the duration of parliaments to an unlimited period, at the pleasure of the Crown; and therefore in 1692, a bill passed through both Houses,[*] for the purpose of instituting triennial parliaments.

It provided that there should be an annual session; and, that if, at the expiration of three years, the Crown should not order new writs, the holder of the great seal should, under severe penalties, issue them *ex officio.* King William considered this bill as an insult to his personal feelings, an attack on his prerogative, and a prelude to the dissolution of the parliament, which had already sat three years, and had proved itself subservient to the Tory ministry, then recently formed. He therefore refused his royal assent.

In 1694, the bill was again introduced, with the simple modification, that within three years after the dissolution, the king should direct writs under the great seal to be issued, for convoking another parliament. It passed through both Houses with little opposition; and, as a change of political circumstances had removed the objections of his Majesty, it received his formal sanction. It continued in force during the reigns of William and Anne; but, soon

[*] See Correspondence of the duke of Shrewsbury, by whom the bill was introduced into the House of Lords, chap. i. p. 17.

after the accession of the House of Brunswick, the appalling number of Jacobites, the alarm which had been excited by the rebellion of 1715, the apprehensions of foreign intervention, the ferment arising from frequent elections, and the fears entertained for the security of the Protestant establishment, induced the parliament to supersede the triennial by the septennial act.*

This important change in the representative system, had been effected before Mr. Pelham came into parliament; but he always defended the principle from which it originated, as essential to the welfare of England; and constantly opposed every attempt to repeal the septennial act, throughout the whole course of his career. In 1734, he combated, under the banners of Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Bromley's celebrated motion, for the revival of triennial parliaments.† On that occasion, he briefly declared, that he saw no inconveniences in the existing law, which would not prevail to a much greater degree by the re-establishment of triennial parliaments; and added, that too frequent elections kept the nation in continual ferment, and exposed it to the numerous evils, ever engendered by faction and sedition.

His objections against triennial parliaments, applied with much greater force against those limited to one year; and he accordingly opposed, with all his influence, the motion made by Mr. Carew, on the 29th of January, for the repeal of the septennial bill, and the revival of the act of the fourth year of Edward III. ordaining annual parliaments.

It would be tedious to expatiate on the mischiefs incident to a measure, which must ultimately tend to overthrow the constitution, and cause anarchy, bloodshed, and confusion. The debate on this question affords little interest. The speeches of Mr. Carew, and those of Mr. Sydenham and Sir John Philips, who seconded and supported the motion, consisted of little more than theoretical and visionary rhapsodies, and were ably refuted by Sir William Yonge, who proved,

* The reader is referred to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, for a more detailed account of this great measure, chap. xii.

† For Mr. Pelham's speech on this occasion, see Chandler's Debates, vol. viii. p. 199.

that the act of Edward III. was never carried into execution, and that annual parliaments had never existed. The motion was negatived by 145 against 113; and it is a matter of astonishment and regret, that so large a minority should have voted in favour of so absurd and mischievous an innovation.*

Entertaining these sound and rational notions, respecting the spirit of the constitution, Mr. Pelham was sometimes carried too far by his zeal for its purity, and his dread of popular ferment. He exhibited these feelings on a motion of trifling import, for the repeal of the act, vesting in the lord mayor and court of aldermen, a negative on the proceedings of the common council.

The bill, conferring this power, had been enacted in 1725, to curb the refractory spirit of the common council of London, and to restrain the opposition, frequently manifested by that body, against the measures of government. The negative was so highly unpopular, that it was seldom, if ever, employed, until the convention with Spain in 1739; when a motion in the common council, for a disrespectful address to the king, was set aside by the court of aldermen. A general clamour was instantly raised, against a privilege, which was considered by many, even among the aldermen, as contrary to the primitive constitution of the city, and detrimental to its rights, since any minister might thence be enabled to stifle the public voice. Proceedings were instituted to obtain its repeal; and a petition to that effect was presented to the legislature on the 25th of January, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, of the city of London. On the 5th of February, a bill for this purpose was brought into the House of Commons by the lord mayor of London; and, passing through the customary forms, was read a second time on the 12th, when a vehement debate ensued. Mr. Pelham, in opposing the repeal, deprecated the mischiefs arising from precipitated reform, and the danger incurred by giving too great weight to popular assemblies. He cited examples from the history of the Roman Republic, and from that of our own country, during the great rebellion. In the instance of Rome, after enumerating the successive encroachments of the people on the patricians, he shewed, in what manner the popular leaders,

* Journals of the Commons. Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1056.

Marius, Sylla, and Julius Caesar, had appropriated and abused the power of the people, had involved their liberties, as well as the authority of the senate, in one common ruin. In the instance of England, he proved, that by the operation of the same causes, the people, through their representatives in the Commons, usurped the whole power of the government, murdered their king, overthrew the constitution of their country, and were in their turn subjected to the despotism of the general, whom they had raised to the command of their army. By an exaggerated comparison, he laboured to apply these arguments, to the privilege vested in the common council of London; and concluded by asserting, that the lord mayor and aldermen had always possessed it, and ought still to retain it, for the purpose of preserving the tranquillity of the metropolis, and the safety of the state.

The supporters of the bill maintained, that the negative assumed, could not be justified by precedent, and that even if it were, it ought to be repealed. They also derided, as visionary, the apprehension of danger entertained by Mr. Pelham; and exposed the inconsistency of comparing the two hundred and thirty-seven individuals, forming the common council of London, with the great body of the Roman republic, or with the multitude of our turbulent republicans, in the state and in the army, under the Commonwealth. The influence, however, if not the arguments of Mr. Pelham, in this instance, prevailed; and the motion for the re-committal of the bill was negatived, by 117 against 90.[*]

Still, the unpopularity of the claim induced its opponents to persist in their purpose; and the bill for the repeal of the obnoxious act, being revived in the ensuing session, Mr. Pelham prudently yielded to public opinion. After a trifling opposition, on the second reading in the Commons, it was carried through both Houses, and received the royal assent.[†]

---

[*] Journals of the Commons. Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1126.

[†] Journals of the Commons. For the committal of the bill, 126; against it, 32. This result we have anticipated, for the sake of placing the whole of this question in one point of view.

During the latter part of the session, the attention of parliament was chiefly engaged, in an inquiry into the conduct of admirals Matthews and Lestock, and the causes which had occasioned the inefficient result of a naval action off Toulon.

To influence the operations of the war in Italy, a powerful fleet had been sent to the Mediterranean, under admiral Matthews, who was invested with a diplomatic character, to facilitate the necessary arrangements with the king of Sardinia. The two admirals, next in command, were Lestock and Rowley. In the course of the preceding year, Matthews having driven into Toulon, the Spanish squadron, which had conveyed the troops to Italy, established a blockade of that port, and the neighbouring coasts of Provence. The French, confident that their engagements with Spain would now enable them to act in open hostility against England, ordered a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, under admiral de Court, to escort the Spanish squadron towards the Straits; and either protect its return, or facilitate its junction with the armament at Brest.

Admiral Matthews, who had observed their movements, approached them, as they were clearing the harbour. As the British fleet consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, besides frigates; and the combined squadrons amounted to no more than the same number, without frigates, and were also inferior in force, it was the object of the French admiral to avoid an engagement. Matthews, impatient to prevent their escape, bore down with great alacrity, and was gallantly supported by rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van, and who was followed by several of his captains. Lestock, second in command; kept aloof, and his example operated on some of the captains in his division. A partial engagement ensued, in which Matthews and Rowley greatly distinguished themselves. The Spanish admiral’s ship was reduced to a complete wreck, and was rescued from destruction, chiefly by the manoeuvres of the French commander. Other ships were much injured, and one, the Podér, was compelled to strike. Night separated the combatants, and at day-break, the enemy, who had gained considerably a-head, were making every effort to escape. They were vigorously pursued, Lestock taking the lead with the ships of his division; and a more decisive battle might probably have ensued, if Matthews had not thrown out a signal for suspending the chase. The

combined squadrons then withdrew, and the English fleet proceeded to Port Mahon, to refit.

A violent feud immediately arose between the two admirals. Lestock was suspended by his principal, and returned to England in May; and, towards the close of autumn, Matthews himself was recalled, to substantiate his charges against his second in command. The public, deeply interested in the proceedings, clamoured for justice, applauded the bravery of Matthews, and ascribed the escape of the enemy, in the first action, to the misconduct of Lestock, who, sheltering himself under the mere forms of discipline, accused the vice-admiral of confusion in his signals and orders, and found a powerful party to support his cause in the House of Commons. Though blame was probably imputable to both commanders, the question was too important to be suppressed; and it was evident that no decision could be adopted, which would wholly vindicate the character of either, and satisfy the public.

Although, on the separate petition of each, a regular investigation had been instituted by the Crown, the eagerness of their partisans brought the question before the House of Commons, by a motion for a committee of Inquiry. On this subject, even the members of administration were divided. Mr. Pelham manifested an inclination to favour Matthews, and to resist the motion, as unconstitutional and nugatory; while it was strongly supported by Mr. Fox, who proved himself a warm friend of Lestock. The minister at length yielded to the public voice, in and out of parliament, and the proposed inquiry was undertaken.

This determination, however, was far from satisfying the friends of either party; and a considerable discussion arose, on the terms in which the vote was to be couched. Mr. Fox again vindicated Lestock, and censured the superior officer, for his treatment of the vice-admiral, after the battle. When Matthews, as a member of the House, had offered a short justification of his conduct, three resolutions were passed; namely, that the fleet was superior to that of the enemy, that the miscarriage was dishonourable to the British arms, and that it arose from the misconduct of some of the commanders and officers of the fleet.

In consequence of these resolutions, an address to the king was moved by Mr. Fox, requesting a court-martial, for the trial of the two admirals, six of the captains, and some of the inferior officers, accused of misconduct or cowardice. The specific mention of the admirals, and of certain officers, who were unequivocally denounced, as guilty of cowardice, being deemed unjust and dishonourable, Mr. Vyner proposed, as an amendment, to suppress all mention of names; and was supported by Mr. Pelham. He admitted that the conduct of the chase merited inquiry; but did not consider the evidence before the House, sufficient to justify a recommendation to the Crown, to put the commander of the fleet on his trial. That course, which had been represented as involving no censure, he deemed equivalent to a very grievous censure, especially when connected with the second and third resolutions. However strongly the House might be disposed for such a specification, he could not conscientiously give it his assent; and he foresaw many ill consequences to be apprehended from a procedure, in which persons were joined together, whose offences, supposing them guilty, were of a very different nature, and yet not distinguished by any specific charge.

The observation of Mr. Pelham, however judicious, did not avail, against the prejudice, which it was intended to remove. The original motion was carried by 218 against 74, and when the report was brought up, the address was voted without a division.

The court martial was accordingly held; and, after a tedious and expensive inquiry, the result was far from fulfilling the expectations of the public. Matthews was declared incapable of serving his Majesty in the navy; Lestock was honourably acquitted; and some of the captains were visited with different degrees of disgrace.[*]

The supplies for the year are exhibited, with the ways and means, in the following table.[†]

---

[*] Yorke's Parl. Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1201-1217. Gazettes.—Cont. of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 37. Journals of the Commons.

[†] From Postlethwayte's History of the Public Revenue.

SUPPLY.		WAYS AND MEANS.	
NAVY—Charge of 40,000 seamen. and 11,550 marines, transports, victualling, &c.....	£2,567,084	Land Tax of 4s. in the pound, deducting interest	£1,942,747
ARMY—Charge of 15,768 men for home service, and 28,107 for Flanders, including ordnance, garrisons for the Plantations, and Gibraltar, etc.....	£2,066,650	Malt duty.....	787,177
Allowance to Hanoverian troops.....	57,965	Salt duty	1,000,000
For defraying the charge of 6000 Dutch, in Great Britain andFlanders.....	42,334	Contributions for Annuities	1,500,000
Expenses of the troops in British pay, in Flanders, not provided for	85,847	lottery: the interest of both charged on additional duties on wines and vinegar	500,000-
Subsidy to the queen of Hungary.....	500,000	From the sinking fund	800,000
------ king of Sardinia.....	200,000		
------elector of Saxony.....	100,000		
------elector of Cologne	24,299		
------ elector of Mentz	8,620		
Vote of Credit	500,000		
Building Westminster Bridge	25,000		
For making good deficiencies, interest, etc.....	186,651		
	6,364,450		
Balance.....	165,474		
	£6,529,924		£6,529,924

The only additional taxes were duties on wine and vinegar; viz. eight pounds per tun on French wine, and four pounds per tun on vinegar, for the purpose of paying the interest on the two loans, amounting to £2,000,000, raised by annuities and lottery. These were voted without opposition. If we add, as before, the expenses of the civil list, the surplus of the taxes, and £2,039,797 interest of the national debt, which, in December, 1744, was increased to £53,679,247, the amount of the annual charge, in 1745, exceeded ten millions.

The parliamentary enactments of this session manifest a laudable attention to various points of public interest. The importance of the linen manufacture was sensibly felt, in consequence of the rapid

improvement, which it had recently exhibited. For its farther encouragement, additional bounties were granted, on exported linens of home manufacture; and an act was passed, to prohibit, by severe penalties, the importation and use of foreign cambrics and lawns. This was an extension of the principle, which, in 1742, had led to the establishment of a bounty on exportation, derived from an import duty on foreign cambrics; and which had produced the most beneficial results.

To secure the advantages, thus afforded to the native manufactures, regulations were introduced, for preventing the misapplication of the bounties, and the exportation of foreign linens, under counterfeited stamps, resembling those impressed on linens of British manufacture. Collateral precautions were adopted, for protecting this branch of national industry, by the enactment of a specific law, against stealing from buildings, grounds, and other places, used for printing, bleaching, and preparing linens, fustians, and cottons.

In the collection of the duty on tea, a change was introduced, to prevent evasion; and more effectual provisions were made, against the contraband traffic in that commodity.

A concern for public morals, and for the improvement of domestic policy, was evinced by the act for restraining excessive and fraudulent gaming, and the increasing passion for horse-races.

During several years, the trade to the northern regions of America, had been an object of great interest; and, among other suggestions for its improvement, the practicability of a passage through Hudson’s Bay, westward, to China, had excited much discussion. The wishes of the public were gratified, and the spirit of discovery encouraged, by the grant of a parliamentary bounty of £20,000, to be given to the owner of such ship, or ships, as should first accomplish that arduous voyage.

The operations of the war, and especially the late action in the Mediterranean, having proved the necessity of a reform, in the discipline of the maritime service, an act was passed, for the more

efficient government of the royal navy, ships of war, and marine forces, and for the better regulation of courts martial.[*]

On the 2nd of May, the king prorogued the parliament, by a speech, in which he emphatically alluded to the late favourable change of affairs on the continent. He also announced the resolution of the States General, to cooperate with Great Britain; and stated, that arrangements had been concerted, for settling the proportions of forces and expense, which could not fail to give spirit and vigour to the military operations. Hence, he anticipated such success in the campaign, as would contribute to defeat the ambitious and destructive projects of the House of Bourbon, against the peace of Europe, and his own kingdom. He concluded with thanking the Commons for their liberal supplies; and exhorted the members of both Houses, to cultivate and encourage the spirit of loyalty and fidelity, in their several counties.[†]

Thus closed a session of parliament, remarkable for the little opposition offered to ministers, in the House of Commons; and still more remarkable for the unanimity of the peers, who seemed to meet, only that they might, from time to time, declare their concurrence, with the other branch of the legislature.

Before the departure of the king for the continent, the triumph of the new ministry was fully announced, by a declaration,[‡] on the part of his Majesty, as elector of Hanover, that he would engage as a principal in the war; and not only furnish his contingent, in that capacity, but dispatch a corps of his electoral troops at his own expense, to act either on the Rhine, or in the Low Countries, as should be settled between himself and the States General.

---

[*] For these several acts, see the Journals of the Commons, and Anderson's History of Commerce, for the year 1745.

[†] Journals of the Lords and Commons. Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1307.

[‡] Cont. of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 126.

The king, however, was so much irritated against the ministers, for having compelled him to dismiss lord Granville, and to sign a declaration, so contrary to his views, that he could not forbear venting his resentment on various occasions. To Mr. Pelham he behaved with mildness and condescension; but reserved his personal rebukes for the duke of Newcastle, whom he regarded as the chief cause of his vexations. On more than one occasion, he charged His Grace and his colleagues, with having tricked and deceived him; and persisted in refusing to order some farther removals, which they thought necessary for the advantage of the government. This inflexibility, on the part of the sovereign, deeply affected the Pelhams; and, it appears by a letter* from the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland, dated May 3rd, that they were only deterred from tendering their resignation, by a wish not to distress his Majesty, on the eve of his departure for Hanover. In conjunction with the lord Chancellor, they made a strong remonstrance, representing, in the most dutiful manner, to the king, that they should be unable to open another session of parliament, if his Majesty could not entertain a more favourable opinion of their services.

To this representation, the king made no reply; and departed for the continent, without manifesting any abatement of his displeasure against the duke of Newcastle, or evincing any disposition to consent to the proposed removals.

Towards the latter end of this session of parliament, Mr. Pelham sustained a severe loss, in the death of the earl of Orford, on the 18th of March,† From his entrance into public life, he had recognized a constant friend and patron, in this eminent statesman, who had not only contributed to his elevation, but had smoothed many official difficulties by his advice, and private mediation with the king. A peculiarly unfavourable result of this loss, was, the want of a connecting link with the late ex-minister's adherents; who, on his death, naturally separated into different parties, and many of whom relaxed in their attachment to Mr. Pelham, while others joined the

* Newcastle Papers, MS.

† Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. lxii.

ranks of opposition. Even Mr. Horace Walpole, the son of lord Orford, although he continued for a time to follow the example of his father, in supporting Mr. Pelham, yet altered his behaviour through some cause of umbrage; and not only became his determined opponent during life, but even in his Posthumous Memoirs, indulged an unjustifiable and splenetic prejudice against his memory.*

No disappointment or personal mortification, however, could weaken the grateful recollection, which Mr. Pelham cherished, for his first and inalienable patron; to whose merits he delighted to render ample justice, on all occasions, public as well as private, while he ever avowed a grateful sense of his favours. To the latest period of his administration, he pursued the same course; and was proud to acknowledge, that he considered himself as the pupil and follower of Sir Robert Walpole, in the science of politics and finance.

* For an inquiry into the motives, in which this change of disposition might have originated, the reader is referred to an article on those Memoirs, in the Quarterly Review, for April and July, 1822, vol. xxvii. p. 178.

CHAPTER VII.

1745.

The Duke of Cumberland appointed to command the army in the Netherlands—Disasters of the allied arms—Battle of Fontenoy, and victorious progress of the French—Ill success in Italy—Accession of the Genoese to the Bourbon cause, and retreat of the king of Sardinia to the walls of his capital—Don Philip overruns Lombardy, and occupies the Milanese—Affairs of Germany—Operations of the contending armies on the Rhine—The French retire from Germany—Elevation of Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the throne of the empire—Unsuccessful operations of the Austrians against the Prussians—Convention of Hanover, between the kings of England and Prussia—Defeat of the Austrians and Saxons; and accommodation between Maria Theresa and Frederick, by the peace of Dresden—Capture of Louisbourg, and occupation of Cape Breton, by the English and American colonists.

FORTUNATELY for the country, the coalition of parties, after the retreat of lord Granville, contributed to suspend the feuds in the cabinet, and gave strength to the government; for no period of the war was marked by a more alarming series of disasters, than that of the year 1745.

To give vigour to the military operations, the king intrusted the command of the British and Hanoverian troops, in the Netherlands, to the duke of Cumberland; and it was confidently hoped, that the presence of an enterprising prince of the blood, would contribute to change the aspect of the war, in a country where the fate of the alliance was likely to be ultimately decided.

Such might probably have been the result of the campaign, had the allied army been augmented to its full complement, according to

previous concert. But, in consequence of the war with Prussia, and the resolution of the queen of Hungary, to support the election of her consort, Francis, to the Imperial dignity, the greater part of the Austrian forces were retained, in the hereditary countries, and on the banks of the Rhine. Indeed, scarcely any other troops were left in the Netherlands, except the garrison of Luxembourg, and eight squadrons, under count Königsegg, who joined the duke of Cumberland. The whole defence of those provinces, at this critical juncture, was therefore thrown on the maritime powers; and, although England had furnished her full contingent of twenty-eight thousand men, including the Hanoverians, the Dutch forces were, as usual, deficient; not more than twenty-three thousand having been sent into the field, in the beginning of the campaign.* From these causes, the allied army did not exceed fifty-two thousand men; while the strength and resources of the enemy, seemed to increase with the duration of the contest.

Having prudently relinquished the continuance of hostilities on the side of Bavaria, the French withdrew from Germany all their troops, except those stationed on the Rhine, near Frankfort; and were thus enabled to concentrate a force in Flanders, sufficient to insure a decided superiority. Their army amounted to seventy-six thousand choice troops, provided with 260 pieces of artillery, and every other requisite for sieges. On the 26th of March, marshal Saxe, the commander-in-chief, assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes; and, after various movements, to divert the attention of his antagonists, suddenly invested Tournay, on the 1st of May, thus menacing one of the strongest fortresses in Flanders, garrisoned by a Dutch corps of nine thousand men, and amply provided with artillery and magazines of every kind. The king of France, with the dauphin, hastened to the scene of action, to stimulate the exertions of the army by their presence.

On the other hand, the duke of Cumberland had repaired to the continent, early in April, to assume the direction of the allied forces; though he was subjected to the control of marshal Königsegg, an

* Annales de Marie Therèse, p. 71. According to colonel Yorke, the Dutch did not furnish half their contingent. Letter from Mr. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, dated May 27th, 1745—Walpole Papers, MS.

Austrian general of acknowledged valour and experience, and obliged to consult the prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch.

On the 18th, his royal highness reached the Hague; and, after a short conference with the ministers of the States, hastened to Brussels, to collect and review his troops, as the enemy were already in motion. After spending nine days in preparation, he began his march on the 30th, through Halle to Soignies, with the intention of risking a battle, for the relief of Tournay. In the mean time, the trenches had been opened against that fortress; and to cover the siege, marshal Saxe selected a defensive position, near the Scheld, in the vicinity of Fontenoy.

Some delays occurred in the movements of the allies, and they did not draw near the advanced posts of the French, until the 9th of May, thus leaving them sufficient time to complete their measures of defence. On reconnoitring, the three allied generals observed the hostile army, encamped on a gentle eminence, extending, from Antoine on the right, with Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, to Ramecroix, behind the wood of Barré on their left. The natural advantages of this position, had been improved with every resource of the military art.

A battery was erected on the farther side of the Scheld, in the vicinity of Antoine, which, as well as Fontenoy, was strongly fortified and garrisoned. The space between those two villages was protected by three redoubts; and the interval, or narrow valley, between Fontenoy and the wood of Barré, which was of itself extremely difficult to pass, on account of a deep ravine, was farther defended by a cross fire, arising from the batteries erected on the left of Fontenoy, and a redoubt, which was raised in front of the village of Vezon, at the point of the wood of Barré, and occupied by six hundred men. This portion of the front, was considered by the enemy to be so strongly secured, as to bid defiance to the most intrepid assailant. The wood of Barré, itself, was also rendered impenetrable by abbatis. At Ramecroix and other places, numerous batteries were also erected.

In the rear of Antoine, a *tête de pont*, strongly fortified, was formed before the bridge of Calonne, which was defended by a reserve of the

household troops, and other regiments, in order to facilitate a retreat, in case of necessity.

Marshal Saxe having completed his final dispositions for receiving an attack, left the marquis de Brèze with fifteen thousand infantry, and a few regiments of horse, to prosecute the siege of Tournay; while the king of France and the dauphin repaired, early in the morning, to the field of battle, in order to rouse the courage of the troops.

Notwithstanding the strong position and superior force of the French, the allied generals determined to risk a battle. Accordingly, the duke of Cumberland, on the 10th, detached six battalions and twelve squadrons, to drive in the advanced posts of the enemy; and, that service being performed, the ground thus gained was occupied, and orders were issued for an engagement in the morning. The night was passed by the troops under arms, and the most judicious arrangements, that circumstances would allow, were actively made, for the attack on the return of day.

The allied troops, to the number of fifty thousand, were drawn up in order of battle. The British and Hanoverian infantry, under the immediate direction of the duke of Cumberland, formed in two lines, opposite the narrow valley, extending from the wood of Barré to Fontenoy, with their cavalry in the rear. The right of the Dutch was posted near the left of the Hanoverians; and their left extended towards the Scheld, fronting Antoine, and the redoubts between it and Fontenoy. The prince of Waldeck undertook to carry Antoine and Fontenoy by assault; and brigadier-general Ingoldsby was sent, early in the morning, with four battalions and three pieces of cannon, to storm the redoubt in front of Vezon; while the duke of Cumberland, with the British and Hanoverians, was to advance against the left wing of the enemy. Such was the outline of the plan, concerted between the three allied generals; and it seemed calculated to ensure success. But, unfortunately, general Ingoldsby, owing to a misapprehension of orders, did not attack the redoubt in front of Vezon; and the Dutch, though reinforced by a regiment of Highlanders, after making some feeble attempts upon Fontenoy and Antoine, were repulsed. Being assailed with the fire of numerous batteries, they were panic struck, and retired to some distance from the scene of action; where they remained, quiet and shameless spectators of the combat.

In consequence of these failures, the whole brunt of the contest fell upon the British and Hanoverians, who were headed by the duke of Cumberland and general Ligonier. In the first onset, these brave troops, leaving the cavalry in the rear, in consequence of the ruggedness of the ground, and dragging forward several field pieces, forced their way beyond the hollow road or ravine, which ran from Fontenoy to the wood of Barré, after having repulsed several desperate attacks of the French infantry, who disputed the ground, inch by inch. They then advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Vezon and the village of Fontenoy, and were masters of the field of battle, as far as the place, on which, previous to the action, the enemy had pitched their camp. Being, however, exposed to the continual cross fire of small arms and cannon, they suffered so severely, that they were compelled to retire to the ground, which they had originally occupied, as a position affording greater security.

Although the Duke was now aware, that the Dutch had entirely failed in their attack on Antoine and Fontenoy, and that general Ingoldsby had not made any attempt on the redoubt of Vezon, he prepared, without hesitation, for another desperate effort, and encouraged his soldiers both by his exhortations and example. As the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barré was extremely confined, the troops were unable to continue in line; and, therefore, by a judicious movement, the flanks wheeled back on the right and left, and thus formed a dense column. This body was so deep and compact, that the first line of French infantry was swept away by its impulse; reinforcements, which successively arrived, met the same fate; whole squadrons of horse were dissipated by its continual and deadly fire; and the repeated charges, made on the flanks of so formidable and solid a mass, proved equally abortive.

During an hour, the fate of the day hung in suspense. Charge after charge, by the French, had failed; the column of the allies continued to press forward in the rear of Fontenoy, and threatened to cut off all the communication of the enemy, with the *tête de pont*, before the bridge of Calonne.

The battle now appeared to be decided; and marshal Königsegg congratulated the duke of Cumberland upon his complete success. At the same time, marshal Saxe, conceiving the struggle hopeless,

prepared to commence a retreat, and the king of France was repeatedly, though vainly implored, to consult his safety, by withdrawing beyond the Scheld. Encouraged, however, by the spirit of the king, the marshal made one final and desperate effort. He collected together every arm that he could direct against the column; and he brought up the household and other troops, which formed the reserve, and flower of the infantry, with the royal body guard in the centre. He also placed a battery of four pieces of cannon,* in an elevated position, which being levelled against the advancing phalanx, produced an immediate and decisive effect. Unfortunately, no remonstrances from their gallant leader could induce the Dutch to second the spirited effort of the right wing, by renewing their attack on Antoine and Fontenoy; and thus many of the enemy's troops, which had hitherto been retained for the defence of those villages, were brought into action.

A simultaneous charge, of infantry and cavalry, was now made on the advancing column; and this effort was decisive. The brave men, who had hitherto borne down all before them, exhausted by their desperate exertions, and unsupported by their heartless allies in the left wing, were at length compelled, though reluctantly, to give way.

The retreat was conducted with great skill and steadiness, and was accomplished without disorder; for the cavalry, who, from the nature of the ground, had been unable to act during the conflict, now came up, and rendered essential service, in protecting the retreat of the infantry. The wounded, who were left at Bruffoel, were almost the only prisoners; and the chief trophies of victory were a few pieces of artillery, which the allies were unable to drag along in their retreat.

In this battle, the French had rather the advantage in point of numbers; their force amounting to sixty thousand men, and that of the English and allies to about fifty thousand. The loss on both sides was

* This resource is said to have been recommended to marshal Saxe, by the duke de Richelieu, on the suggestion of the count de Lally. Biog. Univ. Art. SAXE.

severe, and nearly equal. That of the allies amounted to 7347 men, of whom 4041 were British, 1762 Hanoverians, and only 1544 Dutch.*

The defeat of Fontenoy made a deep impression on the public mind in England; but it was a great consolation, that the intrepid gallantry of the British troops, and the chivalrous courage of the duke of Cumberland, had averted the dishonour which usually attends a defeat; and, as the Hanoverians, also, acted with great spirit, the disgrace of the failure fell solely on the Dutch, and on the inactivity of general Ingoldsby.

We submit to the reader, with great satisfaction, a letter dated the 16th of May, O. S. 1745, from Mr. Philip Yorke to Mr. Horace Walpole, which gives some interesting details of this memorable battle, communicated by colonel Yorke, who was aide de camp to the duke of Cumberland.

"DEAR SIR, "*London, May* 16*th,* 1745.

"I should not have thought of replying upon you so soon, had you not invited me to it, by saying you expected from me a farther account of the action; and, had I done it sooner, it would not have been easy to add any thing material or explicit to the first advices, which resemble always the confusion of the battle itself. One must stay till the smoke is a little cleared away, before one can take a distinct view of any object. I think you very right in your judgment, that the French were *only not beat.* Our repulse was owing, not to their bravery, but to their

* The account of this battle is taken, principally, from the official relation in the Gazette, the periodical Journals and Papers, two letters dated May 4th and l6th, 1745, from Mr. P. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, containing many circumstances which he received from his brother colonel Yorke. Walpole Papers, MS.—Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 128 et seq— Memoirs of Richelieu, who was himself in the action.—Memoirs of marshal de Noailles, who was also present.—A candid and perspicuous account of the battle, in the Siècle de Louis XV. of Voltaire, who received a detail of many of the circumstances from the generals in command, on that occasion. See also, Histoire des Provinces Unies.

advantageous situation, and the number of their batteries, from which they had an hundred pieces of cannon or upwards, playing upon us without intermission. Nay, even under these difficult circumstances, the opinion of the most intelligent is, that had Ingoldsby done his duty,* and the Dutch infantry behaved as gallantly as ours, there was the greatest probability of our carrying the day. I wonder the former was not superseded on the spot; and that Zastrow, who was sent to him with orders, did not take the command of his brigade, and march directly to the fort, which the enemy were beginning to desert. We might then have turned their infernal engines of death, upon the artificers themselves.

"The duke's behaviour was, by all accounts, the most heroic and gallant imaginable. He was, the whole day, in the thickest of the fire. When he saw the ranks breaking, he rode up and encouraged the soldiers in the most moving and expressive terms; called them countrymen; that it was his highest glory to be at their head; that he scorned to expose them to more danger than he would be in himself; put them in mind of Blenheim and Ramillies: in short, I am convinced, his presence and intrepidity greatly contributed to our coming off so well. Nor must I omit doing justice to Ligonier, who, the duke writes, fought like a grenadier, and commanded like a general. His royal highness seems determined to keep up strict discipline, and drew out a pistol upon an officer, whom he saw running away. Königsegg was run over and bruised by the Dutch cavalry, in their flight; insomuch that when the army marched to Lessines, he was left at Aeth. I have not heard, as yet, that the French plume themselves much upon their victory. Their accounts run in a modester strain than usual. It was certainly a dear-bought advantage. You see by the Gazette, they have a

* The consequences of his conduct were certainly most fatal; but in justice to his memory, to which a certain stigma is attached by this event, we think it right to call the attention of the reader, to an extract of a letter from Mr. Pelham to his brother, dated May 31st. "There are letters in town, which entirely acquit Ingoldsby; and it is said that the duke has declared publicly that he is well satisfied with his conduct. Zastrow certainly mistook Skelton's brigade for Ingoldsby's."—Newcastle Papers. See, also, in Gent. Mag. for 1745, a justification of general Ingoldsby, published by himself.

great number of general officers killed and wounded; their loss of private men is said to be, from five to ten thousand. Ligonier writes, that they confessed it to be the latter; but whether he means the reports of deserters, or intelligence from the French camp, I cannot tell. We may thank count Saxe for our ill fortune. It was he advised them to erect so many batteries, and to throw up entrenchments along part of their line, against the opinion of the rest of the council of war, who were for giving us battle, *en rase campagne.*

"The orders which the States have dispatched for their corps de reserve to join the army, and for trying the delinquents, alleviated the clamour, which would otherwise be raised against them, on account of the bad behaviour of several regiments, both horse and foot, in their service. One Appius, colonel commandant of the regiment of Hesse Homberg, rode off, upon the spur, to Aeth, with the greatest part of his men, in the very beginning of the action; and with an impudent folly, equal to his cowardice, wrote from thence to his masters, that the allied army had engaged the French, and been totally cut to pieces, except that part which he had prudently brought off safe. I hope, after the loss of so much gallant blood, exemplary justice will be done upon the guilty."

After the battle of Fontenoy, the French remained on the field; and the allied forces, continuing their retreat unmolested, during the night, encamped the next day at Aeth, and subsequently took up a position at Lessines. On the 22nd of May, the duke of Cumberland thus describes his situation, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle.[*]

"Your letter, dated April 12th, O. S., came to my hands but two days ago; for lord Dunmore has been detained until now, else I should have taken some other notice of it. As to what you let me know, about my own settlement,[†] I can only say, that I never suspect my friends,

[*] Newcastle Papers.

[†] Alluding to the proposed marriage between himself and a princess of Denmark, to which he was averse, unless he could obtain a liberal settlement from parliament.

but much less when they have tried to meet my wishes. Whilst I am not married, I am quite satisfied; and without a parliamentary settlement, it cannot be expected. As to the king and family's old friends (the Whigs I mean), I am rejoiced that they are still in temper: Without them we should never have seen England, and without them I fear we should hardly stay. This, I know, is your opinion, as much as it is mine; so I need lay no more stress on that subject, but return to my present situation here.

"We are at present encamped at Lessines, equally at hand for Hainault and Flanders; and, while Tournay holds out, we may prevent any little attempts upon either of these two provinces. But, afterwards, should we take a strong position to secure Mons *(a favourite point with the Dutch),* all Flanders is open to the enemy; and that neither the marshal nor I think proper; for, to do that worthy man justice, he is extremely inclined to all *English* movements, and that is one; so that all we can do, is to throw a strong garrison into Mons, and let it take care of itself. The greatest difficulty that remains, is to persuade the prince of Waldeck, to part with some of his Dutch battalions for that garrison, but that is not easy; for, though he owns them to be as great scoundrels, as we know they are, yet he has the assurance to expect, that our whole army should abandon Flanders to cover Mons, or that I should give an equal proportion from the right wing, for that purpose. Was not the marshal as good as he is, the prince of Waldeck would soon run his head against a wall; for he is a little obstinate, and not very deep.

"I conclude this letter of ill tidings, with assuring you, that I shall not spare my trouble, and that the good marshal will do his utmost to save what we can of the last war's conquests. How much that will be, God alone knows! For my part, though I affect to be in spirits, and talk of demolishing the French, I shall be contented if we save Brussels and Flanders. I beg you will present my compliments to the duke of Grafton; and don't let him think me rash because unfortunate."

The French immediately pushed the siege of Tournay, with redoubled vigour; and in consequence of the timidity of the garrison, and the treachery of the principal engineer, and other officers, who

deserted to the enemy, the governor, baron Dort, withdrew, on the 24th of May, into the citadel, with seven thousand men, leaving the town in the possession of the enemy. By a capitulation with marshal Saxe, farther hostilities were then suspended, until the 1st of June.

At Lessines, the duke of Cumberland anxiously expected reinforcements from England, to replace the losses sustained in the engagement; for experience had indelibly impressed on his mind, the superior valour and energy of the British soldiery. He observes to the duke of Newcastle, May 26th, "As to the succours from England, that is what I build chiefly upon; for I am more and more proud of being at the head of a national army; and think four or five thousand men from England, worth all the other schemes of reinforcements. Dear Duke, continue that unwearied zeal for the common cause; and on this side the water, nothing shall be omitted.'

The shameful conduct of the Dutch troops in the battle, and still more the dishonourable surrender of a fortress, so capable of defence as Tournay, excited the utmost dissatisfaction, both in England and in the army. Indeed, the British commander, in his correspondence, does not scruple to charge the Dutch officers with treachery, as well as with cowardice. This feeling was far from being soothed, by the subsequent conduct of the garrison; for the citadel, which was considered as one of the most perfect works of its kind, was also yielded, after a siege of no more than a week, and its defenders submitted, without reluctance, to an engagement, not to serve against France, until the expiration of two years.

A letter written by the duke of Cumberland, at this juncture, will at once exhibit the sentiments entertained of the Dutch, and the weakness and perplexity of the allied army.

"MY LORD, "*Lessines, June* 13-24*th*, 1745.

"I am extremely sorry that I cannot let a messenger go from hence, without sending news by him, that must affect any honest and well-wishing man. Every day gives us more and more reason, to be either extremely jealous of the Dutch politics, or of the inexpressible cowardice of their generals and troops. The capitulation of the citadel, that you will receive, will be a pretty sufficient proof of both. Not only

Hirtell, the best officer of artillery they had, but two sluice masters, and three of the chief miners, and the private secretary of the Republic, for managing their secret intelligence, but, I fear, the major of the town also, have deserted to the enemy. This last is not certain. These are pretty strong proofs of treachery; and as for failure of courage, both the terms of the capitulation, and the behaviour of the national troops, will be evidence sufficient.

"As to the present situation of the two armies, it is thus. The French, consisting at present of one hundred and thirty-three battalions, and two hundred and four squadrons, are masters to send a great detachment into Flanders, to ravage all that country, and even to take Ostend; whilst we must either march that way our whole little army, and abandon Brussels, or, if we should detach, be overpowered both there and here. Our army consists of twenty-two English, six Hanoverian, and twenty-seven Dutch battalions; and of twenty-nine English, sixteen Hanoverian, and forty-two Dutch squadrons; the whole making fifty-five battalions and eighty-eight squadrons, of which one half exceeding bad. As to garrisons, I cannot yet tell exactly what the Dutch have; for the prince of Waldeck has not been prevailed on yet, to let either the marshal or me see a return of his strength. What relates to garrisons, I hope that you will reckon for; as it is, they complain much that all their troops are put into towns; and it would add weight to their argument, if we did not allow them as much as the troops in the field.

"As things now are, I cannot divide the only force that remains good, which is the right wing; because I fear I shall be but too soon reduced to the melancholy necessity of retiring behind the canals of Bruges, my only hopes being to save all from Ostend to Antwerp. This can be done with ease; but then Brussels and all Flanders will be given up to the enemy. As yet, it is not come to that, but I fear it will. Yesterday I prevailed on the marshal to prepare letters, both for lord Harrington and the Pensionary, shewing the state of our affairs here. He is rather more sanguine than I am, though he desponds more, since this infamous capitulation, than he has done this whole campaign.

"Since I had written this, the prince of Waldeck and I, met at the marshal's, and have formed the first resolution, that has been taken, since the battle; which is, that I should put the four complete Austrian

battalions, that are on their march from Luxembourg, into Namur, where the Dutch are to have six, so that makes ten; in Charleroy, there is one of the queen's and two Dutch; Mons with nine Dutch; so that, thank God, all the places are tolerably well garrisoned; and both the marshal and the prince of Waldeck have promised me, that Flanders shall be the first considered in every motion. This is the greatest point I have yet got through, since I have been here. Yesterday, I received a letter from the Premier, which I beg you would thank him for, in my name, and tell him that I will answer it as soon as possible. I am very much obliged to him and all others, that resented the ill treatment I met with from a certain person; but I hope that it is over, for the marshal has rebuked him strongly, and that person even lowered himself so much as to tell Ligonier, that he feared that he had done something to displease me; but at present we are in all appearance intimate, and I hope it may continue so."

Unfortunately, England was so drained of troops, that only three thousand men could be spared at this time of danger. From Holland, little aid could be expected, notwithstanding lord Chesterfield had concluded a treaty with the Dutch, who agreed to bring fifty-two thousand men into the field. From Austria, the prospect of assistance was still more discouraging; for we find the duke of Newcastle, in a letter dated July 12, 1745, lamenting to the duke of Cumberland, how much he had been deceived and misled, by the court of Vienna, with exaggerated representations of their strength on every point. "My lord Harrington," he adds, "from authentic hands, says, that the combined army of the Austrians and Saxons, does not exceed forty thousand regular troops in Bohemia;. and that on the Maine, including the irregulars, does not exceed forty-six thousand, which he says is inferior to the prince of Conti. The republic of Genoa have made their peace with France and Spain, and are to furnish them ten thousand men, with artillery. What a melancholy prospect have we from all quarters!" And in another letter, he observes in still stronger terms, "I am afraid, *tant Autrichien comme je suis,* that experience will shew your Royal Highness, that the promises and professions of the court of Vienna are not to be depended on, even when their own interest is in question."

An army, therefore, which, with all the reinforcements that could be collected, did not exceed fifty-five battalions, and eighty-eight

squadrons, the duke of Cumberland could offer no effectual resistance to a body of one hundred and thirty-three battalions and two hundred and four squadrons. It was, indeed, impossible to protect one part of the frontier, without abandoning the other; and thus the French were left at liberty to pursue their career of conquest, in that direction which best suited their ulterior purposes. Advancing to Lessines, they forced the allies to retire towards Brussels, and then made demonstrations for besieging Aeth. But this feint was only intended to cover a project for the seizure of Ghent, against which place Löwendahl was secretly detached, with four regiments of dragoons, and forty companies of grenadiers. In his route, he encountered and dispersed, at Melle, an allied detachment, sent under the command of the Hanoverian general Molk, to strengthen the garrison. But, notwithstanding this alarm, and the delay of his arrival until dawn, he found little difficulty in surprising the indolent guardians of this valuable post, which contained several magazines, and a considerable portion of the heavy baggage belonging to the allied army. Equal success attended a similar attempt on Bruges. In the midst of these operations, marshal Saxe received a reinforcement of twenty thousand men from the Rhine, and thus the relative strength of the two armies became still more disproportionate.

On the 6th of July, the French laid siege to Oudenarde, and in six days reduced the garrison to surrender, as prisoners of war. Pushing, then, their detachments, on one hand to the Dender, they captured Alost and Grammont; and on the other, towards the coast, they made themselves masters of the small, but important post of Plassendael, within two leagues of Ostend. They thus commanded the course of the Scheld, and the great chain of communication formed by the canal of Bruges; while they insulated Ostend, and debarred it from receiving any succour except by sea. The allies, reluctant spectators of these successes, had no other resource than to abandon Flanders, and take up the position of Vilvorden, between Brussels and Antwerp, with a view to avert, or delay the threatened invasion of the Dutch territory itself.

No effort had been omitted by the ministry in England for reinforcing the allied army; but the Dutch government seemed deaf to all remonstrances; and the queen of Hungary even diminished her small force in the Netherlands, for the purpose of strengthening her army on the Rhine, in order to secure the imperial diadem for her

husband. She also continued to retain her principal army in the hereditary dominions, to resist the hostile aggressions of the king of Prussia. Hence the correspondence between the British commander and the duke of Newcastle teems with complaints of the apathy and inefficiency of the allies.

On the 26th of July, his royal highness observes, in a letter from Deighem,

"I had the pleasure, yesterday, of receiving yours of the 6th O.S. and am very glad to see that a fleet is ordered for the preservation of Ostend, and that you have two battalions in readiness to throw into it, when the enemy shall attach themselves to that place. As to poor lord Stair, I am sorry to find that he goes on in the fatal error, of imagining that the French may be beaten by an army two-thirds less. Indeed, it is not so; and even it is very hard for us to prevent ourselves from being beaten, which nothing but situation and strength of ground can hinder.

"But I have the additional misfortune to see, that the only succours I could reasonably depend on, are taken from me, to be added to a strength that has already driven the enemy out of Germany. Pray consider, whether you or the whole regency will be able to answer to the nation, the entire loss of these provinces; for I desire that you would not flatter yourselves with the hope of a detachment to the Rhine, while the French king remains here; and if they should send a force of twenty thousand men to Germany, and we not be reinforced, it will only prevent their taking possession of the rest of this country for a short time; for they may be masters of it all before the end of the campaign.''

After the surrender of Oudenarde, the French removed their camp to Alost, where the king and the dauphin arrived on the 24th of July. An attempt was in vain made by the allies, to reinforce the garrison of Dendermonde, which was evidently the next object of attack; and on the 27th, that fortress was invested. Its defence was still more feeble than that of the neighbouring places; for the garrison surrendered, even before the trenches were regularly opened, and was allowed to depart with the ill-merited honours of war.

In the mean time, the enterprising Löwendahl was detached, with twenty-five thousand men, to invest Ostend; and, notwithstanding the arrival of two battalions from England in the harbour, the place did not sustain more than fourteen days' siege; for the Dutch governor could not be induced to avail himself of the only means of defence which he possessed, by inundating the vicinity of the fortress. Within three days, the dependent post of Nieuport shared the same fate.

Alarms from another quarter contributed still more to paralyse the efforts of the allies in the Netherlands. The sudden and unexpected landing of the Pretender's son in Scotland,* and his extraordinary success, joined to the absence of the king, and the weakness of the royal forces, struck the cabinet with a panic; and the lords justices instantly recalled four regiments, from the already diminished army on the continent. After the arrival of the king in England, a farther reinforcement of ten battalions was ordered home; and this order was accompanied by a private letter, from the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland, justifying so large a draught.

"SIR, "*Newcastle House, September* 4*th*, 1745, O.S.

"I could not let this messenger go, without returning your Royal Highness my most dutiful thanks, for the honour of your two letters, in your own hand. My lord Harrington will fully explain to you, the occasion and necessity of sending your Royal Highness the orders you will now receive. Though I have constantly seen the reality, and danger, of this attempt to invade his Majesty's dominions, I own I did not imagine, that in so short a time, the Pretender's son, with an army of three thousand men, would have got between the king's troops and England, and be within a few days march of Edinburgh; where, some think, we shall soon hear that he is, and that he may attempt to call a parliament there. Others rather suppose that he will proceed with his army towards England, where there are no regular troops to oppose him, till he comes towards London. This must justify to our allies, and all the world, the necessity of sending for troops from your Royal Highness's army. I heartily wish, the present circumstances would permit them to be conducted hither by your Royal Highness."

* A full account of this rebellion is given in the next chapter.

The duke of Cumberland executed these instructions with extreme regret, being convinced that the diminution of a force, already much inferior to that of the enemy, would render all farther resistance hopeless. We find several letters, written by his Royal Highness to the duke of Newcastle, representing the fatal effects to be apprehended from the measure, when the allied army was already in so weak a condition.

"MY LORD, "*Vilvoorden, September 6th,* 1745.

"I received yours late last night, and you will see, by my public dispatch, what I have done. I make no doubt that you, who are on the spot, have your reasons, and very good ones too, for recalling troops from hence. I assure you, that if England wants them, I am entirely of opinion, that this country, and even the whole alliance, ought not to be considered, comparatively with our own country. But the detaching from hence, at so critical a juncture, may be so fatal, that I have sent to the king for immediate orders. As for an embarkation from Ostend or Dunkirk, as yet, there are no signs; and I don't think that France, as all their Irish regiments are at present here,* for, if they should intend any such thing, they would send them on that service, preferably to any other.

"As to the preservation of Antwerp, it is as safe as any thing can be, else we should not have remained here. As that has been all along the main view, that, I promise, is as well secured, as from London to Claremont. I don't doubt, but this alarm will have one good effect, since it must convince the king of the zeal of his servants, and, in that respect, will be of infinite good. Do not imagine, that I take it into my head to be dissatisfied with any orders the lords of the Regency may give; for I know their zeal for the king, and his whole family; but, on the other hand, I hope that my friends will forgive me, if I don't see the danger at home so imminent.

"I am at present so hurried, that I can add no more, but that I remain your affectionate friend."

* Probably the words "will attempt one," were omitted in the original.

"MY LORD, "*Vilvoorden, September* 20*th*, 1745.

"I thank you for your kind letter, which I received yesterday. I am heartily sorry for the occasion of this great detachment from our army; but will do my utmost not to be devoured by the enemy, who will now become as much superior as ever. I am rather rejoiced than frightened, at the Pretender's son being got between Sir John Cope and Edinburgh, since I see no retreat left them; and I hope that Great Britain is not to be conquered by three thousand rabble, gathered together in the mountains. But should they dare to advance, I will answer, man for man, for the ten battalions Sir John Ligonier will bring you. As he is coming over, I think it my duty to assure you, that he is not the man you take him for. If his advice is asked, he will give it, according to his opinion; and, generally, I have found it a good one. In short, the services I have had from him, this campaign, are too great for me to neglect recommending him to you, as one who may be very useful at this conjuncture.

"I am a little sorry, that when the king views the thing, of so serious a nature, as to send home for such a force,[*] I should be left here; but I trust to my friends at home, that, should this affair continue, they will use their endeavours to get me employed, where my inclination and duty call."

To augment the perplexities of the allies, the French approached the banks of the Rupel and the Eyke; but, fortunately, as the season was far advanced, they contented themselves with investing Aeth, which they took on the 9th of October, and thus completed the subjection of all Flanders. In November, both armies retired into winter quarters; and the duke of Cumberland, to his great satisfaction, was recalled to England, to assume the command of that force, which was speedily to decide the fate of the British Crown.

In Italy the campaign was equally calamitous. The Genoese, irritated by the promised cession of Finale to the king of Sardinia, openly embraced the Bourbon cause; and, by contributing ten thousand auxiliaries, with their local advantages, essentially facilitated the

[*] So in the original.

invasion of Lombardy. A powerful French and Spanish army, under Don Philip, again traversed the Alps, and, uniting with the Genoese, presented a force, which the Austrians and Sardinians were unable to withstand. On one side, they over-ran the territory of Tortona and the Milanese; and, on the other, forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled the king of Sardinia once more to retire under the walls of his capital. Don Philip, entering Milan, received the homage of the inhabitants; and Alessandria, the last barrier on that side, was closely blockaded; so that all hope of recovering the superiority in Italy, appeared to be annihilated.

During these disasters, in the Netherlands and in Italy, the allies obtained some successes over the French, on the Lower Rhine, which had no other effect, than that of securing the election of the grand duke Francis. To accomplish that object, however, it was necessary to drive the enemy from the vicinity of Frankfort; and this operation was favoured by the reduction of their army on the Lower Rhine and Maine, in consequence of the detachment of twenty thousand men to the Netherlands.

An army of twenty-four thousand Austrians and sixteen thousand Hanoverians, under the command of marshal Bathiani, compelled the prince of Conti, who had succeeded Maillebois, to recross the Rhine. Thus Germany was again delivered from the presence of a hostile force. On the 13th of September, Francis was elected emperor at Frankfort, with the usual forms, and, on the 4th of October, he was crowned. Maria Theresa, who witnessed this ceremony from a balcony in the town hall, was the first to exclaim, “Long live the Emperor Francis the First!” and these words were re-echoed with enthusiasm by the applauding spectators.[*] This event, though gratifying to the empress, and advantageous to the Germanic body, was not of sufficient consequence, to counterbalance the sacrifices, by which it had been purchased.

In fact, the only source, from which the allies could derive consolation, amidst their adversity, was the accommodation at length

[*] Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 140. House of Austria, chap. cvi. Annales de Marie Therèse.

effected between Austria and Prussia. Notwithstanding his discomfiture in the preceding campaign, Frederic redoubled his exertions against the superior force of the Austrians, who, under prince Charles, had penetrated into Silesia, by the defiles of Landshut, marched towards Schweidnitz, and threatened to reconquer the duchy. The approach of the king, to the invading army, near Schweidnitz, with a well disciplined, but inferior force, occasioned a battle at Hohenfriedberg, on the 3rd of June, in which the Austrians were surprised and defeated, with considerable loss, and compelled to retreat into Bohemia[*].

This defeat, with that of the allies at Fontenoy, and the uncertain issue of affairs on the Rhine and in Italy, stimulated the Pelhams to make new efforts for detaching the king of Prussia, from his alliance with France. On this subject, the duke of Newcastle transmitted to the king at Hanover, a clear and forcible representation of the sentiments of the cabinet. After stating the subsidies paid by Great Britain, to the allied powers, as exceeding £1,178,000, he proved, not only that this enormous supply was inadequate to support a force, able to contend with the enemy; but also, that such a force was unattainable, by any sacrifice, however great. He then shewed, that the contingents, promised by the Austrians, had proved deficient in every quarter; and strongly exposed the fallacy of their assertions, that the aid of the Saxons, in this campaign, would enable them to contend, with effect, against the king of Prussia. He declared, that they could not repair their recent losses, without draughts from other quarters, where a force was equally needed; and, consequently, that circumstances imperatively demanded the adoption of means for detaching the king of Prussia from the French interests, by inducing the queen of Hungary to conclude a peace with him, and acquiesce in the Treaty of Breslau.[†]

---

[*] See account of this battle in the History of the House of Austria, in which the loss of the Prussians is stated as not exceeding two thousand men, while that of the Austrians included four thousand killed, seven thousand made prisoners, and sixty-six pieces of artillery taken.—*House of Austria,* chap, xxvii.

[†] The duke of Newcastle to lord Harrington, June 14, 1745. MS. Grantham Papers.

This spirited representation subdued the prejudices of the king against his nephew; and all minor difficulties were fortunately overcome, by an overture from Frederic himself, who witnessed, with alarm, the rapid successes of France in the Netherlands. A private negotiation, therefore, was carried on with the king of Prussia; while the most pressing solicitations to conclude a peace, were made, though at first ineffectually, to the court of Vienna. So zealously, however, did his Britannic Majesty pursue this object, that, on the 26th of August, a preliminary convention was privately concluded, at Hanover, with the king of Prussia, for re-establishing a peace with Austria, on the basis of the Treaty of Breslau. It included a reciprocal guaranty of their respective territories by the two monarchs; and, in particular, his Britannic Majesty engaged, that the king of Prussia should retain possession of Silesia, in the like manner as it was ceded to him by the Treaty of Breslau. At the same time, he promised to use his utmost endeavours, to obtain a general guaranty of it by the empire, and the other powers of Europe, whenever a peace should be concluded. New and pressing representations were made to the court of Vienna; and a declaration was conveyed, from the British cabinet to the queen of Hungary, threatening, that if she persisted in withholding her acquiescence, she must relinquish all hope of future subsidies from England.[*] Maria Theresa, however, still scornfully repelled every application, and imprudently resolved to incur all the hazards of war, rather than confirm the cession of Silesia. Her sanguine hopes were once more cruelly disappointed; for, on the 30th of September, her army was defeated at Sohr. Unsubdued by misfortune, she then attempted to carry the war to the gates of the Prussian capital; but, on the 15th of December, her Saxon allies were totally routed at Kesseldorf; her own army was driven back into Bohemia; and Dresden itself fell into the power of the enemy. These reverses at length humbled her haughty spirit; and, by the Treaty of Dresden, signed on

[*] Letter from the duke of Newcastle to Mr. H. Walpole, dated Aug. 22, 1745 Walpole Papers, MS.

the 25th of December, she reluctantly accepted the conditions offered by the Treaty of Hanover.*

The good effects which this peace might once have produced, were no longer to be expected; for, the advantages gained by the French in Flanders, during the campaign, were permanently secured; and the ill-timed pertinacity of Maria Theresa had given that ascendancy to the enemy, which the allies, with all their subsequent efforts, were unable to recover.

While defeat and calamity attended the principal operations on the continent, an event occurred in a distant region, which threw additional lustre on the British navy, reflected honour on the enterprising spirit of the American colonists, and produced an important advantage, towards the adjustment of negotiations for peace.

Ambitious to cooperate against the common enemy, the people of New England formed the bold design of surprising the French settlements, on the island of Cape Breton, which commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and protected the fisheries at Newfoundland. The enterprise was approved by the British government; and admiral Warren, who commanded a squadron in the West Indies, was ordered to assist in its execution. Early in the spring of 1745, a force, consisting of six thousand volunteers, raised in the colony, a British squadron of ten ships of war, and a number of American privateers, sailed for the point of attack. They reached the bay of Gabarus, before the inhabitants of the island suspected their danger, and, landing without loss, invested Louisbourg, the capital, while the fleet blockaded the harbour. Although the place had been recently fortified, and was garrisoned with twelve hundred men, the persevering exertions of the colonial troops were so successful, that on the 15th of June, Louisbourg and the whole island surrendered to. his Britannic Majesty.

* Correspondence of lord Harrington and Sir Thomas Robinson.—Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.—History of the House of Austria, chap, xxvii Annales de Marie Therèse.

The intelligence of this conquest created a greater sensation in Europe, than could have been anticipated, from the acquisition of a small and remote settlement. It was indeed a severe mortification to the French, to be thus excluded from the profitable fisheries of Newfoundland, while their colonies in North America were laid open to British enterprise, without any certain means of direct and effectual communication with the mother country.[*]

[*] Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. pp. 156-162.

CHAPTER VIII.
1745—.

Landing of the young Pretender in Scotland—His successful progress—Consternation of the friends of Government—Correspondence of the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, with the duke of Argyle, on the state of Scotland—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Advance of the rebels to the Grampian hills—Retreat of the royal troops, under Sir John Cope, to Inverness—Alarms and apprehensions excited throughout the British dominions, by the progress of the rebels—Inefficient measures for the defence of Scotland—Return of the king to England—Continued feuds in the Cabinet, and unabated displeasure of the king against the Pelhams—The young Pretender occupies Edinburgh—Defeats the royalists at Preston-Pans, marches into England, takes Carlisle, and advances to Manchester—Dissensions in the Cabinet suspended, and the views of the Pelhams approved by the king—Vigorous preparations for the suppression of the Rebellion—The Duke of Cumberland takes command of the army—Marshal Wade occupies Northumberland—Edinburgh recovered—The rebels, after advancing to Derby, retreat precipitately to Scotland— The duke of Cumberland pursues them to the frontier, and retakes Carlisle—The rebels besiege Stirling castle, and defeat the royal forces under general Hawley, at Falkirk—Loyal proceedings of both Houses, during the session of Parliament— King's Speech—Address of the Peers—Debate on the Address, in the House of Commons—Forces voted—Grant proposed, for the temporary payment of thirteen regiments, raised by different noblemen—Speech of Mr. Pelham on that subject —Message from the King, on the preparations of France for an invasion—Proposal for taking into pay six thousand Hessians, agreed to.

IN this eventful year, England was menaced with a calamity, greater than any to which she had been exposed, since the Revolution.

While the French threatened a renewal of the invasion, and were prosecuting their successful career in the Netherlands, Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender, was impelled by his hereditary ardour, and the solicitations of his sanguine partisans, to undertake an expedition, of the most romantic character, for the recovery of the throne, which his family had forfeited. He hired a frigate of eighteen guns, belonging to Nantes, in which he embarked, carrying with him nine hundred stand of arms, and a sum of money, not exceeding £4,000. With this slender provision, he sailed, on the 14th of July, from Port Lazare in Britanny, attended only by the marquis of Tullibardine,* Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Thomas Sheridan, Mr. Sullivan, his governor, and a few other Scottish and Irish adventurers. His frigate was escorted by the Elizabeth, a ship of sixty guns, which conveyed about one hundred volunteers, with two thousand musquets and five hundred broadswords, and had been equipped for this purpose, with the connivance of the French court.

Directing their course towards the coast of Scotland, the two ships were met on the 20th of July, by the British man of war, the Lion, of sixty guns, which immediately engaged the Elizabeth; and, after an obstinate conflict of six hours, so crippled her, that she with difficulty effected her return to Brest. Undismayed by this misfortune, the young adventurer pursued his voyage, and on the 23rd, approached South Uist, one of the Western Islands. Meeting with less encouragement than he expected from the inhabitants, he sailed for the main land, and disembarked on the shore of Loch Sunart, near which resided several of his most active partisans, especially the Camerons of Lochiel. His enterprise, however, appeared so desperate, that even his warmest adherents endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding; but they at length became inspired with a portion of his enthusiasm, and in the course of a few days, he numbered nine hundred followers, consisting chiefly of the Camerons, Macdonalds, and Stuarts. With this little band, he approached the mountain-chain of the Grampians, daily receiving new accessions of Highlanders; and on the 19th of August,

* The son of John, the first duke of Athol, who died in 1724. Having been concerned in the rebellion of 1715, he was attainted, and his title and estates forfeited.

finally raised the standard of rebellion, in the valley of Glensinnan, near Fort Augustus. Several skirmishes took place between his troops and the royal forces; the Macdonalds of Keppoch in particular, having captured two companies of the royal Scots, exultingly presented their prisoners to their young leader, as an earnest of future success.

By this sudden and daring enterprise, the British government was confounded. Much anxiety had indeed prevailed, relative to the state of Scotland; and even in the preceding autumn, the Pelhams had warmly inforced the representations of the duke of Argyle,[*] for encouraging and arming those of his countrymen, who were known to be loyal; as we find, from a letter written to him by Mr. Pelham.

"MY LORD, "*Arlington Street, Sept. 22nd,* 1744.

"Upon communicating a letter I had from Sir William Yonge.[†] I had an opportunity of speaking to the king, upon the intended additional companies of the Highland regiment; and I found his Majesty, not only approving of the method in which you proposed they should be raised, but also disposed to grant the commissions in the manner your Grace advises. This led me also to talk upon the other subject, which your Grace has so often mentioned to the king's servants, the want of arms in the hands of the friends of government, and the little care there has been taken to disarm the enemies. I have directions to speak to the duke of Montagu[‡] and my brother about it. What the king seems inclined to, is, that a number of spare arms should be sent down to Scotland, and delivered to such persons as your Grace shall appoint to receive them, they promising, as I believe is always done, by indenture, to deliver them up again, whenever the court shall demand them. I hope this will enable your Grace, to put your country in a better state of security, than you have hitherto thought it.''

[*] Archibald, earl of Hay, succeeded to that title, on the death of his brother John, in November 1743. See an account of both these noblemen in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap, xxvi. and liii.

[†] Secretary at War.

[‡] Master of the Ordnance.

The Pelhams, however, were prevented from carrying this plan into effect, partly by the apathy observable in some adherents of the government, and partly, perhaps, by mistrust of the Highlanders. The mind of the king, also, being engrossed by continental affairs, and the attention of the cabinet being fixed on the menaced invasion from France, Scotland remained in neglect, until vague rumours began to be circulated, concerning the enterprise of the young Pretender. Even at the moment of his landing, ministers evinced the hesitation, naturally arising from want of concert and intelligence, and their embarrassment was increased by the absence of the king. This distraction in the cabinet is evident, from the correspondence of the Pelhams with the duke of Argyle, on whom they mainly relied, for the preservation of the established order of things in Scotland.*

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Argyle,

"My LORD, "*Whitehall, August* 1*st,* 1745.

"I received last week a letter from my lord Harrington, acquainting me that the king had undoubted intelligence, that the resolution was actually taken at the court of France, to attempt immediately an invasion of his Majesty's British dominions. This intelligence came through such a channel, that they have not the least doubt, at Hanover, of the truth of it. It is impossible for me to acquaint your Grace, by a letter, with the particulars of it, but they are such as make the thing but too probable; and, at the same time, our advices for some time past, from the ports, and the coast of France, shew that steps are actually taking to put that design in execution. My lord Harrington wrote immediately, by the king's order, to the duke of Cumberland, to have a body of troops ready to send hither in case of necessity; and we have been using our utmost endeavours to get together a good squadron in the channel, though, I am very sorry to say, we have made but little progress in it as yet, which is to be commanded by admiral Vernon. His Majesty has been so good as to declare, that, if this scheme of an invasion should go on, and if it should be thought absolutely necessary

* The following letters are taken from the Campbell Papers, in the possession of Archibald Campbell, esq., grandson of Archibald duke of Argyle. See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Preface.

for the public service, that he should return immediately to England, he would begin his journey on the first notice. In answer to which, I wrote to my lord Harrington on Friday last, in the name of his Majesty's servants here, humbly to intreat his Majesty, not to defer putting those his gracious intentions in execution.

"All this happened before Sunday last, when we had an account from Mr. Trevor, that Van Hoey* had dispatched an express to the States, acquainting them, that the Pretender's eldest son embarked on the 15th of July, N. S. at Nantes, on board a ship of about sixty guns, attended by a frigate, loaded with arms for a considerable number of men; and that it was universally believed, that they were gone for Scotland. I send your Grace, inclosed, the extract of Van Hoey's letter, with the several other accounts we have received, where you will see the circumstances of this affair, differently related; but they all agree in the main fact, of the Pretender's son being actually sailed for Scotland.

"This account was laid before the lords justices on Tuesday last; and it was thought necessary, that my lord Tweeddale should immediately send directions to Sir John Cope, to assemble the troops in proper places, and to order the dragoon horses to be taken up from grass.

"Sir John Cope is also to concert with the lord justice clerk, and the lord advocate, what may be proper to be done, for securing the public peace and tranquillity, and disappointing these designs. But my brother and I thought it absolutely necessary, that I should send your Grace a particular account of this affair; as we are fully convinced, that your Grace's great influence and power, enable you to be of the greatest use for the support of the government, if it should be attacked in that part of the king's dominions, which seems at present to be particularly threatened. We do not presume to point out to your Grace, any particular measure to be taken at this juncture, as your own judgment will direct you infinitely better than we can do; but if there is any thing, that you may think proper to be done by us here, I shall hope you will be so good as to let me know it.

* The Dutch ambassador at Paris.

"We have this day signed a proclamation, offering a reward of £30,000 for apprehending the Pretender's son, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in any part of his Majesty's dominions. Transports for ten thousand men are preparing to be sent to Camp Veer in Zeeland, from whence they may go up the Scheld to Antwerp, if it shall be thought proper; or, the body of men to be sent to England in case of necessity, may be embarked at Camp Veer.

"On Saturday last, Ostend was invested. I had a letter from general Chanclos, dated on Sunday night; he expected, the trenches would be opened that night. The two battalions sent from hence, viz., one of guards, and Harrison's, arrived at Ostend on Saturday last, as also a great quantity of ordnance stores, of which we are sending a fresh supply. General Chanclos talks of making a good defence; but what is very surprising, is, that the great inundation so long talked of, and so often pressed from hence, is not yet made, and now cannot be made, it being in the enemy's power to prevent it.

"Our last letters from our army in Flanders, were of the 4th inst., N. S. The army was then extended in one line, from Brussels towards Antwerp, with a view to secure both those places. His Royal Highness's quarters were at Villevorden. It was thought, the French were preparing to make a large detachment to the Rhine; where the prince of Conti certainly stands in need of one, having been obliged to repass the Rhine with precipitation, though without much loss.

"We hope the election of the emperor will soon be made; though, it is possible, it may still meet with some difficulties and delays.

"The armies in Bohemia continue in a state of inaction. That of the allies is, I am afraid, very weak, not having, as it is confidently said, above twenty-four thousand foot, of regular troops; and indeed there has been a shameful non-performance of the promises made by the court of Vienna, as to the strength of their armies, in all parts.

"I am to acquaint your Grace, in great confidence, that the king has allowed my lord Harrington, pursuant to our repeated advice, to represent to the court of Vienna, in a very strong and a very proper manner, the indispensable necessity of making up immediately with the king of Prussia, if practicable, upon the foot of the treaty of

Breslau. Lord Harrington has also talked to the Prussian minister at Hanover, upon that subject, who immediately dispatched a courier to his master upon it. If this could be brought about, it would give us some relief. But my hopes are not very sanguine, considering the obstinacy of the court of Vienna, on one side, the successes, and ambition of the king of Prussia, on the other, and the need, all the world must see, we stand in, of lessening the force of our enemy, when it is not practicable for us to increase our own.

"P. S. I proposed to the lords justices, this day, the sending down arms to Scotland, that the well-intentioned Highlanders might be armed, if it was necessary; and, particularly, that a number of arms might be ready to be delivered to your Grace's order. We had, as you may imagine, some disputes upon it; but it was at last determined to send down forthwith five thousand arms to Edinburgh, to be lodged there, at Stirling Castle, and at Inverness, according as Sir John Cope shall direct; and that a private hint should be given to Sir John Cope, that arms should be delivered to your Grace, upon your application for them. There is one letter that says, the Pretender's son is actually landed in the Isle of Mull. I must beg your Grace would have the goodness to send the best intelligence you can procure, of this design of the Pretender's son, and of the motions of the Jacobites in Scotland."

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Argyle.

"MY LORD, "*Whitehall, August* 14*th,* 1745.

"I received yesterday the honour of your Grace's letter of the 7th instant; and am extremely obliged to you, for the early information which you was so good as to send me, of the landing of the Pretender's son in Scotland.

"The circumstances, mentioned in the intelligence sent by your Grace, tally so exactly, almost in every respect, with the accounts we had received of the frigate, which, it was said, the Pretender's son was on board, that there can scarce be any doubt but that it is the same vessel which sailed from Nantes, and which is supposed to have had the Pretender's son on board, when the Elizabeth engaged with the Lion. I immediately acquainted the lords justices with the advice I had

received from your Grace; and I have their directions to return your Grace their Excellencies' thanks, for giving such early notice of an event, which so much concerns the peace and security of his Majesty's government.

"I am also, in their Excellencies' name, to desire your Grace, to take such measures as you shall judge most proper, for the defence of the kingdom against these attempts of his Majesty's enemies; and to acquaint your Grace, that they have ordered arms to be sent to Scotland, and have directed Sir John Cope to give them out to such persons as your Grace shall think proper, as your Grace will have seen by my former letter. My lord Tweeddale communicated to the lords justices, the several letters he had received from the lord justice clerk, the lord advocate, and Sir John Cope; and orders were thereupon sent to Sir John Cope, to get together, as he himself had proposed, as great a number of troops as he could assemble, and to march directly to the place where the enemy shall rendezvous, and endeavour to attack and suppress them at once. The officers of the revenue are also directed, to furnish Sir John Cope with such sums of money, as he shall want for carrying on the service; and whatever service your Grace shall think proper to be undertaken, I am persuaded, upon your Grace's giving notice to Sir John Cope, he will give directions for furnishing the money, that it may be put in execution.

"Your Grace does me great honour and justice, in taking notice of any attention that I gave, to the necessary representations your Grace made, of the state of the friends of the government, in Scotland. It was but my duty so to do; and I heartily wish the advice, your Grace then gave, had been followed. Many inconveniences would, by that means, probably have been avoided. But, however, your Grace's weight and power in Scotland are such, that, notwithstanding some disappointments, I am persuaded you will do great service, and be able to prevent any attempts from the enemies of the government, in your part of the kingdom.

"I desired your Grace, in my last letter, to suggest what you should think might be proper to be done, upon the supposition of the event, which has now happened. I must beg you would let me know, by the return of the messenger, what farther intelligence you may have procured of the motions of the enemy, and what steps you would

advise to have taken, and I will endeavour, as far as depends upon me, that they may be carried immediately into execution. Your Grace will allow me to assure you, in confidence, that I never was in so much apprehension as I am at present. Before ever the motions of the Pretender's son were suspected, his Majesty had undoubted intelligence that the court of France intended to make an attempt upon these kingdoms. That intelligence was soon after confirmed, by the departure from France, and is now put out of all doubt, by the arrival of the Pretender's son, in Scotland.

"The loss of all Flanders, and that of Ostend, which, I am afraid, must soon be expected, will, we apprehend, from the great superiority of the French in Flanders, be soon followed by some embarkation from Ostend or Dunkirk, or both. And there is reason to believe, that the French and Spanish ships, which are now in the western ports of France, and in the Bay of Biscay, amounting to between twenty and thirty, twenty of which are of the line, may be intended to support these embarkations; either by coming up the channel, where at present we have not a squadron sufficient to oppose them, or, as I find is apprehended by some, by coming north about Scotland, to Ostend. Seven French men-of-war sailed from Brest about five weeks ago. It is thought possible, they may be somewhere lying in the westward, to wait there till Ostend shall be in the hands of the French, and then proceed round Scotland thither.

"We are getting our ships ready with the utmost expedition. Admiral Martin, who was cruising in the Bay of Biscay, is sent for home; and I hope we shall soon have a tolerable squadron in the channel; but, if the French should come north about, they might surprise us. We are sending transports for ten thousand men, to Camp Veer and Flushing, in order to bring part of our army from Flanders, if it should be necessary, for the defence of the kingdom.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint your Grace, that I received the king's orders on Friday last, to send away the yachts to Helvoetsluys, in order to his Majesty's returning to England. The yachts will sail to-morrow, and I hope we may expect the king here, the beginning of the week after next.

"I beg pardon for giving your Grace this trouble. I know your Grace's zeal for his Majesty's service is such, that, I am persuaded, it is unnecessary for me to desire you to exert your great power and authority in Scotland, for the defence of the government.

"Whatever commands your Grace may have for me, shall be punctually obeyed; and, whatever you shall think proper to be done, you may depend upon my promoting, with the utmost attention and care."

Mr. Pelham to Archibald, Duke of Argyle.

"My LORD, "*August* 20*th*, 1745.

"I had a letter from general Cope, whom I am sorry to see in such distress and perplexity. Your advice is a great comfort to him; but, as he is not likely to have the benefit of that long, I own I am in pain for him. I have endeavoured to keep up his spirits as well as I can. I am not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as I am fearful of the inability or languidness, of our friends. I see, the contagion spreads in all parts; and, if your Grace was here, you would scarce, in common conversation, meet with one man who thinks there is any danger from, scarce truth in an invasion, at this time. For my part, I have long dreaded it; and am now as much convinced as my late friend lord Orford was, that this country will be fought for some time before this year is over. Be that as it will, we must do our best; but nothing can go on right till the government has a head, which, I hope it will not be long without; for lord Harrington was to set out from Hanover last Friday; and the king intended to follow him in a very few days.

"Ostend, you see in the newspapers, has capitulated. The garrison is saved; but, to our great surprise, the Duke sent lord Crawford and Jack Mordaunt thither, with orders, rather to carry the troops to Flushing, than England. We immediately sent to Flushing, to stop their going from thence to the army in Flanders; and this day have sent positive orders to four regiments to come here to the river; and the fifth, being the Scotch fusileers, commanded by Jack Campbell, is ordered to Scotland, to strengthen Sir John Cope's army, and to recruit itself in that country. I do not doubt but your Grace will approve of this

exertion of power in the lords justices; it is the only instance in which we have exerted it to any real use. Lord Tweeddale tells me, there are no warrants directed from hence, for seizing any one, except lord Perth. A general recommendation, both to the advocate and justice clerk, to issue warrants against any persons that they shall have reason to suspect, is all he knows of. What the truth is of this, I cannot pretend to say.

"Other public affairs remain in *statu quo.* When the king comes, every thing will, and must unveil itself. These are not times for doubts; and, if I see right, our master will be of the same opinion. How he will determine, time will shew."

Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Argyle.

"My LORD, "*Newcastle House, August* 21*st,* 1745.

"I have had the honour of your Grace's several letters of the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 17th inst., and am extremely obliged to you, for the informations you have been pleased to give me, which, I find, contain the chief intelligence that has been received from any quarter, relating to the arrival and proceeding of the Pretender's son and his adherents. Your Grace may be assured, I am truly sensible of the confidence you have been pleased to place in me, and shall never make any use of it, but what shall be agreeable to you. I heartily lament, for the sake of the public, that your Grace's advice has not been followed.

"It is a melancholy consideration, that the government has, at present, no friends and no force to defend it, but a small number of regular troops; when, if your Grace's proposal had been pursued, we might now have had a much more considerable number, in arms, for the government, than, in all probability, can be brought against it. However, I should hope, it might not be yet too late to make some stand of this kind; and that the well affected clans might be provided from the government with arms, which Sir John Cope has had orders to deliver to them. As to the legality of bearing arms in the defence of the government, those who are intrusted with the administration, should surely find out means to give lawful authority for that purpose.

“Your Grace was extremely good, in the advice you gave to captain Noel; and I am glad he is so wise as to follow it. The lords of the Admiralty will send, immediately, a twenty-gun ship, to cruize about the islands, where the Pretender’s son is landed.

“Nothing could be so surprising, as the searching Mr. Maule’s house. My brother has mentioned it to my lord Tweeddale, who assured him he knew nothing of it. As your Grace intended to set out soon for London, it is possible you may have left Edinburgh before this letter arrives. If you should not be set out, I beg you would leave your thoughts with the lord justice clerk, as to the methods to be taken, for disappointing the Pretender’s adherents in their present designs, and animating the friends of the government with a proper zeal for the defence of it. Sir John Cope, I presume, will follow your Grace’s advice. He has very prudently desired it, and he cannot do better, than be guided by it.

“The great lords of the Highlands, who are well affected, as the duke of Athol, lord Glenorchy, &c., will, I doubt not, be directed by your Grace; and, whatever you are so good as to suggest to us, as proper to be done, in this critical conjuncture, shall, as far as depends on us, be immediately executed. As nobody wishes better to the government, than your Grace, nobody can do it half so much service, upon this occasion, as yourself; and, therefore, I was not surprised to hear, that the first attempts of the Jacobites, should be to seize you. When we have the honour of seeing your Grace here, we shall give you a full account of every thing that has passed, since you left us. Things must clear up upon his Majesty’s return; and his ministers must have his confidence and authority, or not the appearance of being his ministers.

“We conclude the king will be here, by Monday or Tuesday next. My lord Harrington proposed to be at the Hague, as to-morrow. Your Grace will have heard of the surrender of Ostend. The garrison, five battalions of which were English, was suffered to come away.

“We expected, they would have been brought immediately to England; but, very unluckily, I am afraid, they were ordered to the army. However, we have sent for them back, and ordered four

battalions to be brought to England; and major general Campbell's regiment to be sent directly to Leith.

"I beg your Grace will be assured, that I am highly sensible of your goodness to me; and shall, upon all occasions, endeavour to shew myself, with the greatest truth and sincerity," &c.

These letters shew, that, although Mr. Pelham, as prime minister, and the duke of Newcastle, as secretary of state, were ostensibly the leaders of administration; yet they were far from possessing the power and influence, which were absolutely necessary, for conducting efficiently the affairs of government. They had, it is true, driven their great opponent, lord Granville, from office; but he still retained the confidence of the king, and had several warm adherents in the cabinet, particularly the marquis of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland. The king himself, who had left England with feelings of the highest displeasure against the Pelhams, still exhibited unequivocal proofs, that his resentment had not subsided. To these causes, we must principally attribute the indecisive course taken by the government, in relation to Scotland; for, the marquis of Tweeddale and his friends ridiculed the danger as chimerical, and opposed all vigorous proceedings as unnecessary; and it was with the greatest difficulty, that the Pelhams could extort from the lords justices, the order mentioned in the preceding correspondence, for the recal of four regiments from Flanders. But even then, no adequate means were employed, for rousing into action the loyalty of the nation; and the friends of government in Scotland, were depressed and discouraged, by the want of all countenance and support from the servants of the Crown. These considerations will fully account for the disastrous events which ensued.

Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief, stationed at Edinburgh, had under his command no more than three full regiments, and fourteen odd companies of infantry, with two regiments of dragoons. Having obtained intelligence that the Pretender's son was expected to land in the northern part of the country, he waited for orders from the lords justices, to whom he had made the proper communication, requesting that arms, of which there was a great deficiency, might be immediately dispatched to Scotland, by way of precaution. The marquis of Tweeddale, in reply, directed him to keep a vigilant eye upon the

north; but informed him, that the lords of the Regency declined, upon such a vague report, taking so critical a step, as that of sending arms. At length, when certain intelligence had been transmitted, that Charles Edward had actually landed, Sir John Cope received positive injunctions from the lords justices, to advance immediately against the rebels, and engage them, whatever might be their strength or position. In obedience to these orders, he marched from Edinburgh on the 20th of August, and took post at Stirling, with an ill-provided force, of no more than one thousand four hundred infantry, and two regiments of dragoons, and with only four small pieces of artillery. On learning the movements of the adventurer, he sent to Edinburgh the cavalry, which he considered as useless in so rugged a country, and proceeded towards the Grampians, in the hope of penetrating into the Highlands, and overwhelming the rebels, before they could collect in sufficient numbers to oppose him. He took with him one thousand stand of arms, which had been sent from England, to distribute among the loyal Highlanders, by whom he expected to be joined. He experienced, however, considerable obstruction, from the broken nature of the country; and, on approaching the mountains, he received the mortifying intelligence, that the rebels had anticipated him, by occupying the strong pass of Corrievroch,[*] which obstructed his

[*] "Corrievroch, of which the rebels had taken possession, is an immense mountain of the most lofty proportions. The real distance from the plain on one side to the plain on the other, of this vast eminence, is perhaps little more than four or five miles; but such is the tortuosity of the road, to suit the nature of the ground, that the distance, by that mode of measurement, is at least eighteen. The road ascends the steep sides by seventeen traverses, somewhat like the ladders of a tall and complex piece of scaffolding, and each of which leads the traveller but a small way forward, compared with the distance he has had to walk. It was the most dangerous peculiarity of the hill, in the present case, that the deep ditch, or water-course, along the side of the road, afforded innumerable positions, in which an enemy could be entrenched to the teeth, so as to annoy the approaching army, without the possibility of being annoyed in return; and that, indeed, a very small body of resolute men could thus entirely cut off, and destroy, an army, of whatever numbers or appointments, acting upon the offensive."

intended march to Fort Augustus. Disappointed in his hope of assistance from the Highlanders, he prudently sent back, to Stirling castle, a considerable proportion of the spare arms; and abstained from attempting to dislodge the enemy with an inferior force, which was daily diminishing by desertion, and already distressed for provisions. He apprehended, also, that if he retreated on Stirling, the Highlanders, by a rapid movement, might intercept him; and he, therefore, drew towards Inverness, that he might proceed by sea to Edinburgh. The Lowlands being thus left defenceless, the rebels advanced to Perth, where the prince proclaimed his father king, by the title of James VIII, and assumed the authority of Regent. His force, at this period, did not exceed fifteen hundred men; but it was speedily augmented by the junction of that able partisan, lord George Murray, brother of the duke of Athol, the titular duke of Perth, viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, and other persons of distinction, who appeared at the head of their tenants and dependents. The marquis of Tullibardine took possession of his family mansion and estate of Blair-Athol, which, in consequence of his attainder, had devolved to his younger brother; and appealed with considerable success to his former adherents. Among the friends of government, the panic was so great, that some of the principal nobility fled to Edinburgh for safety; and the duke of Argyle, in particular, alarmed by some rumours of a design to seize his person, took refuge in England, at the moment when his presence was most needed, to give countenance to the royal cause.

The unexpected progress of the rebels produced great consternation, not only in Scotland, but among the well-affected throughout the kingdom; as it was generally known, that nearly the whole force of the country was engaged in Flanders. Such, however, was still the disunion in the cabinet, that, notwithstanding the urgent representations of Mr. Pelham and the duke of Newcastle, no effectual precaution was taken to repel the danger. The only acts upon which the lords justices seem to have agreed were, to offer a reward of thirty thousand pounds for the apprehension of the young Pretender; to press the return of the king; to dispatch cruisers to the coast of Scotland; and to demand from the States General the six thousand Dutch troops, which they had stipulated by treaty to furnish, should England be invaded. The Pelhams awaited the arrival of the king, with great anxiety, arising from the apprehension, which they justly entertained,

that he would sieze the earliest opportunity to restore lord Granville to power, and withdraw his confidence entirely from the Whigs.

On receiving intelligence of the danger which menaced the state, his Majesty took his departure from Hanover, and landing at Margate, on the 31st of August, proceeded immediately to London. His presence produced a general manifestation of loyalty throughout the country. He was received in the capital with acclamations of joy; an appropriate address was presented by the citizens of London; two regiments were raised at the expense of the merchants; the train-bands of the city, and the militia of several counties, were called out; loyal associations were formed; and voluntary contributions were offered to the government, from all parts of the kingdom. Instructions were also given, that the Dutch troops, after their debarkation, should march towards Lancashire; and orders were issued for collecting an army, under marshal Wade, to defend the north-eastern counties, and oppose the inroad of the rebels into England.

The presence of his Majesty did not, however, suspend the feuds in the cabinet; and the Pelhams had to contend against the displeasure of their royal master, the secret influence of lord Granville, and the open resistance of lord Tweeddale, whose official situation enabled him to thwart all their dispositions for the security of Scotland.

The state of affairs, at this critical juncture, is described in a concise and striking manner, by Mr. Fox, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, dated September 5th, 1745.

“The rebels are got twenty-four miles on this side Cope, and are in full march to Edinburgh, or still farther south. There are four men of war and thirty transports at Dunkirk. No account of the Ferrol, or part of the Brest squadron. This news has at length forced the sending for ten battalions of English, which were sent for by express, last night: a counsel that has prevailed with the greatest difficulty, and is blamed by Granville, as it was opposed by lord Tweeddale. The latter did not, ten days ago, believe the Pretender’s son to be in Scotland; and the duke of Argyle left it, because he was there; as the duke of Athol has left his house, and estate, and clan, to his elder brother, and is set out for Edinburgh, on a message from lord Tullibardine, to get dinner, &c. ready for him, by such a day. England, Wade says, and I believe, is for

the first comer; and if you can tell whether the six thousand Dutch and the ten battalions of English, or five thousand French or Spaniards, will be here first, you know our fate."

Another letter, from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, exhibits, in a still stronger light, the conflict among the members of administration, and the obstructions experienced by the Pelhams, in their efforts to support the throne.

"*September* 19th, 1745.

"The rebels advance towards England, having passed the Frith above Stirling. Three battalions of Dutch, landed yesterday, began their march, immediately, for Lancashire. They are to be joined by the few English troops, quartered near their march, and are commanded by Wentworth. On Monday last, none of lord Tweeddale's friends, or rather none of the Scots, would believe this; but called them the rabble, and it was a farce. As they are by this time, perhaps, as I hope, plundering and burning Tweeddale's estate and houses, I fancy he will think they might have as well been looked after sooner. Though, I hear, lord Stair, even yesterday, opposed sending these Dutch, which Dutch will not act against the French, if the French come. They are not come, God be thanked! And, I think, now it would be too late. But had five thousand landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle. ****

"Every domestic matter is such as could not be explained, in other than an extreme long letter, and must not be wrote in any. Imagine every thing in confusion; obstinate, angry, determined impracticability throughout; and then know, that the parliament is to meet for business, the 17th of next month."

The anger of the king, to which allusion is here obscurely made, is more pointedly described, in a letter from the lord Chancellor to his son, Mr. Yorke. *

"*Powis House,* *September* 19*th*, 1745.

"'Parturiunt montes;' but the mouse is not yet brought forth. It has vexed me heartily to be so cruelly called away from Wrest,[*] to attend the labour, when the birth seems to be so far off. A certain person feels many pangs and throes; but I perceive, plainly, his principal midwife[†] does not undertake to deliver him; and he, notwithstanding his partiality to him, does not rely upon him. I have gone thus far in metaphor; and, indeed, I know not how to describe the scene upon paper, in plain words. Imagine to yourself a situation, where a man wants to bring about what he sees is impracticable; will not enable the old servants of his family to do his business; and yet is convinced, that those whom he is more inclined to, cannot carry it on; wishing on one side, and embarrassing on the other; and then you have the picture of the present family."[‡]

While the powers of the state were thus paralyzed, it is no wonder that the rebellion should hourly gain strength. The young adventurer continued his march unmolested from Perth, by Dumblaine; and, on the 14th of September, crossed the river Forth, four miles below Stirling, in sight of Gardiner's regiment of dragoons. After making a feint, to threaten Glasgow, he pushed directly for Edinburgh, where preparations for resistance were indeed begun; but loyalty and courage were alike wanting. The two cavalry regiments of Gardiner and Hamilton, which had been detached by Sir John Cope, precipitately withdrew. The city volunteers and guards refused to advance; and negotiations were opened by the magistrates, for a surrender. During this period of suspense on the 17th of September, the rebels forced the Netherbow port, and instantly occupied the city, without the slightest obstruction. They then disarmed all the men upon duty, and relieved the guards, as quietly, as in a time of perfect tranquillity. In a few hours the inhabitants found the government of the city completely transferred, from the magistrates in the name of king George, to the Highlanders in the name of king James. Fortunately, the principal valuables had been previously transported to the castle, which was

[*] The seat of the marchioness Grey, who had espoused Mr. Yorke.

[†] Lord Granville.

[‡] Hardwicke Papers; and Memoirs of lord Walpole, chap, xxviii.

garrisoned by five hundred men, under general Guest, and could not be reduced without artillery and other necessaries, which the rebels did not possess. The young Pretender marching round by Duddingston with the main body, established his residence at Holyrood House, caused his father to be proclaimed at the High Cross, and issued an appeal to the people, promising to dissolve the Union, and redress all grievances. He also seized such public monies as had not been removed to the castle; exacted provisions, tents, and clothing; and, by new levies, augmented his ill-disciplined force, to about three thousand men. The only additional persons of note, however, who joined him, were lords Wemyss, Elcho, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock.

In the mean time, Sir John Cope had used great diligence, in the hopes of saving the capital. Having been joined, at Inverness, by a tardy reinforcement of two hundred Highlanders, he hastened to embark, on board transports, waiting at Aberdeen; and, on the 18th of September, landed at Dunbar, twenty-six miles from Edinburgh, where he learned that the rebels had occupied that capital on the preceding day. He, however, instantly marched; and, being joined by the two dragoon regiments, and a few loyalists, found his force augmented to two thousand two hundred men. After several movements and changes of position, he finally occupied a strong defensive post on Gladesmuir, near Preston-Pans, upon a plain, swelling gently up from the coast, where his cavalry and artillery could act with effect against an enemy unprovided with either. Cockenzie and the sea were in his rear; the intricate little village of Preston, with its numerous inclosures and garden walls was on his right; Seaton House,* at a distance on his left; and his front was covered by a morass, intersected by a deep ditch or drain, the passage of which was deemed impracticable.

Charles no sooner heard of the arrival of Cope and his army at Dunbar, than he determined to march against him. Accordingly, he quitted Edinburgh on the 19th of September, at the head of two thousand four hundred men, and took post for the night, in the village of Duddingston. He resolved to attack the royal army the following morning; but, arriving in the vicinity of Preston-Pans, he found their position much stronger than he expected. Considering the passage of

* Belonging to the marquis of Tweeddale.

the marsh as impracticable, he altered the disposition of his troops; and, as the evening was approaching, he suspended the attack, and passed the night under arms. While he was reposing in the midst of a field, he was awakened, and informed that a passage had been discovered, by which the morass might be traversed, unobserved by the enemy. In consequence of this information, the troops were put in motion at three o'clock in the morning. Having crossed the morass, they formed, after their own manner; and then suddenly advancing, with their dirks and broadswords, and raising their wonted war cry, burst upon the royal troops, who were drawn up, and waiting to receive them. Confounded by a mode of attack, so rapid, unusual, and terrific, the royalists were in a few minutes irrecoverably routed.* The cavalry first took flight, and the infantry, being too much discouraged to make a vigorous defence, were either dispersed or cut to pieces. After many desperate but ineffectual attempts to rally his troops, Sir John Cope, with four hundred and fifty dragoons, rapidly retreated to Coldstream, distant forty miles from the field of battle; but not deeming himself safe at this place, he proceeded in the morning to Berwick, and conveyed the first news of his own defeat.

In this combat, so disgraceful to disciplined soldiers, the principal loss fell on the infantry; four hundred being killed, seven hundred made prisoners, including seventy officers, and scarcely two hundred effected their escape. Of the dragoons, besides those who fled with Sir John Cope, two hundred were dispersed, and the remainder fought their way to the castle of Edinburgh. The baggage, tents, cannon, and military chest, fell into the hands of the Highlanders; and no royal force remained in Scotland, except the garrisons of the different fortresses.†

* The accounts of the force under Sir John Cope are so vague and contradictory, that the exact number cannot be ascertained. His journalist states, that he had not more than one thousand five hundred men fit for action, and the rebels rate his troops at four thousand. The truth probably lies between the two extremes. The list given in the Scots Magazine amounts to 2,191 men.

† See the account of this battle of Preston-Pans, in the English Gazettes, and in the journal published by the rebels. This successful

This sudden and alarming increase of danger appeared to disconcert the opponents of the Pelhams; though the aversion of the king continued undiminished. The reinforcements, which had been summoned from the British army on the continent, fortunately arrived, before the defeat was made known, and prevented any sudden explosion in the capital.

The crisis is described, with those exaggerations, which terror would naturally produce, in a letter from the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland.

"*Newcastle House, Sept. 25th,* 1745.

"Your royal highness will hear the melancholy account of the entire defeat of the king's army, under Sir John Cope. Dragoons and foot did as ill as possible; and now there is no army between Scotland and London. The Pretender, having entirely got possession of the whole kingdom of Scotland, except the castle of Edinburgh, where is all the wealth of the country, ten thousand arms, &c., which it is thought cannot hold out long, and Sir John Cope being most thoroughly defeated, by an army of six thousand determined and well-disciplined rebels, with the Pretender's son at their head will, I hope, justify the early fears and humble application of your Royal Highness's faithful servants here, for a considerable reinforcement from your army. Had not that reinforcement providentially arrived, the day before* the news

---

surprise is commemorated in the well-known national ballad, of "Hey Johnny Cope are ye wauking yet, or are ye sleeping I wad wit," the air of which is still preserved among the martial music of the Highlanders. During their gallant services on the continent, in the late war, it was frequently the signal of onset; and in the celebrated attack, made by Sir Rowland, afterwards lord Hill, when at daybreak he surprised the French army at Arroyo Molinos, one of the Scottish regiments rushed to the charge, while their bagpipes played this animating national air.

* In conformity with this opinion, Mr. Pelham declared publicly in the House of Commons, in his speech on the army establishment. January 26th, 1753, that if the reinforcements from the continent had been detained but a few weeks, by contrary winds, London could not have been defended against the rebels.

came, of Sir John Cope's defeat, the confusion to the city of London would not have been to be described, and the king's crown, I will venture to say, in the utmost danger.

"Marshal Wade will now, with the assistance of your Royal Highness's army, march immediately to meet the rebels, with near ten thousand men, two regiments of one thousand men each, being sent for from Ireland to join him. But if the rebels should increase, as may very well happen, or should France, who has set this young gentleman to work, support him, now he has conquered one kingdom, we have no way to save this country but by farther reinforcements from your Royal Highness's army; and therefore, I am persuaded, your Royal Highness will send them in all the cases mentioned in lord Harrington's letter.

"As you are so good as to interest yourself in what concerns your faithful servants here, I can only assure your Royal Highness, that we, to the utmost of our power, do our duty to our king and our country; have endeavoured to prevent the misfortunes that have happened; and do endeavour to extricate his Majesty out of them, as well as we can; and yet we are far from having the satisfaction of being approved or supported. I am," &c.

After the victory of Preston-Pans, Charles Edward returned in triumph to Edinburgh, at the head of his exulting followers, accompanied by one hundred pipers, playing the national air of "The king shall enjoy his own again;" and, amidst the acclamations of the populace, proceeded to Holyrood House, the palace of his ancestors. Among other edicts, he issued a proclamation, offering for the head of the king, whom he styled elector of Hanover, the same sum of £30,000, which had been set as a price upon his own. He was encouraged to blockade the castle; but, at the instance of the inhabitants, who were terrified by a few cannon shot, which general Guest fired by way of menace, he relinquished his purpose, and the garrison continued to exact provisions from the citizens. He however remained at Edinburgh, collecting money and supplies, and thus wasted the month of October, in mere preparatory arrangements, or in idle ostentation.

At length, having received additional arms and stores from France, he roused himself to action. He quitted Edinburgh on the 31st at night:* and on the 3d of November, commenced his march southward, at the head of five thousand five hundred infantry, and two hundred horse, with a few pieces of artillery.

His first intention was, to pass through Northumberland; but ascertaining that a considerable force, under marshal Wade, was advancing in that direction, he took the route through Dumfries to Carlisle. On the 15th he compelled the royal garrison in that city to surrender; obtained a large supply of arms; and proclaimed his father king. Calculating on the support which his ancestor, king Charles, had found in the north-western counties, during the great rebellion, he marched through Westmoreland and Lancashire, and on the 29th was welcomed at Manchester, with illuminations and other tokens of rejoicing. The militia of the county had indeed been called out by the earl of Derby, the lord lieutenant; but being ill disciplined, and worse equipped, they could not venture to make a stand against the rebels.

The rapid progress of the adventurer, had now awakened the servants and friends of the Crown, to a full sense of their danger, and had effectually silenced that factious opposition in the cabinet, by which the views of the Pelhams had been so long obstructed. Even the displeasure of the king was vanquished by his apprehensions; and he could no longer withhold his confidence from those who had shewn such ardent zeal for the maintenance of his throne. Vigour and decision were soon manifest, in every department of government. As the six thousand Dutch troops were recalled, by the Republic, in consequence of the threats of France, arrangements were made for procuring, from the continent, a similar number of Hessians in British pay. Farther detachments of native soldiery were also recalled from Flanders; preparations were made for forming a camp on Finchley Common, under the command of the king in person; the militia was regularly officered and disciplined; and the loyal associations were sufficiently organised to cooperate in the general defence. Bodies of troops were dispatched towards Lancashire, to check the movements

* On the following day, when the rest of the Highlanders departed, the city companies resumed the main guard.—*Scots Mag.* 1745.

of the rebels, in that quarter; while marshal Wade continued to obstruct their communications with the north eastern counties. The duke of Cumberland, having quitted the continent in the middle of October, assumed the supreme command, on his arrival in England, and adopted direct and decisive measures for arresting the progress of the domestic enemy. The troops under general Wade, were strengthened by considerable reinforcements, and effectively harassed the flank and rear of the rebel army. In Scotland, the friends of government were roused and encouraged; and advantage was promptly taken, of the departure of the young adventurer towards the South. The servants of the Crown, resuming their functions at Edinburgh, were protected by two regiments of infantry, and by Gardiner's dragoons, detached from the army of general Wade; and, in the interior of the country, bodies of troops were collected on different points to awe the disaffected, particularly at Inverness where lord Loudon organised the armed clans, and checked the attempts of the Jacobite chiefs in the Highlands.

The main army, under the duke of Cumberland, assembled in Staffordshire. It consisted of eleven battalions of foot, six regiments of horse, and several bodies of volunteers and militia. Its advance did not intimidate the young Pretender; although his hopes had proved so ill founded, that since his departure from Carlisle, only two hundred followers had joined him, under colonel Townley. Relying on a concerted invasion from France, he continued his daring progress, and advanced through Stockport to Macclesfield, on the 1st of December. The royal duke, attentive to his movements, sent a detachment from Stafford to Newcastle-under-line, and it was supposed, that the rebels would at length accept an offer of battle. But they suddenly filed off by Leek and Ashbourn; and on the 4th, took up their quarters at Derby. Here the absent Pretender was again proclaimed king of England, under the title of James III, with the usual formalities. The young prince, impelled by the representations of the more ardent among his followers, formed the resolution of marching directly to the capital; but he was dissuaded from this dangerous enterprise, by his more prudent counsellors, who were discouraged by the loyal spirit that now pervaded the country, and by the superior force approaching them on all sides. In the midst of the debates, which these conflicting opinions occasioned, the intelligence that a French corps had landed in Scotland, furnished a pretext for retreat, with a view to join that

reinforcement; and, after staying two days at Derby, the rebels returned northward, with the utmost celerity.

The duke of Cumberland had reached Macclesfield by forced marches, intending to intercept them, by effecting a junction with marshal Wade, who had advanced to Doncaster. They, however, so rapidly retraced their steps through Manchester and Preston, that even their rear guard was not overtaken, until the 18th of December, at Clifton, near Penrith, where a skirmish ensued. A momentary resolution seems to have prompted the young prince, to return and attack the royal forces, while fatigued and scattered by their rapid pursuit; but he again listened to prudent counsels, and leaving as a garrison in Carlisle, the small number of his English adherents, and a few Highlanders, he crossed the Solway, and continued his retreat to the Clyde, levying heavy contributions on his route, especially at Dumfries and Glasgow.

On the 1st of January, the rebel forces entered Stirling, and made immediate preparations to reduce the castle, the possession of which would secure their communications with the north, and enable them to maintain themselves in the centre of the Lowlands. Having, therefore, brought up a few pieces of artillery, they attacked that fortress on the 12th, while they sent detachments as far as Linlithgow, to watch the movements of their adversaries on the side of Edinburgh. The royal army, in consequence of their rapid march, having failed to cut off their retreat into Scotland, invested Carlisle on the 21st of December, and on the 30th, compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. On this occasion, the duke of Cumberland acted not only with spirit, in refusing to grant any terms to the besieged, but also with great humanity, in permitting them to retain their clothes and effects.[*]

As but little hope was entertained, of crushing the rebellion during the winter, in a country so favourable to the habits of Highlanders, the duke of Cumberland returned to London, having left the principal command to marshal Wade, then at Newcastle, and confided the prosecution of hostilities in Scotland, to general Hawley, who was posted at Edinburgh.

[*] Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 212.

In conformity with the views of his royal highness, general Hawley, at the head of eight thousand infantry, and three regiments of cavalry, advanced to relieve Stirling castle. After driving back the detached parties of the rebels, he on the 17th of January, approached Falkirk, where their main body was stationed, in number equal to the royal forces, and under the command of prince Charles himself. Both armies being drawn up on the moor of Falkirk, Hawley hoped to anticipate the impetuous onset of the Highlanders, by directing his cavalry to charge. Instead, however, of obeying this order, they slowly and timidly advanced; and, on receiving a volley from the fire arms of their opponents, suddenly wheeled round, and rode through the infantry of the left wing, exclaiming in their flight, "we shall all be massacred to day!" A considerable body of the Highlanders profited by this confusion. Favoured by a violent storm of wind and rain, they rushed on the royal infantry, which was thrown into the utmost disorder, and a total rout must have ensued, had not Cobham's dragoons, and a few battalions of foot, gallantly covered the retreat. Seven pieces of artillery were lost; and general Hawley found it necessary to destroy the greater part of his tents, and fall back to the vicinity of Edinburgh. The rebels then resumed their operations against Stirling castle, hoping that their recent victory would discourage the garrison. But, being ill provided with artillery, and unskilled in the prosecution of sieges, they were repulsed with considerable loss; and this important post, the key of Scotland, was preserved, to the infinite advantage of the royal cause.[*]

During the progress of these events, the ministers had been justly alarmed, by the repeated attempts of the French government to land troops and arms on the Scottish coast, and by preparations for a descent in the vicinity of Dover. To meet these dangers, a squadron, under admiral Vernon, took its station in the channel; while another, under admiral Byng, sailed for the eastern coast of Scotland. By the

[*] We have drawn the account of these operations from the Gazettes, the Journals of the Rebels, the intelligence respecting their movements, in the periodical publications, and correspondence on the subject, in the Newcastle and Pelham Papers. We have also continued the narrative beyond the end of the year, in order to preserve the connection of the military events.

skill and vigilance of those commanders, the main design of the French was frustrated; and many of their transports, bound to the northward, were intercepted, while others were driven back into their ports. Only one of these ships, having on board a few companies of soldiers, arrived in Scotland; but they landed too late to be of essential service.*

Amidst the alarm created by the rebellion, parliament met on the 18th of October. The king opened the session, with an earnest appeal to the affection and loyalty of the two Houses, declaring that he had called them together sooner than he intended, in consequence of the open and unnatural rebellion which had broken out, and still continued, in Scotland. "So wicked and daring an attempt," he continued, "in favour of a Popish pretender to my crown, headed by his eldest son, carried on by numbers of traitorous and desperate persons within the kingdom, and encouraged by my enemies abroad, requires the immediate advice and assistance of my parliament, to suppress and extinguish it. The duty and affection for me and my government, and the vigilant and zealous care for the safety of the nation, which have with so much unanimity been shewn by my faithful subjects, give me the firmest assurance, that you are met together, resolved to act with a spirit becoming a time of common danger, and with such vigour as will end in the confusion of all those, who have engaged in, or fomented this rebellion.

"I have, throughout the whole course of my reign, made the laws of the land the rule of my government; and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of my people, the main end and aim of all my actions. It is, therefore, the more astonishing, that any of my Protestant subjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits resulting from thence, and have heard of the imminent dangers these kingdoms were wonderfully delivered from, by the happy Revolution, should, by any arts and management, be deluded into measures, that must at once destroy their religion and liberties, introduce Popery and arbitrary power, and subject them to a foreign yoke."

* Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 200.

After appealing to the House of Commons, for the grant of those supplies, which were necessary to enable him to extinguish the rebellion, he concluded: “My Lords and Gentlemen; I am confident, you will act like men, who consider that every thing dear and valuable to them is attacked; and I question not, but, by the blessing of God, we shall, in a short time, see this rebellion end, not only in restoring the tranquillity of my government, but in procuring greater strength to that excellent constitution which it is designed to subvert. The maxims of this constitution shall ever be the rules of my conduct. The interest of me and my people is always the same, and inseparable. In this common interest let us unite; and all those who shall heartily and vigorously exert themselves in this just and national cause, may always depend on my protection and favour.”

By the House of Lords, a loyal address was unanimously voted, in which, after expressing their utmost concern at this unnatural rebellion, and congratulating his Majesty on his happy and seasonable return, they declared, that they were unable fully to testify their just indignation and abhorrence at so wicked, traitorous, and desperate an attempt, in favour of a Popish Pretender, whose claims they had abjured, and whose principles and designs they heartily detested. They proceeded to assure his Majesty, that this presumptuous enterprise would have no other effect, than to strengthen their loyalty, and excite them to employ their unanimous efforts, to extinguish for ever the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents.

They then adverted, with feelings of satisfaction, to the cheerfulness and unanimity evinced on this occasion, by the whole people of England, in a higher degree than had ever before been known, unless at the happy Revolution, wrought by their great deliverer, king William III.

“With hearts full of the sincerest gratitude,” they added, “we acknowledge your Majesty’s paternal regard for the laws of the land, our constitution in church and state, and the rights of your people. It is with the deepest conviction, that we declare to your Majesty and the whole world, that the continuance of these blessings does, under God, entirely depend on the maintenance of your Majesty’s undoubted title to the crown of these realms, the support of your throne, and the preservation of the Protestant succession in your royal House.

Whoever can entertain a thought of exchanging those just rules of government, bounded by the laws and maxims of this free constitution, for the exercise of tyranny and arbitrary power, learned in the most despotic courts of Europe, and of parting with the purest religion in the world, for the superstitious and persecuting spirit of Popery, must be the most abandoned of mankind.

"Warmed with these moving sentiments, and unshaken in these principles, we give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that, in defence of your sacred person, and of all those valuable interests, which we have already described, we stedfastly resolve to unite, and hazard our estates and our lives; that from this resolution we will never depart, but will heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as may most effectually conduce to extinguish this rebellion; to deter any foreign power from presuming to support it; to restore the tranquillity of your Majesty's government; and to add strength to that excellent constitution, which this flagitious attempt is intended to subvert.

"May the divine Providence guard and protect your Majesty's precious life, give success to your councils and arms, against all your enemies, and stability to your throne."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Legge, a lord of the Admiralty, moved an address, in a similar strain of loyalty and affection, expressing the zealous determination of the members to act like men, sensible of the blessings they enjoyed, and resolved to preserve those blessings to themselves and to posterity; and concluding with the usual promise of granting to his Majesty the most effectual supplies.

In the existing temper of the nation, even the most violent of the disaffected did not venture to object to any part of the address; but Sir Francis Dashwood proposed to add the following amendment:

"And, in order to the firmer establishment of his Majesty's throne, on the solid and truly glorious basis of his people's affections, it shall be our zealous and speedy care to frame such bills, as, if passed into laws, may prove most effectual for securing to his Majesty's faithful subjects, the perpetual enjoyment of their undoubted right, to be freely and fairly represented, in parliaments frequently chosen, and exempted from undue influence of every kind; for easing their minds, in time to

come, of the apprehensions they might entertain, of seeing abuses in offices rendered perpetual, without the seasonable interposition of parliament to reform them; and for raising, in every true lover of his king and country, the pleasing hopes of beholding these realms once more restored, to that happy and flourishing estate, which may reflect the highest honour on his Majesty's reign, and cause posterity to look back, with veneration and gratitude, on the source of their national felicity."

This factious amendment was feebly seconded by Sir John Philips, and supported only by Mr. Sydenham. Mr. Pelham, and the principal members of administration, treated it with contempt; and the only servant of the Crown, who condescended to speak against it, was Mr. Lyttelton, a lord of Treasury. Mr. Pitt deprecated the agitation of such a momentous question at this critical juncture, and exhorted the House to place implicit confidence in the king and his ministers, adroitly insinuating that a more convenient season would present itself for instituting the proposed reform. Even lord Strange ably resisted the amendment, which was negatived without a division, and the original address unanimously adopted.[*]

Another insidious effort, to excite party spirit, was made on the 28th of October, when Mr. Hume Campbell moved for an inquiry into the causes which had facilitated the progress of the rebels. The motion was warmly supported by Mr. Oswald and Sir John Barnard; but, after a speech from Mr. Winnington, who ably vindicated the conduct of ministers, it was rejected by 194 against 112.

Notwithstanding the attempts of a few disaffected persons, to obstruct the proceedings of government, in the midst of a dangerous rebellion, the spirit of loyalty was predominant in both Houses.

The Commons instantly granted the necessary supplies, for raising an efficient force, both for the land and sea service. They voted, for the year 1746, 49,229 troops of the line, 11,550 marines, and 40,000 seamen. They empowered the king to raise the militia, in any part of England; and subsequently passed a bill for their better regulation. To

[*] Journals of the Lords and Commons.

strengthen the military force, a grant of £64,360 was proposed, on the 4th of November, by Sir William Yonge, as secretary at war, for the pay of thirteen volunteer regiments of foot, raised by several noblemen, and placed under their command, for the space of one hundred and twenty-two days.*

But this loyal and salutary grant, although trifling when compared with the ample supplies, which had been so cheerfully voted, was strenuously resisted. The principal opponents of the motion were Sir John Philips, who had resigned his post, and Sir John Hinde Cotton, who was still in the service of government. Their chief arguments were directed against the dangerous influence, which it was calculated to give to the aristocracy; the detriment which such a precedent might produce to the prerogatives of the Crown; and the discontent it might occasion in the regular army. They derided the fears expressed by the friends of government; ridiculed their prognostics of an invasion; and treated such alarms, as the trite expedients of an ambitious ministry, to acquire an extension of power.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham ably defended the proposal itself, as well as the principle on which it was grounded. After severely reprehending the ambition, pride, and perfidy, of the French, as the causes of the war, and the true sources of that danger, which menaced the liberties of Europe, he contended, that the only means of preserving those liberties, consisted in a vigorous prosecution of hostilities. Then, adverting to the point in debate, he observed—"The necessity of raising new regiments is obvious; and I am surprised to hear it doubted, that the method now proposed is not the best. That it is the cheapest, no one can deny, especially if we consider the extravagant levy money now paid for recruits, and the large sums, that must be expended for clothes, horses, arms, and accoutrements, if these regiments were to be raised at the public charge. When all these things are considered, every gentleman who has a regard for his king or his country, must deem himself obliged to those noble peers, who have generously undertaken this service, by their personal interest, and at their own expense, or the expense of those gentlemen of fortune, whom they shall honour with commissions in their regiments; for it is

* Journals of the Commons, from 18th October, to 10th November.

a very ill-grounded insinuation, that they will or can dispose of those commissions for money. In regular regiments, commissions may perhaps be sold for large sums, because they are a provision for life, including also the hopes of, and even a right to, preferment. But it is not to be supposed, that any man would give money for being an officer only for a few days; and, therefore, we must conclude, that those gentlemen, who hold commissions in these new regiments, have accepted them merely for the honour of serving their country in time of danger. It is a mistake, also, to suppose that the raising of new regiments, in this method, can occasion any discontent among the officers in our regular army. These regiments are to be raised but for one hundred and twenty-two days; they are to be maintained for no longer time, unless the parliament shall find it necessary to extend the period; which necessity will not, I hope, arise. No lieutenant-colonel, in any old regiment, would accept the command of such a new regiment, because he could not afterwards serve as a lieutenant-colonel; and, consequently, after the reduction of these regiments, he must be placed on half-pay, and in a manner dismissed from the army, perhaps for life; for, should a peace, as is probable, ensue, soon after the extinction of the rebellion, it would be many years before these reduced colonels could be provided with regiments. The case would be the same with regard to the majors, captains, and subalterns, of our regular regiments. All of them, or by far the greater part, would chuse to remain in their present posts, rather than be preferred in these new short-lived regiments. And, as to the objection, that the Crown has left the disposal of the inferior commissions to the respective colonels, that was absolutely necessary, in the present case, because each colonel must have the assistance of the inferior officers whom he appoints, for raising and completing his regiment; and he is the most proper, nay, the only judge, of gentlemen whose interest in the county will be most effectual for this purpose. If the regiments were to be continued, it might perhaps be of dangerous consequence to the Crown, to leave the appointment of the inferior officers to the respective colonels; but, as those regiments are to be disbanded, as soon as the rebellion is at an end, such a privilege can be of no dangerous consequence, nor can it be a precedent for any thing relating to our regular army. Therefore, I hope that those who advised the king to accept this offer, will not be charged as unfaithful to their sovereign, much less as hostile to our

happy constitution, the subversion of which may probably be prevented by this advice, more effectually than by any other."[*]

The motion was carried without a division; but the Opposition immediately proposed an address, beseeching his Majesty, that in the new regiments then raising, or already raised, the officers might not be allowed the rank attached to their commissions, after the respective corps should have been disbanded.

Mr. Pitt indignantly reprobated this address as irrational, impracticable, and impolitic, and as tending to stifle the loyal zeal of those noble persons, who were exerting all their influence in the service of their country. It was negatived by 155 against 132.[†]

On the same day, also, a motion, made by the secretary at war, for the grant of £13,176 as pay for two volunteer regiments of horse, was carried without opposition;[‡] and, on the 6th, the sum of £35,952 was granted, for the pay of twenty independent companies, during the space of a year, for the defence of the Highlands.

Soon afterwards, both Houses formally denounced, as false, scandalous, and traitorous libels, certain manifestos and proclamations, issued by the Pretender at Rome, and by his son during his expedition, under the respective titles of king and regent, in which George II. was called an usurper, the parliament represented as an unlawful assembly, and the people invited to rise, in support of their legitimate sovereign. On this occasion, conferences were held between the two Houses, and resolutions unanimously voted, ordering these papers to be burnt by the common hangman. This determination proved the more gratifying, as the respective committees contained not only some violent members

[*] Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ii. pp. 45, 50. Lond. Mag. 1766.

[†] Journals of the Commons. Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1382.

[‡] Journals of the Commons, Nov. 4, 1745.

of Opposition, but several decided Tories, and others who had even been suspected of secretly promoting the cause of the Stuarts.[*]

On the 19th of December, a message was presented to the House of Commons, by Mr. Pelham, announcing that preparations were in progress at Dunkirk, and other French ports, to invade England, and requesting the aid of parliament to fulfil the engagements made with the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, for six thousand auxiliaries, rendered necessary by the recal of the Dutch troops. A fruitless attempt was made, to frustrate this appeal, by representing the national force as competent for all emergencies, and recommending the speedy discharge of all foreign mercenaries; but an amendment, proposed to this effect, was negatived by 190 against 42, and the original address was carried by 180 against 32. On the same day, a similar message was presented in the House of Lords, by the duke of Newcastle, and an address, resembling in substance that of the Commons, was voted without opposition.[†]

Collateral expedients were proposed, for suppressing the rebellion, for augmenting the regular army, and for giving efficiency to the militia; and these obtained the sanction of parliament, without encountering any objection, of sufficient importance to be specifically mentioned.

[*] Journals of the Lords and Commons, Nov. 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1745. Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1391. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 178.

[†] Journals of the Lords and Commons.

CHAPTER IX.

1746.

Negotiations with the Dutch Republic, contrary to the inclination of the king—Letter of Mr. Pelham to Mr. Trevor, on the relative situation of England and Holland, and on the state of the alliance in general—Letter from lord Harrington to the States General—Speech of the king to Parliament, on the subject of the negotiations—His displeasure against the Pelhams—Attempts to remove them, and form a new administration, under the earls of Bath and Granville—Resignation, and re-establishment of the Pelham ministry—Correspondence on the subject—The king consents to the appointment of Mr. Pitt, as joint-Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

WHILE the fate of the monarchy was still in suspense, a sudden revolution occurred in the cabinet. The king had never cordially acquiesced in the arrangements for the Broad Bottom administration; and his displeasure was heightened by the importunities with which he was now assailed, for the admission of Mr. Pitt into office, in recompense for the support, which the government had derived from his powerful eloquence.

His Majesty was farther alienated from the Pelhams, by their continued opposition to his favourite scheme, for prosecuting the war on the continent. For, though he was secretly encouraged by lord Granville, to connive at the equivocal policy of the Dutch, while pursuing a system of operations as extensive as the grand alliance, the Pelhams persisted in attempting to extort from the States General, a declaration of hostilities against France. They laboured also, to render the assistance, afforded to the Dutch, dependent on the nature and extent of their cooperation, and on the circumstances in which Great Britain might be placed; since, until the rebellion should be suppressed, they considered the country as incapable of making extraordinary exertions on the continent.

So far, indeed, were the dangers of the rebellion from restoring harmony, that an open misunderstanding soon arose between the king and his ministers. The progress of the French in the Netherlands, had spread the utmost alarm in Holland, and produced earnest appeals to the British court, for prompt and vigorous assistance. Proposals were also offered by the Dutch, for the adoption of a more extensive system of warfare, by an augmentation of their own army, and an increase of the subsidiary troops, combined with a proportionate increase of force on the part of England. Still, however, the States evinced their jealousy of the British interest, by excluding the prince of Orange from the command of the army, and continuing it to the prince of Waldeck, a foreigner. These overtures were consequently received with coolness by the British ministers, who disapproved the temporising conduct of the Republic, and seemed determined on forcing them into direct hostilities against France. A letter from Mr. Pelham to Mr. Trevor, developes his sentiments on this subject, and shews his full conviction, that England could make no greater exertions abroad, while threatened and harassed by a domestic enemy.

"DEAR SIR, "*December* 11*th*, 1745.

"I had the favour of your confidential letter last night, which gives us as melancholy a prospect of affairs on your side the water, as we have for some time experienced the reality to be, on ours. You state the condition and apprehensions of the Republic in too clear a light, for me to have the least hope or expectation, that it is not a true one. I can only say, I am convinced of the danger, and yet cannot give you any certain assurances of a remedy from hence; I rather fear that the contents of lord Harrington's dispatch will throw the best intentioned into absolute despair. We have nothing to say for ourselves, but that our condition is so like their own, that they have nothing to do but to look at home, and then they will see a true picture of this country. It is in vain to look back; but you know my thoughts so well, that I am sure you are beforehand with me in what I have to say. * * * * * * * *

"Our hasty engagements, three years ago, making ourselves principals in all the wars upon the continent, without any plan concerted, or any obligations from the parties we were serving, except it was to take our money and apply it as they pleased, have rendered this country incapable of doing what its inclination and interest always

induce it to do. We have provoked our enemy, till they have brought the seat of war into our own country; and we have no authority over those that should be our friends, to compel them to pursue such methods, as might possibly have extricated us out of some of our difficulties.

"The bulk of the nobility and gentry are hearty for the present royal family; and it is with pleasure I can assure you, that no one man of consequence has joined the rebels, since their passing the Tweed; nor, indeed, have many of the lower rank done it either. But the particularity of those Highlanders is such, that there is no getting at them; for though we have had two armies in pursuit, either of which would eat them up, yet by dodging and making forced marches, they have been able to plunder the country, raise contributions, and escape, I fear, back to their own country. The terrible part to us, therefore, is, that whilst this race is running, our own troops are dwindling every day; our credit is in a manner totally stopt; and though the public funds still keep up to a pretty good height, yet all the zeal and endeavours, which on this occasion have been shewn, by many of the most substantial people in the city, cannot get the better of the fears of mankind; nor can the hopes of gain, the most powerful influence that I know of amongst monied men, bring out the specie that is in the kingdom; but every one is locking up his own, and raking as much as he can into his own private coffers. This being the case, I am of opinion, that whatever puts a speedy end to this rebellion is the best measure for our allies, as well as ourselves. Till that is done, we are not a nation; and whatever good words we might send you, I am sure it would not be in our power to keep them.

"First, the parliament has got too great an influence on the cabinet; and perhaps the cabinet itself not thoroughly fixed, and of consequence cannot have its due weight; yet were we delivered from this canker in our own bowels, I am pretty sure there is still so much of the old system left in this kingdom, that whenever the question shall be, that Holland wants the support of this country, there would be strength enough left in both, to exert it to the utmost, for the preservation of the union which has so long subsisted between the two nations. The queen of Hungary has, undoubtedly, lost the affection of the people; and I cannot say she deserves it. They see no end of perpetually crying out, 'Support the House of Austria;' when that

House totally neglects the general view, for which alone every honest man is their friend. A good peace is every man's wish; an indifferent one would be gladly accepted; a sad one, I am afraid, will be our lot. You say, the pensionary does not yet know what judgment to form of France. I am sorry for it; for then, I doubt, extremities will be their option.

"I don't find we have any body fixed as yet, for an emissary to Rotterdam: I conclude it will fall to your lot; and, if it can go on that way, without observations where you are, I think it cannot be in better hands. But let who will be employed, I much fear success. Cape Breton will be a stumbling-block to all negotiation; though I am not so taken with sound, as to venture losing my whole substance with it. But that is not the sense of the generality: they look upon it as a most valuable possession for this country; as indeed it is, if it did not endanger the quiet possession of what is more valuable. Gibraltar and Minorca have kept us, for thirty years, at variance with Spain; I am of opinion. Cape Breton will do the same with France; and to speak as a financier, the balance of that account is much against us.

"I doubt, I have tired you with this long letter; and that you think me in a more desponding way than I ought to be. I acknowledge I am so, but as I write to you my natural thoughts, as a private man, you will easily separate what I say, from that of the public minister. My chief view is, to open the truth to you, to remove any prejudices that may have crept into the minds of your friends, as if what England was doing proceeded from coolness, or inattention to the common interest, especially that of the Republic. I can assure you it is not so; it is merely necessity; and if I were as sanguine, and as desirous to carry the arms and purse of England to the heart of Germany, as ever lord Granville was, I should still advise, with the measures we have hitherto pursued, to release this country from its present fetters, that it might be enabled to exert its natural strength, when required.

"I am sorry, the Prussian accommodation does not go on so well with you, as it does here. We look upon it, that, now the queen of Hungary has done her part, France would have been soon reduced to tolerable terms of accommodation; but that, I doubt, is over. We must look forward and act for the best; but never lose sight of that unalterable principle, that the maritime powers have one and the same

interest, as nations, whatever individuals may find their account by dividing them.

"You may be assured, I will be very careful not to expose your letter improperly; and I depend on your friendship and secrecy not to communicate my crude indigested thoughts any where, but look on them as a proof of my regard to you, that I can trust even my weakness with one for whom I have a most sincere respect."

Notwithstanding this determination to make no augmentation of force on the continent, until all domestic danger should be removed, the ministers could not venture entirely to reject the overtures of the Dutch, because they knew, that some of their leading men were at this time tampering with France; and that, without the assistance of Holland, there was no hope of an honourable peace, or even of an effectual prosecution of the war. Acquiescing, therefore, in the proposed relative proportions of force, they agreed to give to the Republic that assistance, which England possessed the means of affording. The sanction of the king was with difficulty obtained, to a mode of proceeding which he disapproved, but could not resist, in opposition to the unanimous sentiments of the cabinet.

Accordingly, lord Harrington, in a letter dated January 3rd, 1745-6, announced to the Dutch envoys, Boetzlaar and Hop, who had been dispatched to London, with the propositions of the Republic, the principle which the British cabinet proposed to adopt, in the operations of the ensuing campaign. "The exhausted state of the revenues," he observed, "arising from the consequences of the rebellion, and apprehensions of invasion, prevent the king from raising funds for the war, in the same proportion as was formerly done; and the security of the Netherlands is to the Dutch a domestic consideration, but a foreign, though important one to England." He then adds, that, as the States had evaded a declaration of war against France, and consequently had retained their commercial relations, their revenues must be supposed in good order; and the reasons which they had urged, of their danger from the French, ought to induce them to double their efforts in the approaching campaign. They could not, however, depend on a continuance of the same exertions which his Majesty had made in the last year, though he was resolved and ready to cooperate with the

Republic, as far as the present circumstances of his dominions would admit, in opposing the progress of the French.

He then announced the king's approbation of the plan offered by the prince of Waldeck, relative to the formation of an army of one hundred thousand men; and, for its accomplishment, proposed forty thousand men on the part of the Republic, thirty thousand Austrians, exclusive of the garrison of Luxemburg, eight thousand Hanoverians, and ten thousand Saxons, to be jointly taken into the pay of England and the States. To these, were to be added, the six thousand Hessians in England, as soon as the rebellion should be suppressed. His Majesty, being unable to contribute to the defence of the empire, must leave that object to the court of Vienna and the circles of Germany. Lord Harrington concluded, with expressing the condition for which the Pelhams had so long and strenuously contended, by stating, that, as the very being of the States was now menaced, as they had been treated by France with the utmost insolence and contempt, and had thought it necessary to recur to the assistance of his Majesty, they ought no longer to hesitate in putting themselves on the same footing with the British nation, by declaring war against France.*

In conformity with the sentiments of the cabinet, expressed in this dispatch, the king, on the 14th of January, made a speech to the parliament, explanatory of his views and policy. After adverting, in terms of satisfaction, to the election of the emperor Francis, and the accommodation with Prussia, and hinting at the intended succours, to be sent to the king of Sardinia, his Majesty entered into a more elaborate statement of the relations between England and Holland.

"The States General," he observed, "have made the most pressing instances to me, to assist them at this critical conjuncture. The imminent dangers, to which they are at present exposed, which do so nearly affect the safety of Great Britain, as well as the very being of Holland, demand our most serious attention; for, the interests of the two nations are so closely united, that whatsoever brings ruin upon the one, must, in consequence, be attended with the most fatal mischiefs to

* See this letter in the Journals of Parliament, and also in the Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi p. 246.

the other. These reasons have induced me to assure the States, that I will, *to the utmost of my power, according to the circumstances of my own dominions,* cooperate with them, towards opposing the farther progress of our enemies in the Netherlands, and procuring a proper security against the ambitious and destructive designs of France. In order to this necessary end, measures are now actually concerting between me and the States, for furnishing this assistance, on my part, as early and effectually as possible, and for making such augmentation of their present forces, as their own immediate preservation, and the necessity of affairs, absolutely require."

The lords, in their address, expressed their conviction, that the civil and religious rights of the people depended on the preservation of his Majesty, and of the Protestant succession in his line. In applauding the conduct of foreign affairs, they particularly rejoiced in the election of the emperor Francis, and the accommodation between Austria, Saxony, and Prussia, which would ensure immediate succours to the king of Sardinia, and an adequate defence for the Netherlands. Adverting, then, to the negotiations with the Dutch Republic, they indirectly censured the course pursued by lord Granville, and approved the conduct of the present ministry; assuring his Majesty of their zealous exertions, to make good the requisite arrangements for defending the Netherlands, and securing the States General against the ambitious and destructive designs of France, as well as for obtaining a safe and honourable peace. They particularly acknowledged his Majesty's tender concern for his people, and testified their confidence that it would have its due weight with his allies, and infuse into the States General an energy adequate to the present exigency of affairs. They concluded, by avowing their satisfaction at the successes of the British fleet, and by applauding his Majesty's resolution to strengthen his maritime forces.

The Commons, in their address, adopted the leading principle of the speech, and declared their determination to assist his Majesty, *as far as the circumstances of the kingdom would permit,* in giving that succour to the States General, which, with a proper exertion of their own strength, might protect the Netherlands against France, and contribute to an honourable termination of the war. A trifling amendment, moved

by the Opposition, was rejected by 249 against 53, and the original address was carried.[*]

The refusal of England to make greater efforts in favour of the Dutch, during the continuance of the rebellion, disappointed and exasperated the leading members of the Republic. In reply to the letter of lord Harrington, a spirited declaration was communicated, through the ministers of the States General in London, dated January 25th,[†] professing perfect devotion to the interests of England, and the utmost readiness to cooperate with the allies; but insisting that a more active part might have been taken by the British government. The finances of the Republic were asserted to be in a more dilapidated state than had been represented; and it was argued, that England being equally interested in the safety of the Netherlands, ought to furnish prompt and efficient reinforcements, to avert the common danger. To the demand of a declaration of War against France, the States General gave a peremptory refusal, alleging that the reasons which had hitherto restrained them, in that particular, were now more than ever imperative.

Hitherto the ministers deemed themselves secure of the king's approbation, and felt confident, that he would sanction their system of foreign policy, in conformity with his declaration to both Houses of Parliament.

A change, however, was effected in the royal mind, by the strong remonstrances of the Dutch; by the urgent representations of lord Granville; and, at the same, time by the importunities of the ministers themselves for the appointment of Mr. Pitt, to the office of secretary at war. Indignant at being controlled by persons whom he disliked, and disdaining to be restricted to what he considered a weak and inefficient prosecution of the war, he resolved, even in the course of the session, and in the midst of the rebellion, to reinstate lord Granville in the

[*] Journals of the Commons.

[†] Register of the States General, in reply to the letter of lord Harrington; laid before the House of Commons on the 10th of April.—Journals of the Commons.

office of secretary of state, with the hope, that such a ministry might be formed, as would assist in relieving him from this official thraldom.

The course, however, which his Majesty pursued for the attainment of these objects, evinced rather an impatience of restraint, than a knowledge of the state of parties, and the temper of parliament. He addressed himself to the earls of Bath and Granville, at that time the most unpopular noblemen in the kingdom. He complained to lord Bath, that he was a prisoner on his throne; governed by a party, who engrossed all power; compelled to receive into his service, persons whom he had cause to dislike; and permitted to have no share in the management of his own affairs. He, therefore, solicited assistance, to liberate himself from this irksome bondage; and confided to him and lord Granville, full powers to form a new administration, which should be inclined to prosecute the war, on more vigorous principles. He expressed his sanguine hopes of the attachment of lord Harrington, who principally owed his elevation to his favour; and calculated on the concurrence of Mr. Winnington, who was deemed a proper person to manage the House of Commons. He looked forward, also, to the support of other persons in both Houses, particularly of Sir John Barnard, whom he supposed to be adverse to the ascendancy of the Pelhams, and to whom he intended to offer the chancellorship of the Exchequer.

Lord Bath received this delicate commission, with some degree of hesitation; but answered for the concurrence of lord Granville, and declared, that ultimate success must depend on the king’s own firmness.

As the principal difficulty to be apprehended, was that of raising the supplies, lord Bath first addressed himself to Mr. Gideon, and the other monied men in the city, and procured from them the promise of a loan, on terms which were considered as more advantageous than those already obtained by Mr. Pelham. He then applied to different members of both Houses; and, calculating that he should succeed in separating the several parties, which were connected with the ministry, he returned to the king to communicate the result of his proceedings. The plan of an administration, of which he and lord Granville were to be the leaders, as first lord of the Treasury, and secretary of state, was then sketched out; and in retiring from the closet, on the 6th of

February, he exultingly said to lord Harrington, whom he met in the anti-chamber, “I have advised the king to negative the appointment of Mr. Pitt, and to pursue proper measures on the continent.”

The communication did not produce the effect that was intended; for it called forth from lord Harrington only a cold and severe remark, that “those who dictated in private, should be employed in public.”* Notwithstanding this indication of his sentiments, lord Harrington was, on the next day, summoned into the closet. The king condescended to employ every argument and intreaty, calculated to detach him from his party; but, finding them all unavailing, he gave way to a transport of indignation, and bitterly reproached the inflexible secretary with ingratitude.

The Pelhams and their friends were now sensible that the die was cast; and a meeting of the party took place on the ensuing evening, at the house of the lord chancellor. All their adherents proving faithful, a resolution was taken, to convince the king of the weakness and impolicy of his scheme, by a prompt and general resignation. Lord Harrington relinquished the seals on the 10th; and his example was followed by the duke of Newcastle. On the morrow Mr. Pelham and the duke of Bedford, with all the members of the Boards of Treasury and Admiralty resigned; and, in conformity with the general resolution, the whole of the ministry either renounced their employments, or expressed their intention to retire. This event produced a deep and general sensation of regret throughout the country. The change was regarded as the signal of the most fatal calamities; and the levees of the two brothers were crowded beyond all former precedent. Even the duke of Cumberland, with all his respect for the king his father, could not refrain from testifying, in the strongest terms, his concern at a proceeding, which threatened the dissolution of the Whig interest, that had placed and maintained his family on the throne.†

---

* From the communication of bishop Douglas, who received it from lord Bath.

† Letter from the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, Feb. 16, 1746. Illust. Corresp.

The king, though astonished, was not immediately discouraged. Hoping to prevent farther defection, he nominated lord Bath to the head of the Treasury, and intrusted to him the seals of the two secretaries, to be delivered to lord Granville, for himself, and for that person, whom he should best approve. Other appointments were also settled, in conformity with the determination previously adopted; and lord Bath was encouraged with the promise of the royal confidence and support. On the 9th, lord Granville offered the usual homage, on admission to office, and announced his elevation, in a circular, to the ministers at foreign courts. The farther details of this change are best described in the words of one, who appears to have been a witness of the transaction, and of whose letter a copy was dispatched to Sir Thomas Robinson, by Sir James Grey, the British envoy at Venice.

"DEAR SIR,[*] "*Venice, March* 26*th*, N. S. 1746.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"I am very happy to be able, in some measure, to satisfy your curiosity about what has passed lately at home; and will venture to transcribe part of a letter, which seems to give a true and natural account of the whole transaction.

"'I gave you a hint, last week, of an insurrection in the closet, and of lord Bath's having prevented Pitt's being secretary at war. The ministry gave up that; but finding a change had been made, in a scheme of foreign politics, which they had laid before the king, and for which he had thanked them; and perceiving some symptoms of an intention to dismiss them, at the end of the session; they came to a sudden resolution not to do lord Granville's business, by carrying the supplies, and then be turned out; so on Monday morning, to the astonishment of every body, the two secretaries of state threw up the seals; next day, Mr. Pelham, with the Treasury; duke of Bedford, with the Admiralty; lord Gower, and lord Pembroke,[†] gave up too; the

[*] Grantham Papers.

[†] Groom of the Stole.

dukes of Devonshire,[*] Grafton,[†] and Richmond,[‡] the lord Chancellor, Mr. Winnington, and almost all the great officers, and offices, declaring they would do the same. Lord Granville had immediately both seals, one for himself, and the other to give to whom he pleased. Lord Bath was named first commissioner of the Treasury, lord Carlisle privy seal, and lord Winchelsea reinstated in the Admiralty.

"'Thus far all went swimmingly. They had only forgot one little point; which was, to secure a majority in both Houses. In the Commons, they unluckily found, they had nobody to take the lead, better than Sir John Rushout, Sir John Barnard having refused to be chancellor of the Exchequer; so did lord Chief Justice Wills to be chancellor; and the wildness of the scheme soon prevented many from giving into it. Hop, the Dutch minister, did not a little help to increase the confusion, by declaring, that he had immediately dispatched a courier to Holland, and did not doubt but the States would send to accept France's own terms. I should tell you, that lord Bath's being of the enterprize, helped hugely to poison the success of it. In short, his lordship, whose politics were never characterized by steadiness, had not courage enough to take the Treasury.

"'On the Wednesday after the Monday, on which the change happened, he went to the king, and told him he had tried the House of Commons, and *found it would not do.* Bounce went all the project into shivers, like the vessels in the Alchymist, when they are on the brink of the Philosopher's Stone. The king, who had given into these alterations, was fatigued and perplexed; shut himself up in his closet; and refused to admit any more of the people, who were pouring in upon him, with white staffs, gold keys, commissions, &c. At last he sent for Mr. Winnington, and told him he was the honestest man about him, and should have the honour of the reconciliation; and sent him to Mr. Pelham, to desire they would all return to their employments. Lord

[*] Lord Steward.

[†] Lord Chamberlain.

[‡] Master of the Horse.

Granville is as jolly as ever; laughs and drinks;[*] owns it was mad, and that he would do it again to-morrow.'

"In another letter, I am told lord Cholmondeley was to be the other secretary, the duke of Bolton lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the duke of Portland master of the horse. Upon lord Granville's resignation, Sir William Stanhope said, that his only surprise was, how he had kept it so long; and another joker observed, that it was not safe to walk the streets at night, for fear of being pressed for a cabinet counsellor.''

Such is the account of this political convulsion, as drawn principally from the communications of lord Bath himself,[†] and confirmed by the private correspondence of Sir James Grey. We rejoice in enabling the reader to compare it with a still more interesting account, contained in a letter written by the duke of Newcastle to the earl of Chesterfield, who had resolved to resign his post of lord lieutenant of Ireland, if the Pelhams had not been restored to office.[‡] In this letter, the motives, origin, progress, and termination of this political feud, are very minutely traced. The authenticity and candour of the communication will be a sufficient apology for its insertion, although it may contain a repetition of a few particulars already related.

---

[*] We learn from Glover (p. 31 of his Posthumous Memoirs), that lord Granville, far from being discouraged, as lord Bath was, "boldly advised the king to summon the Commons, and declare from the throne, to them and the House of Lords, what usage he had received from his servants, in the midst of a rebellion;" but the king prudently declined taking so rash a step.

[†] From the communications of lord Bath to the late Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury; and from the account of this political transaction, given, on his lordship's authority, in the Life of Bishop Newton. See also Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap, xxviii.

[‡] See lord Chesterfield's letter in the Illust. Corres. dated February 18th, 1746.

"MY DEAR LORD, "*Newcastle House, Feb.* 18*th,* 1745-6[*]

"I am now to give you an account of the most surprising scene that ever happened in this country, or, I believe, in any other; and, that you may have as perfect an idea of it as I can give you, you shall have a short account of every thing that has any immediate relation to it.

"Some few days before the meeting of the parliament, after Christmas, Mr. Pitt, who had, for some time before, had no commerce upon business with any of us, went to the duke of Bedford, expressed an inclination to know our foreign scheme, shewed a disposition to come into it, and wished that some of us would go and talk with lord Cobham, into whose hands they had now entirely committed themselves. I went accordingly, the next day, to lord Cobham, and opened our whole scheme to him, which he owned was much more reasonable than he imagined we could have made it; and that, if we would support the continent at all, he thought it could not be in a better or cheaper manner. He seemed very desirous to come in to us, and to bring in *his boys*, as he called them, exclusively, as he expressly said, of the Tories, for whom he had nothing to say. The terms were; Mr. Pitt to be secretary at war; lord Barrington in the Admiralty; and Mr. James Grenville to have an employment of £1,000 a-year. He flung out lord Denbigh, the duke of Queensberry, and some Scotch politics, but not as points absolutely to be insisted on.

"Upon this, I soon opened the budget to the king, which was better received than I expected. And the only objection was, to the giving Mr. Pitt the particular office of secretary at war; for, any other his Majesty was willing he should have. We had all of us several conferences with his Majesty upon it; the king insisting that he would not make him secretary at war; afterwards, that he would use him ill if he had it; and, at last, that he would give him the office, but would not admit him into his presence to do the business of it.

"You may easily imagine, we shewed his Majesty, that the giving the office, in the two last instances, would not be doing the thing. We

[*] Newcastle Papers.

represented to him, how necessary the making Mr. Pitt secretary at war was, for the service of his affairs, and for enabling his administration to carry them on with success. The king grew very uneasy, and complained extremely of being forced; but, when the difficulty seemed in a way of being removed, lord Bath got to the king, represented against the behaviour of his ministers, in forcing him, in such a manner, to take a disagreeable man into a particular office, and thereby dishonouring his Majesty both at home and abroad; and encouraging the king to resist it, by offering him, I suppose, the support of his friends in so doing. This strengthened the king in his dislike of the measure, and encouraged, I conclude, his Majesty to think, that he had a party behind the curtain, who would either force his ministers to do what he liked, or if they did not do it, would be able to support his affairs without them. Though lord Bath was, luckily for us and for the public, the open transactor of this affair, it is not to be imagined but that my lord Granville was in the secret.

"Mr. Pitt, very decently and honourably, authorized us immediately to renounce all his pretensions to the office of secretary at war; but it was thought proper, at the same time, to suggest to the king, that after so public an éclat, as my lord Bath had made of this affair, it was deemed absolutely necessary that his Majesty should give some public mark of his resolution to support, and put confidence in his then administration; or, otherwise we should be at the mercy of our enemies, whenever they should be able to take any advantage of us, without having it in our power to do the king or the public any service.

"His Majesty was extremely irritated; loudly complaining of our conduct, both at home and abroad; unwilling to give us any satisfaction, or any assurance of his countenance or support; and plainly shewing a most determined predilection for the other party.

"Upon this, we thought, in duty to the king, and in justice to ourselves, the wisest and honestest part that we could take, was, to desire leave to resign our employments: and we determined that lord Harrington should go first*;* myself next, then my brother, and afterwards my lord chancellor. Accordingly, my lord Harrington went (as you know), on Monday the 10th, and resigned the seals. My lord Bath went into the closet after him; and I after my lord Bath. My lord Pembroke, my brother, the duke of Bedford, and my lord Gower,

resigned the next day. The chancellor was prevented from going, till the Friday following, by the king's going to the House of Lords.*

"The interview with lord Harrington, I believe, was pretty warm. With me it was otherwise; very civil, kind enough, and we parted very good friends.

"The next day, it began to be seen how this thing would be taken in the world; and great resentment and distress were shewn in my brother's audience on Tuesday. It was soon evident that the resignations would have been almost universal, though without any concert, or any endeavours used, of any kind, for that purpose. This struck such a terror upon the new ministers, that lord Bath went on Wednesday, to declare to the king, that he could not undertake it; and the king sent Mr. Winnington to us that day, to desire that we would return to the court, and to our old employments.

"We represented to his Majesty, that it would be necessary for him to make some public declaration of his design to make us his ministers, if we were to return to his service. We then considered, that, on that condition, as the public had already declared so strongly in our favour, if we refused to serve the king and the public, when called upon, the torrent would turn against us, especially as it was plain, that they could not carry on government without us. We immediately desired, that the court might be purged of all their friends and dependents; that lord Bath might be out of the cabinet council; the duke of Bolton, lord Berkeley of Stratton, Mr. William Finch, the vice-chamberlain, the groom of the bedchamber, Mr. Boone, and the advocate of Scotland, which were all that were left of that sort, should be removed. We were told that all should be done, except what related to the bedchamber; and, accordingly, we returned to court, on Friday last.

"My brother had a long conference on Saturday evening; wherein the chief resentment was shewn to lord Harrington, and that in the strongest and bitterest manner; and hints flung out, that if we would give him up, every thing else should be done. But, as my brother saw

* The king went to the House on Thursday, February 13th.

lord H's chief fault was, his having stuck to us, you may easily imagine we had more honour than to give into any thing of the kind; and that conference, which began tolerably well, ended very unsuccessfully, with strong declarations against making some of the alterations proposed.

"The duke of Grafton had a long conversation, on Monday morning, which certainly had a good effect. I went in alone that day; was very graciously received; and got every thing done that we wanted, except the removal of the vice-chamberlain,[*] which the king begged us not to insist upon, in such a manner, and said he should take it so kindly, if we did not do it, that, in the opinion of every body, it would have been indecent to have pressed it.

"As to Ned Finch, we all thought the bedchamber could not be attacked. And, indeed, considering the part we found ourselves under the necessity of acting, and the public declaration there was in our favour, we did apprehend, that the insisting too strongly upon a particular point, which the king appeared to have so much at heart, would have been universally blamed.

"The duke of Bolton[†] and lord Berkeley were this day removed; lord Portsmouth is to be governor of the Isle of Wight, and the duke of Bedford warden of the New Forest; Mr. Pitt is to have lord Torrington's place,[‡] who is to succeed lord Berkeley, as captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

"Lord Barrington comes into the Admiralty in the room of lord Archibald Hamilton; Mr. James Grenville is to succeed Mr. Bladen at the Board of Trade; and Mr. Thomas Gore is to have Mr. Boone's place of mustermaster-general. The behaviour to lord Harrington is

---

[*] Mr. William Finch.

[†] Governor of the Isle of Wight, and warden of the New Forest.

[‡] Joint vice-treasurer of Ireland. He was appointed to this office, on the 22nd of February.

already better than could have been expected; so I hope that will soon come right.

"Thus our affairs are so far settled. There seems to be the best disposition in old and new friends to make one strong, solid, and irresistible corps, which, I think, will succeed, if our new friends do not insist too much upon our engaging, at present, that the bill for limiting the officers of the army shall be passed, some time this session. If they do, in the unsettled state things are, it will, I am afraid, create new difficulties.

"I have now troubled you with a pretty long, but true narrative, of this great affair; and I have spoken very freely, both of things and persons. I hope you will approve what we have done: if you do not, it will be a great mortification to me. I should be glad to hear from you; but infinitely more so, to have the pleasure of seeing you. In all situations, your presence is most agreeable to your friends. In our present circumstances, it is absolutely necessary; and, therefore, I must conjure you to make what haste you can to us. For, though your Irish subjects will detain you as long as they can, I should hope you would think near seven months royalty sufficient.

"My brother sends you his best compliments; and I hope you will believe that I am, with the sincerest respect and affection,[*] my Dear Lord," &c.

The result of this imprudent attempt to remove the ministers, produced the natural effect of strengthening the victorious party. In public, the failure of the scheme had been confidently anticipated; congratulations poured in from all quarters; its projectors were overwhelmed with ridicule and contempt;[†] and the Pelhams having

[*] See Postscript to lord Chesterfield's letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated February 18th, 1746; also extract of a letter from the duke of Cumberland to the duke of Newcastle, dated February 28th, 1746. Illust. Corres.

[†] Among other *jeux d'esprit*, was *"A History of the Long Administration,"* bound up like the works printed for children, and sold for a penny. It concluded with the following ironical eulogium:—

espoused the popular side of the question, rose as high, as their opponents sunk low, in general estimation. The king, sensible of his own weakness, reluctantly submitted to the counsels of his former servants; and, though he still continued to oppose the admission of Mr. Pitt into any official employment in the English ministry, yet he made no objection to his appointment to the lucrative post of joint vice-treasurer of Ireland. He was likewise prevailed upon to restore Mr. Legge, against whom he entertained an equal antipathy, to his seat at the Board of Admiralty. He finally consented to the dismissal of lord Tweeddale, notwithstanding the attachment of that nobleman to lord Granville; and, as the office of secretary of state for Scotland had been found nugatory, if not injurious, it was at this period suppressed.

"And thus endeth the second and last part of this astonishing administration, which lasted forty-eight hours, three quarters, seven minutes, and eleven seconds; which may truly be called the most wise and most honest of all administrations, the minister having, to the astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing; and, what is more marvellous, left as much money in the T—y, as he found in it. This worthy history I have faithfully recorded, in this mighty volume, that it may be read with the valuable works of our immortal countryman, Thomas Thumb, by our children, grand-children, and great-grand-children, to the end of the world."

CHAPTER X.

1746.

Progress of the war against the Rebels—Victory of Culloden—Letters from the Duke of Cumberland—Suppression of the Rebellion—Escape of the young Pretender—Plan for prosecuting hostilities on the Continent, concerted with the Dutch and the queen of Hungary—Ministers desist from urging the States General to declare war against France—Lord Harrington's letter to the Dutch envoys, and other papers, laid before parliament—Supplies demanded for the expenses of the war—Debate on the Hanoverian troops—Congratulatory addresses on the victory at Culloden—Grant of a pension to the Duke of Cumberland—Acts for disarming the Highlanders, restraining the use of the national dress, and imposing penalties on the nonjuring clergy—Mr. Pitt appointed Pay-master of the Forces, and a member of the privy council—Debates in the House of Peers, on motions for relinquishing the war on the Continent—Supplies—Acts for the conservation of public morals, and for the improvement of manufactures and commerce—Prorogation of Parliament—Trial and execution of the rebel lords.

FORTUNATELY the feuds in the cabinet did not essentially interrupt the proceedings of parliament, or impede the prosecution of hostilities against the domestic enemy. While the royal troops were reduced to inactivity by the battle of Falkirk, the insurgents, pursuing their advantage in a district almost abandoned to their discretion, not only made many successful, though petty incursions, but levied contributions on all who were attached to government, or who refrained from openly espousing their cause.

This state of affairs hastened the return of the duke of Cumberland, that he might crush the rebellion before it again became dangerous, particularly as the French were encouraging the young Pretender, by

supplies of ammunition, and even small military detachments, which were sent out in single ships, and landed at different points of the coast. The arrival of the royal duke at Edinburgh, on the 30th of January, reanimated the king's troops, and dismayed their adversaries. After a repose of only thirty hours, the gallant prince put in motion the army, which consisted of ten thousand men, including four regiments of cavalry; and advanced to Falkirk, with the hope of surprising the Highlanders, while engaged in the siege of Stirling castle. But, their forces being reduced to five thousand men, they did not venture to oppose him. On his approach, they blew up their powder magazine, and withdrew over the Firth at Frew, leaving their cannon, and a number of their sick and wounded. They reached Perth, in straggling parties, on the 2nd of February; and, taking the route of Montrose and Aberdeen, arrived, towards the middle of the month, on the banks of the Spey.

The advance of the royal army being retarded by the severity of the season, the rebels drove lord Loudon from Inverness, reduced Fort George, and, in a few days, compelled the garrison of Fort Augustus to surrender. Masters of the country beyond the Spey, with access to mountain fastnesses almost impregnable, and secretly favoured by numerous partisans in the Lowlands, they required only time to organize a most formidable resistance; and, from the general state of the country, it was to be apprehended, that no effectual aid would be given to his Majesty's government.

The duke of Cumberland, therefore, displayed an activity and promptitude equal to the emergency. While employed in repairing bridges and roads, to facilitate his progress northwards, he was reinforced by the six thousand Hessians, who had landed, on the 13th of February, at Leith. Preparations being instantly made, the royal forces were again put in motion, and assembled at Aberdeen on the 1st of March. As a premature advance, at this season, might have given advantage to the enemy, they were distributed over the country, in cantonments, and trained to stricter discipline; while their commander acquainted himself more accurately with the habits and manners of the Highlanders, and devised means to weaken the impression produced upon the soldiery, by the defeats at Preston-Pans and at Falkirk.

He describes the state of the country, at this period, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle.

"MY LORD, "*Aberdeen, April 4th,* 1746.[*]

"I am sensibly obliged to you for your private letter of the 21st of March. Though I could have wished the king's order had been fuller, yet I take the hint, and will do all in my power to put an end to the unhappy rebellion. I really think the *éclat* of it over, but believe there will be left such seed, that God knows how soon it may break out again, if a care and caution, unusual in this island, be not, on this occasion, kept. All in this country are almost to a man Jacobites; and mild measures will not do. You will find, that the whole of the laws of this *antient kingdom* must be new modelled; and for that purpose, by the next dispatch, I shall send a very few undigested hints, but such as lord Leven and lord Findlater approve of. I must now own, that my going down to Scotland was necessary, as it required one of more weight than Hawley, to stand against Scotch influence in court. I am sorry to say, that, though all in this country are as ill inclined as possible, and though their spirit for rebellion is extremely great, yet the managers of this part of the kingdom have made it, if possible, worse, by putting the power of the Crown into the most disaffected hands, for the sake of elections. The duke of Athol has proved himself of no consequence in the king's scale; and all his people that are now about him, are public Jacobites. Were I to enumerate the villains and villainies this country abounds in, I should never have done. In short, there does not remain the least vestige of any government, throughout the whole. The Hessians behave sadly, which is all owing to Crawford and the Scotch, who have their ear. I remain your affectionate friend,

"WILLIAM."

"P. S. Pray make my compliments to Mr. Pelham; and do not imagine, that threatening military execution, and many other such things, are pleasing to do; but nothing will go down without it, in this part of the world."

[*] Newcastle Papers.

On the 8th of April, the duke again advancing, passed the Spey without opposition from the rebels, whom he pursued through Banff and Nairn, at which last place he encamped on the 15th. On the 16th he found their army, amounting to nearly seven thousand men, posted on a moor near Culloden House, in the vicinity of Inverness. Both parties having prepared for battle, the Highlanders, about mid-day, opened a fire with their field-pieces; but finding this cannonade inefficient, while their own ranks were thinned by the well-directed artillery of their opponents, they made one of their impetuous charges with the broad sword, on the right wing of the royalists. Though repulsed in this attempt, they rushed a second time, with unabated spirit, against the left, with no better success. In the midst of the discouragement attending these failures, and the loss occasioned by a deadly fire of musketry, the royal cavalry, advancing on their flanks, threw them into irreparable confusion. After a short but desperate conflict, their desultory and ill-armed hordes were completely routed; and the scene was no longer a battle but a carnage.[*] The young adventurer, with a few attendants, remained on the field, until all hope was lost. Of his followers, no fewer than two thousand were killed, while numbers were cut to pieces or captured in their flight. The victors immediately advanced to Inverness, and secured a small body of French troops, who had taken no part in the engagement. By this decisive blow, the rebellion may be said to have been terminated; for nothing remained, but to disperse the small predatory bands wandering about the country, and to re-establish, in their former efficiency, the functionaries of government.

---

[*] As a proof of the minute attention, which the duke of Cumberland paid to the Highland mode of attack, and the means of obviating its effect, we quote the following remark from a private letter, published in the Scots Magazine.

"Before this, the bayonet man attacked the swordsman right fronting him; now, the left-hand bayonet man attacked the swordsman fronting his right-hand man. He was then covered by the adversary's target, where he was open on his left, and the adversary's right was open to him. This manner made an essential difference; staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them, in a manner rather to be conceived than told."

Indeed, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, written from Inverness, a few days after the battle, the duke of Cumberland considers the extinction of the rebellion as complete, though he represents the spirit of Jacobitism to be still unsubdued.

"*Inverness, April* 23*rd,* 1746.[*]

"From your particular friendship, as well as for the general good of these kingdoms, I am very well assured, that you shared my joy sincerely with me, on the complete victory we gained over the rebels, on Wednesday last. I thank God, most heartily, that I was an instrument in the affair, and that the glory of the day was owing entirely to the British troops, who have fully retrieved the little stain of Falkirk, without any assistance from the Hessians, though they might have saved us a good deal of trouble, and were of some use, even in their inactive state.

"The reason of this letter, is on the subject of lord Findlater's journey to town. I have, with a little trouble, persuaded him to go to London, to represent the true state of this part of the island. He is thoroughly master of the laws, as they now stand, and of what will be of absolute necessity to be done by parliament, this summer. I really believe that a month or six weeks will enable me to do all that will be necessary for the military; and I would to God that I could be in town to explain a number of things, that cannot be explained by writing. If we had destroyed every man of them, such is the soil, that rebellion would sprout out again, if a new system of government is not found out for this country.

"Lord Findlater, I perceive, is much afraid of the duke of Argyle; so that he must be watched, that he do not make him recant all he has said to me.

"I believe old Lovat[†] will not escape. I have several parties out for him; and papers, some I already have, and such as will suffice to prove

[*] Newcastle Papers.

[†] Lord Lovat, who was afterwards taken and executed.

high treason upon him. All I have time to add, is, that I believe the greatest blow to the Jacobites in this country, would be, to have the king move all the justiciary courts from Edinburgh to Glasgow; for the former is the nest of rebellion."

In another letter, dated Inverness, April 30th, the royal duke resumes the same strain of invective. Alluding to his exertions for bringing the dispersed fugitives to justice, he accuses one half of the magistrates of Scotland, as aiders or abettors of the rebellion; and declares that the others dared not act, lest they should offend their chiefs, or hang their relations. He also affirms, that the Jacobite principle would not be eradicated, until a new generation should have arisen. In reference to a message from the king, approving his conduct and that of the troops, he adds, "The king's gracious letter says so much more than I deserved, that I am happier and more flattered than I can possibly express; but my greatest pleasure is, in hoping, that the king may have restored his favour to the troops, and that the nation in general find, that their own army is almost as good as a foreign one."

Having dispersed the rebels, and re-established the authority of his father's government, the Duke prepared to leave Scotland; and his last letter from Inverness, to the duke of Newcastle, shews that his prejudice, respecting the real temper of the Scottish people, remained unabated.

"MY LORD, "*Fort Augustus, July* 17*th*, 1746.[*]

"I shall only acknowledge the receipt of your two last letters, as I am very much hurried, settling matters before I set out, which I hope will be the day after to-morrow. *Snader* has accepted the command handsomely, for it is not a desirable one; but I am certain you could not have found out so proper a person in the rest of the army, and I do not doubt but that way of acting will be supported by his friends above, and then he need not fear the Scotch, who are dreadful enemies, if they dare attack.

[*] Newcastle Papers.

"I am sorry to leave this country, in the condition it is in; for, all the good that we have done has been a little bloodletting, which has only weakened the madness, but not at all cured; and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island, and of our family; for I know that when we come to be heard, you will imagine almost every word I say slander, and that I am prejudiced against them; so I am, but by so many different incidents that have happened, that I recollect the whole with horror. But, as I fear I shall often din your ears with it hereafter, I will break off this disagreeable subject, and do what common gratitude requires; which is, my most sincere thanks, for your many kind and obliging offices, since I have had the pleasure of your correspondence, and I shall remain your affectionate friend," &c.

Throughout the whole of this correspondence, indeed, we trace the strongest reprobation of the Scots, and the fullest conviction, that an inveterate hostility against the House of Brunswick was interwoven in all their habits, feelings, and institutions. Soon after this last letter was written, the duke of Cumberland returned to England, and was received with increased affection, by his royal father. He was no less gratified with the applauses of the nation, on the success of his military operations, by which the rebellion had been subdued, and the liberties and religion of the kingdom preserved,

In his reverse of fortune, Charles Edward did not manifest the spirit which had marked the outset of his career, and his daring irruption into England. Destitute of that military genius, which would have appreciated the counsel of his ablest friend, lord George Murray, he relied on advisers, who were either incompetent, pusillanimous, or treacherous, and was unable to vanquish the local prejudices, or to correct the predatory habits of his brave, but desultory followers.[*] Dejected by defeat, he refused the offers of his more spirited partisans to rally his army, and became a fugitive in the Highlands and the Hebrides; sometimes destitute of food or raiment, and occasionally disguised as a female or a menial, but exposed in every vicissitude, to the severest hardships and privations. For five months he encountered

[*] Johnson's Memoirs of the Rebellion. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 162-242. Letters, Gazettes, and printed documents of the period.

a series of adventures, more painful certainly, but not less romantic, than those of his grand-uncle, Charles the Second, after the battle of Worcester; and he finally effected his retreat into France, on board a vessel bound for Nantes, which landed him at Mortaigne, in the latter end of September."*

In the mean time, the fate of the Netherlands had become critical in the extreme. Early in February, the French, by the capture of Brussels,† had obtained access into Brabant, and threatened Holland itself with invasion. But the attention of the English ministry was so engrossed by the rebellion, by intestine cabals, and by the continental schemes, which lord Granville infused into the mind of the king, that the month of April arrived, before specific demands, relative to foreign subsidies, were laid before parliament. At length, when the rebels were ceasing to be formidable, preparations were made, though too tardily, for resisting the victorious progress of the French. Arrangements were concerted, with the Dutch and the queen of Hungary, for assembling a force to maintain the unconquered part of the Netherlands; but, finding that the States General would not declare war against France, the ministers had no other alternative than to consent, though reluctantly, to treat with them as auxiliaries. They also digested, with the empress queen, and the king of Sardinia, a plan of military operations for Italy. The state of these negotiations was, on the 10th of April, communicated to the House of Commons.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham, by order of his Majesty, presented memorials from the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, together with lord Harrington's letter to the Dutch envoys, and the answer of the States General. These papers were, the next day, taken

* The Prince has left a journal of his wanderings and escapes, which is no less interesting for variety of adventure, than for the proofs of fidelity, adroitness, perseverance, and courage, manifested by many of his partisans in all ranks of society. It is remarkable, also, that he experienced these affecting proofs of respectful commiseration, from many persons in the humblest station of life, when a reward of thirty thousand pounds was offered for his capture.

† See chap. xi. p. 320, for an account of this capture.

into consideration, by a committee of the whole House; and several resolutions founded upon them, were proposed by Mr. Pelham.

After alluding to the causes which had delayed these important affairs, and congratulating the House on the approaching close of the rebellion, he strongly represented the necessity of providing for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities on the continent. In exciting and fomenting that rebellion, the Bourbons, he observed, had shewn what they would do, if they had the power. Hence a successful war would alone enable us to frustrate the designs of that ambitious House, and prevent them from compelling all the princes and states of Europe, to assist in forcing upon us "a sham king, a superstitious religion, and a slavish yoke."

In proceeding to explain the propositions which he had to lay before the committee, he requested to begin with that which was most liable to objection; and announced his intention of moving, that a sum, not exceeding £300,000, should be granted to his Majesty, for the pay and subsistence of certain Hanoverian troops, consisting of five thousand horse, and thirteen thousand foot, to act in the Netherlands, with the Austrian forces, and those of the States General, for the year 1746.

He also moved, that a sum, not exceeding £10,000, should be granted for a train of artillery, to attend those troops.

His third proposition was, that a sum, not exceeding £300,000, should be granted, for enabling the queen of Hungary to support her allies, and maintain fifty thousand men in the Netherlands, for the year 1746; and the fourth, that an additional sum, not exceeding £100,000, should be granted to the king of Sardinia,[*] for enabling him the better to maintain and prosecute the war in Italy, during the same period. Having referred to the documents before the committee, for the principles on which these propositions were respectively founded, he deemed it unnecessary to represent how strongly the nation was urged, by interest and self-preservation, to assist the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, and the States General, in prosecuting the war; and he concluded by moving the grant of the sum first mentioned.

[*] In addition to his previous subsidy of £200,000.

This motion was seconded by Sir William Yonge, who expatiated on the danger that must ensue, if no resistance were offered to the ambitious designs of the Bourbons, respecting Italy; and insisted on the necessity of giving the most effectual aid to the empress queen, and to the king of Sardinia. He concluded by commending the Hanoverians, as preferable to all other auxiliaries. "They are," he said, "the troops upon whose service and fidelity we can most depend; they are nearest to the scene of action; and their behaviour, at the late battle of Fontenoy, plainly proves, that there are none better in Europe."

It is remarkable, that, in this debate, the opposition members in general abstained from their wonted invectives against the Hanoverians, to whom they objected, merely as foreign mercenaries, and that they directed their main arguments against the prosecution of the war in the Netherlands. They denied that the balance of Europe was in any danger of disturbance from France; and pronounced the policy of supporting the House of Austria, to be inconsistent with the former declarations of ministers. They observed, that in 1725, at the conclusion of the treaty of Hanover, the doctrine of the cabinet had been, that the wings of the imperial eagle ought to be clipped, lest he should soar too high; and, in 1733, when the House of Austria was exposed to the joint attacks of France, Spain, and Sardinia, ministers asserted, that it would be madness for us to engage in the war, without the cooperation of the Dutch. They then dwelt on the late refusal of the States General, to comply with the demand, so strongly urged in the letter of lord Harrington, that they should declare war, as principals, against France; and inveighed against the folly of supporting a people, manifestly unwilling to make any effort to support themselves. It would be preferable, they argued, to allow them to enter into a neutrality with France, and abandon what remained of the Netherlands, which was not worth defending. They proposed, therefore, that all the British forces in Flanders should be withdrawn; that all the auxiliaries in British pay should be instantly dismissed; and that our attention should be exclusively directed to the war in Italy, as more expensive and dangerous to France, less onerous to ourselves, and requiring from us only subsidies to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, with the presence of our fleet in the Mediterranean, to favour their military operations. They inforced their arguments, by insisting, that, in the exhausted condition of her finances, England, a country more burthened with taxes than any other state in Europe, was no longer

able to support the vast expenses of a continental war. They farther observed, that the papers laid before the House, did not afford sufficient grounds for deciding a question, which so much depended on the cooperation of the Dutch; and demanded the production of additional documents, particularly that dated Nov. 25th, N. S., containing the resolution of the States General.

These observations again called up Mr. Pelham, who expressed his surprise, that any gentleman should consider the documents presented, as inconclusive and unsatisfactory. The sovereign had spontaneously ordered them to be communicated, as sufficiently explanatory; and it would be ungracious not to infer, that those which had been withheld, were either unimportant, or of too confidential a nature to be made public.

He defended the treaty of Hanover, as justifiable, from the necessity of obviating the evils, to be apprehended from the alliance between Spain and the House of Austria; and vindicated the policy of avoiding all participation in the war of the Polish succession, because the equilibrium of Europe did not then appear to be endangered.

He denied that the perils apprehended from the ambitious designs of the House of Bourbon were chimerical; and contended, that, to preserve the balance of power, we ought to resist those designs, whether the Dutch gave or withheld their full concurrence. In censuring the proposal to abandon the Netherlands, he shewed also that we were bound by political interest, as well as by positive treaty, to prevent that important territory from falling into the hands of France.

He even vindicated the conduct of the States General, in declining to declare war as principals. “The Dutch,” he observed, “are as fully impressed as we are, with the necessity of resisting the ambition of the House of Bourbon. They would now join us with all their force, if their immediate safety did not require them still to maintain a sort of neutrality; for, as they have only a few fortified towns, to defend them against an irruption of the French .armies, and as recent experience shews, that this kind of defence affords no permanent security against a vigorous attack, they are bound, in common prudence, not to provoke hostility from France, until they have an army equal to cope

with any force, which that power can direct against them; and on this they cannot now depend. So unfortunate are the present circumstances of the German empire, such is the fatality prevailing over most of its princes, that few or none of them will lend their troops to the Dutch, or to us. Nay, the Dutch have some reason to fear, that if they should declare war against France, some of the most powerful princes of Germany would unite with France against them. We ought not, therefore, to censure the Dutch for their cautious conduct: on the contrary, we have cause to be surprised at the exertions which they have made; for, as auxiliaries, they have been almost as effective as if they had been principals in the war.''

"But, can it reasonably be said," he continued, "that we ought now to follow their example, and act the same cautious part? Is our country liable to be over-run, and laid waste by French armies? No: as long as we have a navy superior to that of France, as long as we are masters of the ocean which surrounds us, we may bid defiance to the armies of France, were they ten times more numerous than they are. We have only to consider, then, whether the balance of power may be endangered by the success of those designs, which are now openly avowed by the House of Bourbon, Even supposing that such danger did not exist, yet, being in open war with France and Spain, we ought to bear in mind, that the freedom of our trade and navigation, as well as the safety of our American colonies, undoubtedly must depend on the issue of the contest."

He candidly admitted, that the nation was heavily burthened with taxes; but, at the same time, declared his full conviction, that the honour and safety of the country demanded the continuance of the war, and, if the necessity should arise, even the endurance of additional expense, or, as he termed it, the sacrifice of a part, to preserve the remainder. But, on the present occasion, he had the satisfaction to say, that the sum demanded might be supplied, without imposing any new tax, merely by appropriating the sum of £810,000, from the produce of the sinking fund.

The dishonour, as well as the danger, which England would have incurred, by withdrawing her troops from the continent, and abandoning her allies, were so evident, that the motion, on the first

proposition, was carried in the committee by 255 against 122.* Another debate took place on the 14th of April, when the report of the committee was brought up; and the motion was carried by 199 against 83.† The other propositions of Mr. Pelham, relative to the artillery for the Hanover troops, and the subsidies to the empress queen, and the king of Sardinia, passed without a division.‡

The opponents of government had, indeed, lost their principal champion, through the defection of Mr. Pitt, who, though not gratified to the extent of his wishes, yet zealously defended the measures of administration. The duke of Newcastle thus communicates the result of the discussion, on the Hanoverian troops, in a letter to the duke of Cumberland, dated April 17th.

"Our affairs in parliament go better than the warmest of us could expect. A subsidy of one million, viz. £400,000 for fifty thousand Austrians, £310,000 for eighteen thousand Hanoverians, and £300,000 for the king of Sardinia, was carried the other day, by 255 against 122. Mr. Pitt spoke so well, that the premier told me he had the dignity of Sir William Wyndham, the wit of Mr. Pulteney, and the knowledge and judgment of Sir Robert Walpole. In short, he said all that was right for the king, kind and respectful to the *old corps*, and resolute and contemptuous of the Tory opposition. This majority and success does

* No allusion is made to this interesting debate, either by the continuator of Rapin, or by Smollett; nor does any abstract of it occur in the Debates for 1746, in the collections of Debrett and Hansard, though many of the speeches are printed in the London and Gentleman's Magazines for 1746 and 1747. These journals, however, have recorded only part of the discussion; and both have omitted the speech of Mr. Pitt, who, as we learn from a letter of the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland, dated April 17th, spoke most ably and eloquently. This speech is not given in the anonymous Life of Lord Chatham. Neither does Mr. Thackeray, in his Life of Lord Chatham, make any allusion to it.

† Journals of the Commons.

‡ Ibid.

certainly great good in the closet, where I have the honour generally to be graciously received."[*]

At the moment of this auspicious result, the news of the victory at Culloden produced an impression still more encouraging. Congratulatory addresses were presented by the Lords, on the 29th, and by the Commons, on the 30th of April, conveying to the king the warmest assurances of their vigorous support, in quelling the rebellion, and in crushing this last effort of a Popish abjured Pretender. The Commons, after applauding the conduct of the duke of Cumberland, declared their readiness to confer on his Royal Highness, "such distinguishing marks of public gratitude, as should be most agreeable to his Majesty, and justly due to his superior merit."[†] These congratulations were accompanied by votes of thanks to his Royal Highness himself, expressing a due acknowledgment of the eminent services which he had rendered to his country.

On this occasion, the Pelhams evinced their grateful sense of the king's returning favour, and of the successes achieved by the royal duke, in proposing for him a pension of £40,000, of which £25,000 was to be granted by parliament, and £15,000 to be paid from the privy purse. This act of liberality was, in the highest degree, pleasing to the king, who testified his change of sentiment towards Mr. Pitt, by expressing a wish, that the intended motion, in the House of Commons, should be made by him. Such a mark of distinction was not the less gratifying, though the forms of office did not allow its adoption; and the duke of Cumberland was desirous that the motion should be made by Mr. Pelham.[‡] Accordingly, on the 23rd of May, Mr. Pelham, as chancellor of the Exchequer, moved the grant of a

[*] Newcastle Papers.

[†] Address of the Commons, Ap. 30th, 1746.

[‡] Letters from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, April 24th and 30th; and replies of his Royal Highness, April 30th and May 7th, 1746. Illustrative Correspondence.

pension of £25,000 to the duke of Cumberland, and his heirs male.* It was carried through the Commons, by acclamation; and experienced an enthusiastic reception in the Upper House, where it was introduced by the duke of Newcastle.

Amidst these demonstrations of loyalty and gratitude to the royal family, the parliament sanctioned such measures as were necessary for the suppression of the rebellion. A law was enacted for compelling suspected persons in Scotland to appear and give bail for their good behaviour; bills of attainder were voted against lords Kellie, Strathallan, and other chiefs of the rebels; and acts of indemnity passed, in favour of such persons as had exerted themselves for the defence of his Majesty's person and government. Preparatory arrangements were also instituted, for the speedy trial of lords Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino, who were already in custody.

The rebellion being suppressed, government omitted no precaution for preserving the tranquillity of Scotland. To secure the peace of the Highlands, a bill was passed, not only for disarming the clans, but for restraining the use of their national garb, which was deemed obnoxious, in its tendency to keep alive party distinctions, to encourage martial habits, and to perpetuate the devotion of the people to the Stuart line. The first of these precautions was absolutely necessary, since the possession of arms, by a turbulent and discontented people, would have been extremely dangerous; but the proscription of the national dress was by many dispassionate men deemed cruel and oppressive, though no opposition appears to have been made to it, in either House of Parliament. By the same act, the masters and teachers of private schools in Scotland, were obliged to swear allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and to register their oaths.

Another act of great severity was passed against the episcopal clergy, and their followers, who had warmly supported the rebellion. Although the number of these dissenters from the kirk of Scotland was very considerable, yet in not more than three congregations, and those

* A captious amendment, proposing to insert after "heirs male," the qualification, "being Protestants," was negatived by fifty-four to one.

far from numerous, was the service performed by ministers, who had taken the oaths of allegiance, and who prayed for the king by name. The rest of the clergy, officiating in the numerous episcopal chapels and meeting-houses, were non-jurors, and had been ordained, either by Popish prelates, or by Protestant bishops appointed by the Pretender; and most of them were very illiterate. These pastors were naturally inclined to foster in the minds of their followers, an attachment to the Stuarts, under whom episcopacy had been the established religion in Scotland; and to encourage an equal antipathy to the Protestant sovereigns, under whom Presbyterianism had been declared predominant, while the episcopalians had been reduced to the level of other sects, enjoying simple toleration.

The government, therefore, deemed it necessary to propose an act, more effectually to prohibit pastors or ministers from officiating in episcopal meeting-houses in Scotland, who had not duly qualified themselves according to law; and to punish persons attending any meeting-house, where such unqualified ministers should officiate. This act was approved in the House of Commons, but encountered considerable opposition among the peers, as an infringement on religious liberty. It was, however, passed, on the consideration, that pastors who refused to acknowledge the sovereign, or to give a pledge of their attachment to the government, ought to be prohibited from the public exercise of their functions.[*]

The sense which his Majesty entertained, of the services rendered by the Pelhams, in the late crisis, was evinced by his compliance with their representations in favour of Mr. Pitt. Instead of the post of secretary at war, which was conferred on Mr. Fox, he received, on the 6th of May, the more honourable and lucrative appointment of paymaster of the forces, vacant by the death of Mr. Winnington, and was also created a member of the privy council.[†]

[*] Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 252.

[†] London Gazette.

The following is a statement of the financial provisions for the year—*

SUPPLY.		WAYS AND MEANS.	
Navy.—Maintenance of 40,000 seamen, and 11,550 marines, victualling, transports, &c.	£2,661,534	Land Tax of 4s. in the pound, deducting interest on Exchequer bills	1,933,600
Army.—Maintenance of 49,229 men, ordnance, guards, and garrisons, in Great Britain, Jersey and Guernsey, &c.	1,761,299	Malt Tax, deducting similar interest	616,981
Temporary pay of volunteer regiments during the Rebellion	191,026	Loan for the purchase of Annuities	2,500,000
Extraordinary expenses on account of the Rebellion, &c.	137,027	Lottery: the interest on such annuities, payable by additional duties on glass, low wines and spirits	500,000
Garrisons in the Plantations, &c.	391,196	From the Sinking Fund	1,000,000
Charge of 1,264 horse and 4,908 foot Hessians	201,936		
Charge for expenses of the 6,000 Dutch troops	21,545		
Charge of 5,000 horse and 13,000 foot, Hanoverian troops, &c.	310,000		
Subsidy to the Queen of Hungary	400,000		
——King of Sardinia	300,000		
——Elector of Cologne	24,299		
——Elector of Mentz	8,620		
Vote of Credit	500,000		
Building We5tminster Bridge	25,000		
Compensation for loss of horned cattle	12,949		6,550,581
For making good deficiencies, interest, &c	227,567	Balance	623,417
	7,173,998		7,173,998

Thus only two additional taxes were imposed, namely, that on glass, and increased duties of trifling amount on spirituous liquors.

By adding the civil list, the surplus of taxes, and £2,301,638 interest on the national debt, of £56,525,447, exclusive of the debts unprovided for, the sum raised, this year, amounted to between ten and eleven millions.

Of the motions for these supplies, only two appear to have encountered any opposition. The first was the proposal of a grant, on the 5th of May, of the trifling sum of £21,545 for the expenses of the six thousand Dutch troops. Such was the unpopularity of the Dutch, at

* From Postlethwaite's History of the Public Revenue.

this time, that the motion was strongly resisted, and 71 members appeared in the minority against 109. The second proposition, brought forward on the 12th of May, was a vote of credit for £500,000, to enable his Majesty effectually to suppress the rebellion, to prosecute the war with vigour, by sea and land, and to make good any treaty which might be concluded with the allies for the year 1746. It was triumphantly carried by 124 against 31.[*]

Before we close our account of the session, we shall notice two debates, which took place in the House of Lords, and in which the foreign policy of ministers was arraigned, even more vehemently than in the Commons.

As the king had not transmitted, for the consideration of the peers, copies of lord Harrington's letter to the envoys of the States General, and of the other papers presented to the Commons on the 10th of April, lord Oxford moved for their production. They were accordingly laid before the House on the 28th, by the earl of Harrington; and, on the 2nd of May, were taken into consideration.

On this occasion, lord Oxford proposed an address to his Majesty, declaring it to be the opinion and advice of the House, that the prosecution of the war in Flanders, at so vast an expense, tended more to exhaust the nation, and destroy public credit, than to weaken the common enemy; an object which might better be attained, by a vigorous exertion of our naval strength, and by enabling the friendly powers on the continent to imitate the magnanimous conduct of the king of Sardinia, in carrying on the war, as principals, for the deliverance of Europe from the ambitious designs of France.[†]

---

[*] Journals of the Commons.

[†] The address also reprobated the extreme impolicy of the British cabinet, in maintaining so large an army on the side of the Netherlands, while the Dutch, although they had lost the greater part of their barrier, had not only refused to declare war against France, but were actually negotiating for themselves, at the court of Versailles.

After a long and violent speech from lord Oxford, this motion was seconded by the duke of Beaufort, and supported by lords Westmoreland, Halifax, Lonsdale, and Talbot. They employed similar arguments to those advanced in the Commons, for relinquishing hostilities on the continent, and for encouraging by subsidies, the military operations in Italy, as well as for confining the national efforts to maritime warfare. But their language, on this occasion, was far more inflammatory than that of the members in the Lower House. They expatiated on the inordinate expenses of a continental war; complained that the nation was wasting its last blood and treasure, in impracticable enterprises; and lord Oxford, in particular, even asserted that the public debt, which, by an extravagant computation, he estimated at sixty-four millions, was nearly one-fourth of the value of the whole kingdom. They lamented that the country was exhausted by the rebellion, and no longer able to act as a principal in a war, for the support of a people, unwilling to help themselves, and who were privately treating with France. Hence they affected to commend the resolution of ministers, as announced in the letter of lord Harrington, to extort a declaration of hostilities from the States General; and condemned their present conduct in receding from that policy. They ridiculed the argument, imputing inability to the Dutch; and declaimed against the inconsistency of practising the very same connivance, for which lord Granville had been so severely blamed. Denouncing the general principle of hiring foreign troops, they particularly censured the recal of the Hanoverians into British pay; not only reviving the old complaint, that the engagement had been contracted on disadvantageous terms, without the consent of parliament, but declaring that those troops were especially obnoxious, from the jealousy and discontent which their cooperation would necessarily excite. Lastly, they dwelt on the unpopularity of an engagement, which would create in the national mind an apprehension that those troops would be retained, even after a peace, and perhaps a small body of them introduced into the country, which might be gradually increased to an amount, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and even to the Protestant succession.

The duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich were the only members of administration, who spoke against the motion. They defended the policy pursued by government, with arguments similar to those which had been employed by Mr. Pelham and his friends, in the House of

Commons. The charge of inconsistency in their negotiation with Holland, they could not directly repel; and, therefore, contented themselves with stating the general reasons, which prevented the Dutch from breaking their neutrality, and which they represented to be so strong, as to induce the servants of the Crown to countenance that resolution.

To the assertion, that the Dutch were privately negotiating with France, the duke of Newcastle replied, that so far from considering that circumstance as a reason for relinquishing the war, he regarded it, if true, as a decisive argument for vigorous proceedings, as the only means of preventing them from concluding a separate treaty.

Notwithstanding the specious reasonings of opposition, the majority of the peers were convinced of the dishonour and impolicy of abruptly withdrawing the British forces from Flanders, and leaving the allies at the mercy of France. The motion was therefore negatived, by 81 against 26; but twenty peers recorded their dissent, in a long and violent protest,[*] which embodied all the arguments of opposition.[†]

On the 12th of June, lord Lonsdale moved an address, representing, that in consequence of the failure of his Majesty's strenuous efforts, for the common cause of Europe, at a time when his own kingdom was in danger, he should be pleased to defer sending any of his British troops beyond seas, until domestic tranquillity was restored. In support of this motion, he argued, that the proposed reinforcements would cause a diminution of our national force, equal to twenty-five thousand men, and declared his belief, that only two regiments of foot, besides the guards, were left in England, and only a few weak battalions in Scotland. He insisted on the futility of sending only seven regiments to Flanders, when the army in that quarter, estimated at one hundred

[*] See this protest in the Journals of the Lords, and in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1409

[†] The only account of this debate is given in some short notes by lord chancellor Hardwicke, which are printed in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1407, and which contain chiefly the arguments of the Peers in opposition.

thousand men, really amounted to no more than forty thousand; while the French had in the field one hundred and twenty thousand men, a force double that of the allies, even with the Hessian and Hanoverian contingents. He contended, that no dependence could be placed upon the Dutch, who had suffered Antwerp to be taken, and had not raised a single man. The reasons assigned for their inability, he suspected not to be serious, but affirmed, that, at all events, the addition of seven regiments would neither enable, nor induce them, to continue the war; and, if compelled to negotiate, they must submit to terms dictated by France. After ironically observing, that as ministers did not effectually prosecute the hostilities, their sole intention was to make peace, he adverted to an expedition of six regiments, about to sail under the command of general St. Clair. He conjectured that its destination was America, and its purpose conquest; when ministers must be aware, that, as a much larger force was embarking at Brest for Quebec, to defend the French settlements, such conquests as might be made by our petty expedition, must either be restored at the conclusion of peace, or become the cause of a protracted conflict, until France should consent to relinquish them; and he condemned the impolicy of leaving the nation defenceless, for the sake of prosecuting so useless and so ruinous an enterprise.

Adverting to the theatre of war, he said, “France, by the conquest of Flanders, is mistress of Holland, and may, therefore, dictate terms to the Dutch. Holland reduced to a peace, Germany rendered neutral, and the House of Austria necessarily withdrawn from the contest, the king of Sardinia must follow the example, leaving England alone, to combat France and Spain, in a disastrous warfare on her own soil. Such, he concluded, is the state, to which a weak, vacillating, and disjointed administration has degraded this once flourishing country.”

In reply to this philippic, the duke of Newcastle combated the objections urged in the proposed address, as resting on two erroneous principles, the defenceless state of the country, and the inutility of sending abroad an army to support foreign measures.

The first of these principles, namely, the defenceless state of the country, he said was unfounded; for the rebellion was as much suppressed, as was possible, by a military force, and would be entirely extinguished by the acts of the legislature. “Already,” he observed.

“the duke of Cumberland has announced the rebels to be in a state of total dispersion; and England is manifestly secure against foreign attack, or internal commotion. We shall shortly have twenty-four sail of the line and six frigates at sea, under Admiral Martin, besides a number of armed vessels, for the defence of our coast. After the departure of the troops for Flanders, the land force will be amply sufficient; for there will be seventeen thousand five hundred soldiers in England, and nineteen regiments of infantry, and six of cavalry, in Scotland. The other principle, namely, the inutility of sending troops abroad, to support foreign measures, is equally groundless; because the employment of those troops will avert the great source of apprehension, that England may be left alone, to contend against France and Spain. The force of the allied army in Flanders has been under-rated. The seven battalions, with the Hessians, will amount to ten thousand men; the Austrian contingent may be computed at forty thousand, and the Hanoverians at ten thousand, making a total of sixty thousand, to which must be added twenty thousand Austrians, already arrived at Cologne, and five thousand, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons. Allowing for a possible deficiency of five thousand, in the Austrian contingents, the whole aggregate force will reach eighty thousand effective men. This army, when complete, will effectually protect the Dutch, encourage them to continue hostilities, and ultimately obtain for them, advantageous terms of peace. The reinforcements from England will convince them of his Majesty’s desire to furnish more effectual aid, whenever it shall be in his power, and enable the allies to improve their advantages in Italy.” He defended the policy of an expedition to America, for the protection of Cape Breton, which would be especially requisite, if the squadron at Brest were really destined for Canada; and deprecated, as dishonourable, the loss of Cape Breton, at this particular time. He concluded by observing, that, if the garrison were not opportunely reinforced, the public would consider such a surrender as effected by connivance with France, which no minister would dare to sanction with his open consent.

After a short reply from lord Lonsdale, expressing his doubts that the Austrian corps had reached Cologne, the question, on the proposed address, was negatived without a division.*

On the 18th of June, a motion was made in the House of Commons, for a similar address, to dissuade the king from sending any more troops to the continent. The discussion of this proposal, and the division upon it, tended only to manifest the weakness of opposition, and the increasing strength of the ministry; for it was negatived by the great majority of 103 against 12.†

Notwithstanding the disorder caused by the rebellion, the laws of this session evince an unremitted attention to the national industry and morals.

To restrain the vice of profane swearing, prevalent among all orders of people, a bill was enacted, imposing a fine, proportionate to the rank of the offender.

The manufacture of sail-cloth, so essential to the interests of a maritime people, had already been encouraged by various acts of parliament, especially by two, passed in the ninth and thirteenth years of this reign, requiring distinct stamps on foreign and British sail-cloth, to prevent frauds on exportation; and imposing on every ship, built in Great Britain or her colonies, the obligation of having one complete set of sails, of either home or colonial manufacture. As these acts were on the point of expiring, they were now prolonged for the term of seven years.

To obviate the inconvenience, occasioned by the carelessness of shipmasters, in unloading ballast, a bill was passed, for the better preservation of havens, roads, and navigable rivers, imposing a penalty

* The account of this debate is taken from lord chancellor Hardwicke's notes, printed in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1413. See also Journals of the Lords.

† Journals of the Commons.

on the offence of throwing gravel or rubbish, within the limits of the tide.

The interests of the American colonies were promoted, by various enactments for encouraging the growth of coffee and sugar. Regulations were also introduced, to correct the practice of maritime insurance, which had degenerated into a species of gambling.

To improve that important branch of commerce, the linen trade, a company was erected by royal charter, dated July 5th, 1746, with power to raise a joint stock of £100,000, under the title of the British Linen Company. The purpose of this incorporation was, to supply the British traders to Africa and America, with such linens as they had been hitherto obliged to purchase of foreign nations. The principal residence of the company was fixed at Edinburgh, and its first governor was Archibald, duke of Argyle.*

It was not until the 12th of August, that this long and memorable session of parliament was closed, by a speech from the throne. After gratefully and piously adverting to the success against the rebels, the king spoke with confidence of affairs abroad, as presenting a more hopeful aspect; and announced, that he had taken the earliest opportunity, which the safety of his own kingdoms permitted, to send such succours to the States General, as had raised the army in the Netherlands to a much more efficient state, than had been expected at the commencement of the campaign. He thanked the Commons for their prompt supplies; and on dismissing the two Houses, expressed his conviction, that the respective members would, all in their several stations, zealously endeavour to restore and preserve the peace of the kingdom, to heal the wounds which an unnatural rebellion had inflicted, and to encourage and cultivate in his subjects, that spirit of loyalty to the existing establishment, which had been so strikingly displayed. “The impression,” he added, “shall ever remain on my

* See Anderson’s History of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 252.—This beneficial Company has answered the expectation of its founders, and is now one of the national banks of Scotland.

mind, and be demonstrated by the continuance of my vigilant exertions, to make them a happy people."*

It remains for us to record the fate of the three rebel lords, who, on the 28th of July, were brought to their trial, before the House of Peers. After a process, conducted with the usual solemnities, they were severally found guilty of High Treason. Lords Cromartie and Kilmarnock admitted the justice of their sentence, and sued for mercy; but Balmerino pleaded not guilty, and declared that he was not at Carlisle, at the time specified in the indictment. He also objected to that indictment, in point of law, as being improperly laid in Surry. But his pleas were over-ruled, and sentence of death was passed upon him, together with his ill-fated companions. Cromartie was finally pardoned; but Kilmarnock and Balmerino were beheaded, on Tower Hill, on the 18th of August. Several rebels of inferior note, suffered about the same period, in due course of law. With these unhappy victims, and with the subsequent execution of lord Lovat, public justice was satisfied, and the last embers of the rebellion were extinguished.

* Journals of Parliament.