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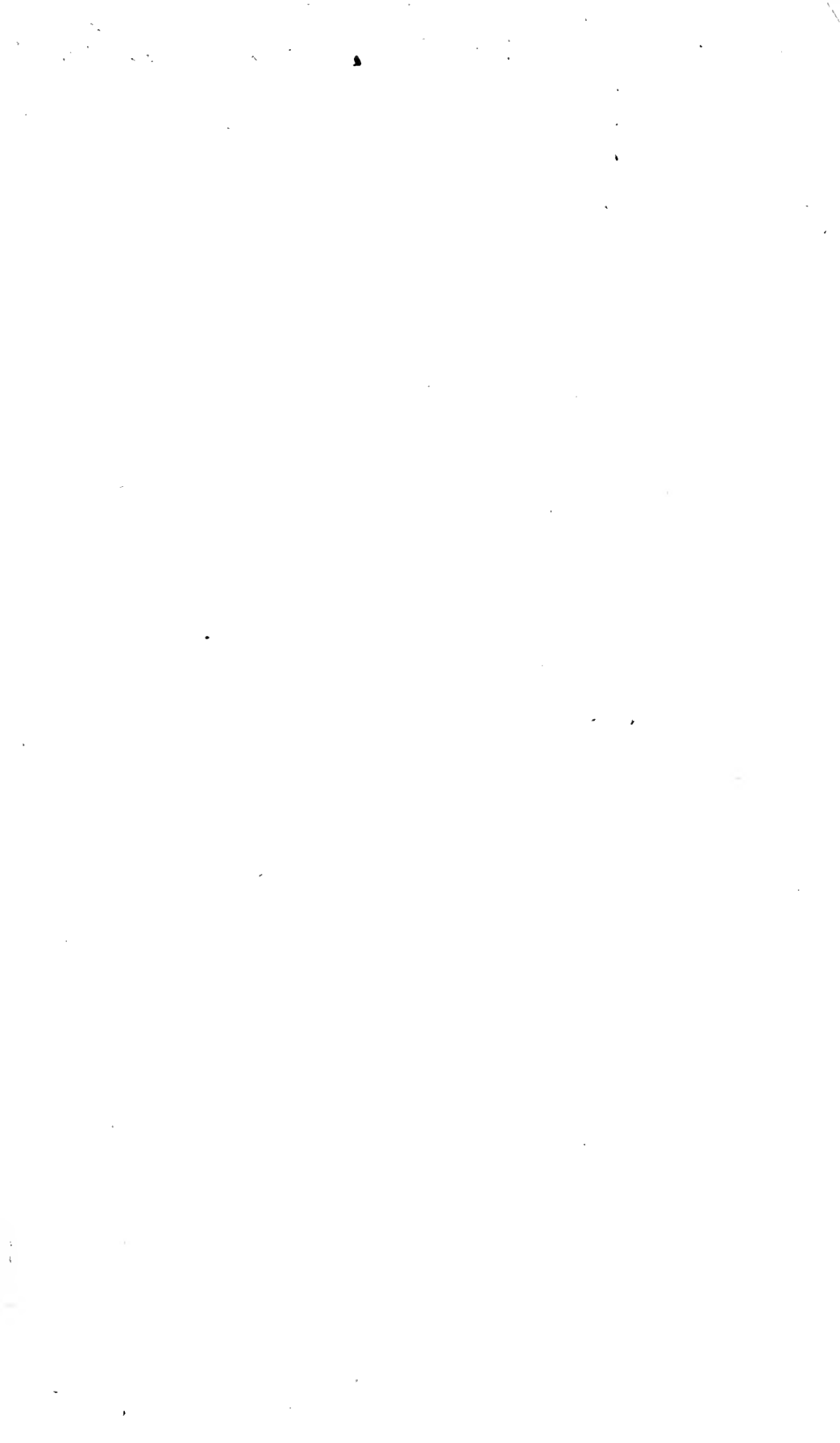
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A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT OF JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY OF AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of

One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE TENTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola,

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the
Oxford-Theatre; and R. BALDWIN, at the Rose, in Paternoster-row.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.
B O O K E I G H T H.

A N N E.

THE generals of the allies now undertook A. C. 1708.
an enterprize, which, in the opinion of The allies
the French generals, favoured of rashness invest Lisle.
and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. This was the
siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, pro-
vided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and
a garrison reinforced by one and twenty battalions
of the best troops in France, commanded by ma-
chal de Boufflers in person. But these were not
the principal difficulties which the allies encounter-
ed. The enemy had cut off the communication
between them and their magazines at Antwerp
and Sas-Van-Ghent; so that they were obliged to
bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow
causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more
numerous than that with which they sat down be-

A. C. 1708. fore Lisle. On the thirteenth of August, it was invested on one side by prince Eugene, and on the other by the prince of Orange Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland; while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the twenty-second day of August, and carried on with that vigour and alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome being now joined by the duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and counter-marches for this purpose. Marlborough being apprised of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus king of Poland, and the landgrave of Hesse as volunteers: but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an intrenchment. On the seventh day of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle: but their design was only to harass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprize the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants; but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. Then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong intrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon; so that now all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend.

On

On the twenty-first day of September prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgment they had made on the counterscarp of the Tenaille, rallied and led them back to the charge; but being wounded over the left eye with a musket-shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege and of the covering army. On the twenty-third, the Tenaille was stormed, and a lodgment made along the covered-way. Marechal Boufflers having found means to inform the duke of Vendome that his ammunition was almost expended, this general detached the chevalier de Luxembourg with a body of horse and dragoons to supply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which about three hundred were admitted; but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried.

The next attempt of the French generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend. The count de la Motte marched from Ghent with about two and twenty thousand men to attack this convoy, which was guarded by six thousand of the allies, commanded by major-general Webb, who made such an admirable disposition by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with such a close fire, that, after a very warm action that lasted two hours, they retired in the utmost confusion, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, leaving six thousand men killed upon the field of battle; the loss of the allies not exceeding nine hundred and twelve officers and soldiers. This was the most honourable exploit performed during

They defeat a large body of French forces at Wynendale. The elector of Bavaria attacks Brussels.

A. C. 1708. the whole war, and of such consequence to the confederates, that if the convoy had been taken, the siege must have been raised. The duke of Vendome ordered the dykes between Bruges and Newport to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water, in hope of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the confederates; and, after a regular siege, he took colonel Caulfield and a body of British troops posted in the village of Lessinghen, by whose means the convoys had been forwarded to the duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-second of October, marechal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lille: next day the articles were signed: on the twenty-fifth the allies took possession of the place, and the marechal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which, from twelve thousand, was reduced to less than half of that number. A negotiation was begun for the surrender of the citadel: but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain. Hostilities were renewed on the twenty-ninth day of the month: and the earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmuyde. During these transactions, velt-marechal Overkirk died at Rouffelaer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after having in above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The duke of Vendome did not yet despair of obliging the confederates to abandon their enterprize; the French ministers at Rome and Venice publickly declared the allied army was cooped up in such a manner, that it must either raise the siege or be famished. The elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thousand men, marched to Brussels and attacked the counterscarp with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison under the command of general Palkhal, and retired

retired with precipitation, when he understood that the duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger, to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with the covering-army to the Schelde, which they passed on pontoons without opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprize of the confederates, who had laid their account with the loss of a thousand men in the attack. Having passed the river between Eskenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the elector had retreated. Then prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took post at Oudenarde, so as to maintain a communication with prince Eugene.

The besiegers having made lodgments and raised batteries on the second counterescarp of the citadel, sent a message to Bouffiers, intimating, that if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries, he should have an honourable capitulation; otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war. He chose to avoid the last part of the alternative; hostages were exchanged on the eighth day of December, and the articles signed on the tenth; when the marechal and his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conducted to Doway. In this great enterprize, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight and skill, which was flagrant on the side of the confederates; though their success was owing in a great measure to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged. The French generals never dreamed that the allies would attempt any thing of con-

Lisle surren-
dered,
Ghent
taken, and
Bruges
abandoned.

A. C. 1708. sequence after the reduction of Lisle, considering the advanced season of the year; and therefore they returned to Paris, after having distributed their army into winter-quarters. But their indefatigable antagonists were determined to strike another stroke of importance before their forces should separate. On the twentieth day of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides; and on the thirtieth, when the batteries were ready to open, the count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate. On the third day of the next month he marched out with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tournay; while the duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plaffendahl, and Lessingen; and the generals of the allies having settled the plan of winter-quarters, repaired to Holland, leaving the forces under the command of count Tilly. The French king was confounded and dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands. Nor was he easy on the side of Dauphine, where, in spite of all the vigilance and activity of Villars, the duke of Savoy made himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin and Fenestrelles; so that by the end of the campaign he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, after having made a diversion in favour of king Charles, by obliging the enemy to send a strong detachment from Roussillon to the assistance of Villars.

Conquest of
Minorca by
general
Stanhope.

The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the last day of April; but the Imperial troops brought from Italy by admiral Leake did not land in time to relieve Tortosa, which the duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with
Denia,

Denia, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. These losses, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the marquis D'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the viceroy to submit to king Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the garrison enlisted themselves in the service of Charles. The deputies of the states being assembled by the marquis D'Alconzel, acknowledged that prince as their sovereign, and agreed to furnish his army with thirty thousand sacks of corn, which were accordingly transported to Catalonia, where there was a great scarcity of provision. Major-general Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese, embarked at Barcelona, with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island about two miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines, if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards

A. C. 1708 Spaniards and six hundred French marines, commanded by colonel la Jonquiere, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand; so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt, with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, That they should march out with the honours of war: That the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. These last, however, were detained by way of reprisal for the garrison of Denia. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquiere was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Port Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for king Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; and general Stanhope appointed colonel Peuit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Tortosa finished the operations of the campaign.

The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewise over-awed the pope, who had endeavoured to form a league of

the princes in Italy against the emperor. This pontiff had manifested his partiality to the house of Bourbon in such a palpable manner, that his Imperial majesty ordered monsieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by those belonging to the duke of Modena, and invade the dutchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took possession of Comachio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the duke of Modena, and fiefs of the emperor, to which the holy see had no lawful claim. The vice-roy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome, and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, containing the pretensions of his catholic majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the pope's temporal power. His holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the emperor on the injustice of those proceedings, and declared, that he would assert this cause, though he should lose his life in the contest. He forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the princes and states of Italy, for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita-Vecchia, in resentment for the pope's having countenanced the pretender's expedition to Great-Britain; but as the emperor and the duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the court of Rome, they prevailed upon the English admiral to suspend hostilities, until they should have tried the method of negotiation. The marquis de Prie, a Piedmontese nobleman, was sent as ambassador to Rome; but, the pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promises of France, he set the emperor at defiance; and his troops having surpris'd a body of Imperialists, were so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops

A. C. 1708.
Rupture between the pope and the emperor.

of

A. C. 1708, of the emperor which had served under that prince were ordered to march into the papal territories, and drove the forces of his holiness before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated; and Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army. Then the pope's courage failed: he was glad to admit the marquis de Prie as envoy from the emperor. He consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the Imperial troops with winter-quarters in the papal territories; to grant the investiture of Naples to king Charles; and allow at all times a passage to the Imperial troops through his dominions. On the upper Rhine the electors of Bavaria and Hanover were so weak, that they could not undertake any thing of consequence against each other. In Hungary the disputes still continued between the emperor and the malcontents. Poland was at length delivered from the oppression exercised by the king of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine against the czar of Muscovy, notwithstanding the submissions with which that monarch endeavoured to appease his indignation. During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by sea: the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys. In the West-Indies commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthagene. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

The court of England was about this time a little disquieted, by the consequences of an outrage committed

committed on the person of the count de Matueof the Muscovite ambaffador. He was publicly arrested at the fuit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to prifon, where he continued till he was bailed by the earl of Feverfham. Incenfed at this infult, he demanded redrefs of the government, and was feconded in his remonftrances by the minifters of the emperor, the king of Pruffia, and feveral other foreign potentates. The queen expreffed uncommon indignation againft the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and orders were given to profecute them with the utmoft feverity of the law. Matueof repeated his complaints with great acrimony; and Mr. fecretary Boyle affured him, in the queen's name, that he fhould have ample fatisfaction. Notwithftanding this affurance, he demanded a pafs for himfelf and his family, refufed the ordinary prefents at his departure, and retired to Holland. From thence he tranfmitted a memorial with a letter from the czar to the queen, infifting upon her punifhing with death all the perfons concerned in violating the law of nations upon the perfon of his ambaffador. Such punifhment being altogether inconfiftent with the laws of England, the queen and her miniftry were extremely perplexed, and held feveral councils to deliberate upon the meafures proper to be taken on fuch an occafion. On the twenty-eighth day of October prince George of Denmark died of an afthma and dropfy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a prince of an amiable rather than a fhining character, brave, good-natured, modeft, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and efpecially in his laft illnefs, approved herfelf a pattern of conjugal truth and tendernes. At his death

A. C. 1708.
Death of
prince
George of
Denmark.

A. C. 1708. death the earl of Pembroke was created lord high-admiral, the earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and lord Somers appointed president of the council. Notwithstanding these promotions of the Whig noblemen, the duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the queen, who privately consulted and reposed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no visible concern in the administration.

The new
parliament
assembled.

The new parliament, in which the Whig interest still preponderated, was assembled on the sixteenth day of November, when they were given to understand by a commission under the great seal, that the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the lord-treasurer, the lord-steward, and the master of the horse, were appointed to represent the person of her majesty, whom decency would not permit to appear in the house so soon after the death of her consort. Sir Richard Onslow being chosen speaker of the lower house with the queen's approbation, the chancellor, in a speech to both houses, recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war, telling them her majesty hoped, they would enable her to make a considerable augmentation for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands; that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and render the union effectual: and, that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufacture, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions. Both houses having presented addresses of condolence and congratulation, on the death of prince George, and the success of her majesty's arms during the last campaign, the commons took cognizance of controverted elections, which were decided with shameful partiality for the Whig faction. Then they proceeded to consider the different branches of the supply: they approved of

of an augmentation of ten thousand men, which A. C. 17c8. was judged necessary for the more vigorous prosecution of the war: and they voted above seven millions for the service of the ensuing year. The bank agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills for the government, on condition, that the term of their continuance should be prolonged for one and twenty years; and their stock of two millions, two hundred and one thousand one hundred and seventy-one pounds, should be doubled by a new subscription. The two-third subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by this expedient.

Great debates having arisen about Scottish elections, the house considered the petitions and representations that were delivered, touching the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scottish peers, excluded from sitting in the parliament of Great-Britain. Counsel being heard upon the subject, that incapacity was confirmed; and new writs were issued, that new members might be elected for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William lord Haddo, and James lord Johnstown. Petitions were likewise presented to the house of lords by some Scottish peers, concerning their right of voting, and signing proxies. After warm debates, the house upon a division determined, that a Scottish lord created a peer of Great-Britain, should no longer retain his vote in Scotland: and, that the noblemen who were in the castle of Edinburgh had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government. The Scottish peers and commoners that sat in the British parliament, were divided into two factions. The duke of Queensberry was in great credit with the queen and the lord-treasurer, by whose interest he was appointed secretary of state for Scotland. His influence in elections

Naturalization bill.

A. C. 1708. elections was so great, that all offices in that kingdom were bestowed according to his recommendation. He was opposed by the dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, who were supported by the earl of Sunderland and lord Somers; so that the whole interest in that country was engrossed by one or other member of the ministry. A bill for a general naturalization of all protestants was brought into the house, and notwithstanding violent opposition from the Tories both among the lords and commons, was enacted into a law. The Whigs argued for this bill, as a measure that would encourage industry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned; but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The Tories pleaded, that a conflux of aliens might prove dangerous to the constitution: that they would retain a fondness for their native countries, and in time of war act as spies and enemies: that they would insinuate themselves into places of trust and profit; become members of parliament, and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the English race: that they would add to the number of the poor, already so expensive; and share the bread of the labourers and tradesmen of England.

Act of
grace.

An inquiry being set on foot in both houses concerning the late intended invasion of Scotland, lord Haversham and the other Tory members endeavoured to demonstrate, that proper precautions had not been taken for the security of that kingdom, even after the ministry had received undoubted intelligence of the pretender's design; and, that since the attempt had miscarried, many persons of quality had been apprehended, and severely used by the government, on pretended suspicion of high-treason; though, in all probability, the aim
of

of the ministry in confining those persons, was to remove all possibility of their opposing the court at the ensuing elections for members of parliament. These assertions were supported by many incontestable facts and shrewd arguments; notwithstanding which, the majority were so little disposed to find fault, that the inquiry issued in a joint-address to the queen, containing resolutions, That timely and effectual care had been taken to disappoint the designs of her majesty's enemies both at home and abroad. A bill, however, was brought into the house of lords, under the title of "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms." It related to trials for treason in Scotland, which by this law were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with some small variation. The Scottish members opposed it as an incroachment upon the form of their laws; and they were joined by those who had laid it down as a maxim to oppose all the court-measures: nevertheless, the bill passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. Yet, in order to sweeten this unpalatable medicine, the queen consented to an act of grace, by which all treasons were pardoned, except those committed on the high-seas: an exception levelled at those who had embarked with the pretender. Major-general Webb, who had been defrauded of his due honour, in a partial representation of the battle of Wynendale, transmitted by Cardonnel secretary to the duke of Marlborough, was now thanked by the house of commons for the great and eminent services which he had performed in that engagement. This motion was made by the Tories; and the Whigs did not fail to procure a compliment of the same nature to the duke of Marlborough, even before he returned to England. When the news of Ghent's being taken arrived, the lords and commons congratulated the queen on

A. C. 1708. this last great effort of a glorious campaign; and the duke, at his arrival, was thanked in the name of the peers, by the lord-chancellor. As he was supposed to have brought over proposals of peace, the two houses, in an address, desired the queen would insist on the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a nest of pirates that infested the ocean, and did infinite prejudice to the commerce of England. The queen promised to comply with their request. But she was not a little surpris'd at the next address they presented, humbly intreating, that she would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage. She told them, that the provision she had made for the protestant succession would always be a proof how much she had at heart the future happiness of the kingdom; but, the subject of this address was of such a nature, that she was persuad- ed they did not expect a particular answer.

The laws having been found insufficient to punish capitally the authors of the insult offer'd to the Muscovite ambassador, a bill was brought into the house of commons for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers; and pass'd through both houses: as did another to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the publick, a practice which had been carried to a degree of intatuation; and by which many unwary persons fell a sacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the fourteenth day of March the commons voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds, for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who had suffered by the late invasion; and on the twenty first day of April the parliament was prorogued. The Muscovite ambassador continued to write expostulatory letters to Mr. secretary Boyle, who at last owned, that the laws of the kingdom did not admit

of

Burnet.
Daniel.
Hist. of the
D. of Marl-
borough.
Mil. Hist.
Tindal.
Conduct of
the Dutchess
of Marlbo-
rough.
Feuquieres.
Quincy.
Lives of the
Admirals.
Harc.
Voltaire.

Disputes
about the
Muscovite
ambassador
compro-
mised.

A. C. 1709.

of such punishment as he demanded. An informa-^{A C. 1709.}tion was tried at the court of queen's-bench for her majesty against Thomas Morton laceman, and thirteen other persons concerned in the insult, of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of ambassadors was to be argued next term before the judges. Mean while, the queen, by way of satisfaction to the czar, condescended to make solemn excuses by her ambassador; to repair Matueof's honour by a letter, and indemnify him for all his costs and damages: concessions with which the czar and his ambassador declared themselves well satisfied. The convocation had been summoned, chosen, and returned with the new parliament; but as the old spirit was supposed to prevail in the lower house, the queen, by writ to the archbishop, ordered him to prorogue it from time to time, until the session of parliament was finished.

The French king was by this time reduced to such a state of humiliation by the losses of the last campaign, and a severe winter, which completed the misery of his subjects, that he resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interest of his grandson, to his desire of peace, which was now become so necessary and indispensable. He dispatched the president Rouillé privately to Holland, with general proposals of peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the states-general, still entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy. This minister conferred in secret with Buys and Vanderdussen, the pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda at Moerdyke, from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht. The states immediately communicated his proposals to the courts of Vienna and Great-^{Negotiation for peace ineffectual.}

A. C. 1709. Britain. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague in April, and conferred with the grand pensionary Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory. Rouillé immediately dispatched a courier to Paris for further instructions; and the duke of Marlborough returned to England to make the queen acquainted with the progress of the negotiation. Lewis, in order to convince the states of his sincerity, sent the marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague with fresh offers, to which the deputies would make no answer until they knew the sentiments of the queen of Great-Britain. The duke of Marlborough crossed the seas a second time, accompanied by the lord viscount Townshend, as ambassador-extraordinary, and joint-plenipotentiary: Prince Eugene being likewise at the Hague, the conferences were begun. The French minister declared, that his master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk: that he would abandon the pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession: that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the states-general demanded for their barrier: that he would treat with the emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryswick, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburg. The ministers of the allies, rendered proud and wanton, by success, and seeing their own private interest in the continuation of the war, insisted upon the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire: upon the French monarch's restoring Strasburg in its present condition: upon his ceding the town and castellany of Lille, demolishing Dun-

kirk,

kirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen. A. C. 1709. In a word, their demands were so insolent, that Lewis would not have suffered them to be mentioned in his hearing, had not he been reduced to the last degree of distress. One can hardly read them without feeling a sentiment of compassion for that monarch, who had once given law to Europe, and been so long accustomed to victory and conquest. Notwithstanding the discouraging dispatches he had received from the president Rouillé, after his first conferences with the deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be so blind to their own interest, as to reject the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered. He could not conceive, that they would choose to bear the burthen of excessive taxes in prosecuting a war, the events of which would always be uncertain, rather than enjoy the blessings of peace, security, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himself, that the allies would not so far deviate from their purposed aim of establishing a balance of power, as to throw such an enormous weight into the scale of the house of Austria, which cherished all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary principles, without the liberality and sentiment peculiar to the house of Bourbon. In proportion as they rose in their demands Lewis fell in his condescension. His secretary of state, the marquis de Torcy, posted in disguise to Holland, on the faith of a common blank passport. He solicited, he soothed, he supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his sovereign. He found the states were wholly guided by the influence of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough. He found these generals elated, haughty, over-bearing, and implacable. He in private attacked the duke of Marlborough on his weakest side: he offered to that nobleman a large sum of money, provided he would effect a peace

A. C. 1709. on certain conditions. The proposal was rejected. The duke found his enemies in England increasing, and his credit at court in the wane; and he knew that nothing but a continuation of the war, and new victories, could support his influence in England. Torcy was sensible that his country was utterly exhausted: that Lewis dreaded nothing so much as the opening of the campaign; and he agreed to those articles upon which they insisted as preliminaries. The French king was confounded at these proposals: he felt the complicated pangs of grief, shame, and indignation. He rejected the preliminaries with disdain. He even deigned to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects. His offers were published, together with the demands of the allies. His people interested themselves in the glory of their monarch. They exclaimed against the cruelty and arrogance of his enemies. Though impoverished and half-starved by the war, they resolved to expend their whole substance in his support; and rather to fight his battles without pay, than leave him in the dire necessity of complying with such dishonourable terms. Animated by these sentiments, they made such efforts as amazed the whole world. The preliminaries being rejected by the French king, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four and twenty hours; and the generals of the confederates resolved to open the campaign without further hesitation.

The allied army be-
 came and
 broke. Four-
 may.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Lisle, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. At the same time, the marechal Villars, accounted the most fortunate general in France, assembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments.

ments. The confederate generals having observed his situation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had imprudently weakened. Accordingly they made a feint upon Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy, and convert all their attention to that side, while they suddenly invested Tournay on the twenty-seventh day of June. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions, and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, and lieutenant de Surville the governor was such an excellent officer, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops. As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and pistol. The volunteers on both sides presented themselves to these subterraneous combats, in the midst of mines and countermines ready primed for explosion. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below; and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the twenty-eighth day of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison retired to the citadel. Surville likewise entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel; and the articles being sent to the court of Versailles, Lewis would not ratify them, except upon condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands till the fifth day of September.

A. C. 1709. ber. Hostilities were renewed on the eighth day of August, and prosecuted with uncommon ardour and animosity. On the thirtieth, Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the duke of Marlborough, who gave him to understand that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion. At length, his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released.

The French
are defeated
at Malpla-
quet.

The next object that attracted the eyes of the confederates, was the city of Mons, which they resolved to besiege with all possible expedition. They passed the Schelde on the third day of September, and detached the prince of Hesse to attack the French lines, from the Haisne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh day of September, marechal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quiévrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his superior in point of seniority. The duke of Marlborough having received advice that the French were on the march to attack the advanced body under the prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre, in order to support that detachment. On the ninth the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought so near each other, that a mutual cannonading ensued. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the same number, encamped with the right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere; the head-quarters being

being at Blaregnies. The enemy, instead of attacking the allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple intrenchments. In a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, intrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would have been more decisive; for they had not then begun to secure the camp: but they postponed the engagement until they should be reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the siege of Tournay; and, in the mean time, the French fortified themselves with incredible diligence and dispatch. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the confederates, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the centre; and about eight o'clock the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by general Schuylenburg, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by two and twenty battalions under count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigour, that notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, they were in less than an hour driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with six and thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, posted in the wood of la Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the first intrenchment; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part
of

A. C. 1709. of his officers either slain or disabled. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general Villars dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Bayay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle they abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and a good number of prisoners: but this was the dearest victory they had ever purchased. Above twenty thousand of their best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half the number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been for some years inspired and overawed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the allies, count Lotum, general Tettau, count Oxienstiern, and the marquis of Tullibardine were killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: lieutenant-general Webb received a shot in the groin. The duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valour, escaped unhurt; but several musketballs penetrated through his cloaths, hat, and periwig. In the French army, the chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household-troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The marechal Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the confederates would have certainly been defeated.

Mons sur-
rened.

Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with

with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the court of Great-Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had intrenched themselves; but prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay: and the extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the prince of Orange, whose aim, through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the states-general, by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Valenciennes, the allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October; and both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp action, between a detachment of the French army commanded by the count de Borgh, and a body of troops under count Merci, who had passed the Rhine in order to penetrate into Franche-comte. He was worsted in this encounter, with the loss of two thousand men; obliged to repass the river, and retire to Fribourg. In Piedmont, velt-marechal Thau commanded the confederates, in the room of the duke of Savoy, who refused to take the field until some differences which had arisen between the emperor and him should be adjusted. Thau's design was to besiege Briançon; but the duke of Berwick had taken such precautions as frustrated his intention, though part of the troops under the French general were employed in suppressing an insurrection of the Camisars, and other malcontents in the Vivarez. These were intirely defeated in a pitched battle; and Abraham, one of their leaders, being taken, was broke alive upon the wheel: three and twenty were hanged, and the other prisoners sent to the gallies. The pope de-
layed

A. C. 1709. layed acknowledging king Charles, under various pretences, in hope that the campaign would prove favourable to the house of Bourbon; till at length the emperor giving him to understand that his army should take up their winter-quarters in the ecclesiastical state, his holiness solemnly owned Charles as king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

Campaign
in Spain.

The military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavourable to the allies. On the seventh of May, the Portuguese and English were defeated at Caye, by the Spaniards under the command of the marechal de Bay. The castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out during the whole winter. At length the chevalier D'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined, and having lodged two hundred barrels of gun-powder, gave Syburg the governor to understand, that two of his officers might come out, and see the condition of the works. This offer being accepted, he in person accompanied them to the mine: told them he could not bear the thoughts of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended; and allowed them four and twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances: and, with an obstinacy that favoured more of stupidity than of valour, determined to stand the explosion. When the centinels that were posted on the side of the hill, gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend
the

the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whi-^{A. C. 1709.}taker sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then general Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, general Staremberg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He passed the Segra and reduced Balaguer; having left a strong garrison in the place, he re-passed the river, and sent his forces into winter-quarters. The most remarkable event of this summer, was the battle of Pultowa, in which the king of Sweden was entirely defeated by the czar of Muscovy, and obliged to take refuge at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions. Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if it had been the effect of compulsion. He formed a project with the kings of Denmark and Prussia, to attack the Swedish territories in three different places: but the emperor and maritime powers prevented the execution of this scheme, by entering into a guaranty for preserving the peace of the empire. Nevertheless, the king of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and transported an army over the Sound to Schonen; but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to reembark with the utmost precipitation. The war still continued to rage in Hungary, where, however, the revolted were routed in many petty engagements.

Though the events of the summer had been less unfavourable to France than Lewis had reason to expect, he saw that peace was as necessary as ever

A. C. 1709. to his kingdom; but he thought he might now treat with some freedom and dignity. His minister Torcy maintained a correspondence with Mr. Petkum resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague: he proposed to this minister, that the negotiation should be renewed; and demanded passes, by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might repair in safety to Holland. In the mean time, the French king withdrew his troops from Spain, on pretence of demonstrating his readiness to oblige the allies in that particular; though this measure was the effect of necessity, which obliged him to recal those troops for the defence of his own dominions. The states-general refused to grant passes to the French ministers; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Versailles. In the interim king Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice. Far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from those places that were now in his possession. He named the duke of Alba and count Bergheyck for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers; but no regard was payed to their intimation. Philip tampered likewise with the duke of Marlborough, and the marquis de Torcy renewed his attempts upon that general: but all his application and address proved ineffectual. Petkum brought back from Versailles a kind of memorial, importing, That those motives which influenced the French, before the campaign was opened, no longer subsisted: That the winter season naturally produced a cessation of arms, during which he would treat of a general and reasonable peace, without restricting himself to the form of the preliminaries which the allies had pretended to impose: That nevertheless, he would still treat on the foundation of those conditions to which he had consented,

The French king's proposals of treating rejected by the states-general.

sent, and send plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with those of the allies, on the first day of January. The states-general inveighed against this memorial, as a proof of the French king's insincerity; though he certainly had a right to retract those offers they had formerly rejected. They came to a resolution, that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigour: and they wrote pressing letters on this subject to all their allies.

The parliament of Great-Britain being assembled on the fifteenth day of November, the queen in her speech told both houses, that the enemy had endeavoured, by false appearances, and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies among the allies: That God Almighty had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign. She insisted upon the expediency of prosecuting the advantages she had gained; by reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. The parliament were as eager and compliant as ever. They presented congratulatory addresses: they thanked the duke of Marlborough for his signal services; while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives to his own private interest and reputation. In less than a month, the commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous supply. On the thirteenth day of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the late archbishop of York, complained to the house of two sermons preached

Account of
Dr. Sache-
verel.

A. C. 1709. preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's Southwark, as containing positions contrary to revolution-principles, to the present government and the protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of High-churchmen; and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer-assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the judges: on the fifth day of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance; inveighed against the toleration and dissenters; declared the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies; and slightly defended by her false friends: he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Garrard the lord-mayor, countenanced this harrangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and circulated all over the nation. The complaint of Mr. Dolben against Sacheverel was seconded in the house of commons by Sir Peter King, and other members. The most violent paragraphs were read: the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel being brought to the bar of the house, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord mayor to print that which was entituled, "The perils of false brethren." Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had even given him such encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the house resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of all the commons of England. A
committee

committee was appointed to draw up articles, and A. C. 1709. Sacheverel was taken into custody. At the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved; That the rev. Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St. Peter's Poor, for having often justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy revolution, had justly merited the favour and recommendation of the house; and they presented an address to the queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly, for his eminent services both to the church and state. The queen returned a civil answer, though she paid no regard to their recommendation. Hoadly was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the lord-mayor of London, had demonstrated the lawfulness of resisting wicked and cruel governors; and vindicated the late revolution. By avowing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the high-churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion. Many books were written against the maxims he professed. These he answered; and, in the course of the controversy, acquitted himself with superior temper, judgment, and solidity of argument. He, as well as bishop Burnet, and several other prelates, had been treated with great virulence in Sacheverel's sermon; and the lord-treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

The doctor being impeached at the bar of the upper house, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the commons seemed bent upon prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles. Mean while the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church; and that this pro-

He is im-
reached by
the com-
mons.

A. C. 1709. feccution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. These assertions were supported, and even credited by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared with discontent, arising from a scarcity which prevailed in almost every country of Europe. These ministers magnified the dangers to which the church was exposed, from dissenters, whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, which in a little time would produce universal famine; and as the immediate encouragers of those Palatine refugees who had been brought over to the number of six thousand, and maintained by voluntary contributions, until they could be conveniently transported into Ireland, and the plantations in America. The charity bestowed upon those unhappy strangers exasperated the poor of England, who felt severely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the measure of popular discontent. The articles against Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his person was committed to the deputy-usher of the black rod; and the lords admitted him to bail. Then he drew up an answer to the charge, in which he denied some articles, and others he endeavoured to justify or extenuate. The commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the lords appointed the twenty-seventh day of February for the trial, in Westminster hall.

This trial.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator. The managers for the commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor.

sollicitor-general, Sir Peter King, recorder of the city of London, lieutenant-general Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole treasurer of the navy. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps, and assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor. The queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church. We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the doctor, as he passed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and, among these some members of parliament, who were abused and insulted. They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwelling-houses of eminent dissenters; and threatened to pull down those of the lord-chancellor, the earl of Wharton, and the bishop of Sarum. They even proposed to attack the Bank; so that the directors were obliged to send to Whitehall for assistance. The horse and foot guards were immediately sent to disperse the rioters, who fled at their approach. Next day the guards were doubled at Whitehall, and the trained bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. The commons intreated the queen, in an address, to take effectual measures for suppressing the present tumults, set on foot and fomented by papists, nonjurors, and other enemies to her title and government. She expressed a deep sense of their care and concern, as well as a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings. She published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high treason. Two of them were convicted and sentenced to die;

A. C. 1703. but neither suffered. The commons presented another address of thanks to her majesty for her gracious answer to their first remonstrance. They took this occasion to declare, that the prosecution of the commons against Dr. Henry Sacheverell proceeded only from the indispensable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and administration, the present establishment and protestant succession, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the doctor's counsel had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government; and spoke in the most respectful terms of the revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and, by many pathetic expressions, endeavoured to excite the compassion of the audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the queen herself, who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

Debates upon it in the house of lords.

On the tenth day of March, the lords being adjourned to their own house, the earl of Nottingham proposed the following question, "Whether, in prosecutions by impeachments for high crimes and misdemeanors, by writing or speaking, the particular words supposed to be criminal, are necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments?" The judges being consulted, were unanimously of opinion, that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both. One of the lords having suggested, that the judges had delivered

delivered their opinions according to the rules of ^{A. C. 1709.} Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of parliament, the house resolved, that in impeachments they should proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of parliaments. On the sixteenth day of the month, the queen being in the house incognito, they proceeded to consider whether or not the commons had made good the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverel. The earl of Wharton observed, that the doctor's speech was a full confutation and condemnation of his sermon : that all he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience was false and ridiculous : that the doctrine of passive obedience, as urged by the doctor, was not reconcileable to the practice of churchmen : that if the revolution was not lawful, many in that house, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and injustice ; and that the queen herself was no lawful sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown was her parliamentary title founded upon the revolution. He was answered by the lord Haversham in a long speech. Lord Ferrers said, if the doctor was guilty of some foolish unguarded expressions, he ought to have been tried at common law. The earl of Scarborough observed, the revolution was a nice point, and above the law : he moved that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider before they gave judgment. Doctor Hooper bishop of Bath and Wells allowed the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases ; but was of opinion, that this maxim ought to be concealed from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to resist : that the revolution was not to be boasted of, nor made a precedent ; but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it should be called a vacancy or abdication.

A. C. 1709. He said the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned without great caution; that those who examined the revolution too nicely, were no friends to it; and that there seemed to be a necessity for preaching up non-resistance and passive obedience at that time, when resistance was justified. The duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the king's power in order to govern him the more easily; and therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics. The earl of Anglesey owned the doctor had preaced nonsense; but said that was no crime. The duke of Leeds distinguished between resistance and revolution: for, had not the last succeeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, since he knew of no other but hereditary right. The bishop of Salisbury justified resistance from the book of Maccabees: he mentioned the conduct of queen Elizabeth, who assisted the Scots, the French, and the states-general, in resisting their different sovereigns, and was supported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He observed that king Charles I. had assisted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion: that Manwaring incurred a severe censure from the parliament, for having broached the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and that though this became a favourite maxim after the restoration, yet its warmest asserters were the first who pleaded for resistance when they thought themselves oppressed. The archbishop of York, the duke of Buckingham, and other leaders of the Tory interest, declared that they never read such a piece of madness and nonsense as Sacheverel's sermon; but they did not think him guilty of a misdemeanour. Next day, Dr. Wake bishop of Lincoln, accused Sache-

verel of having made a strange and false representation of the design for a comprehension, which had been set on foot by archbishop Sancroft, and promoted by the most eminent divines of the church of England. He was of opinion that some step should be taken for putting a stop to such preaching, as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and animosities that would endanger both church and state. Dr. Trimnel bishop of Norwich, expatiated upon the insolence of Sacheverel, who had arraigned archbishop Grindal, one of the eminent reformers, as a perfidious prelate, for having favoured and tolerated the discipline of Geneva. He enlarged upon the good effects of the toleration. He took notice of Sacheverel's presumption in publishing inflammatory prayers, declaring himself under persecution, while he was prosecuted for offending against the law, by those, who in common justice ought to be thought the fairest accusers, and before their lordships, who were justly acknowledged to be the most impartial judges. In discussing the fourth article, the bishop of Salisbury spoke with great vehemence against Sacheverel, who, by inveighing against the revolution, toleration, and union, seemed to arraign and attack the queen herself; since her majesty had so great a share in the first; had often declared she would maintain the second; and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed, that nothing could be more plain than the doctor's reflecting upon her majesty's ministers; and that he had so well marked out a noble peer there present, by an ugly and scurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not possible to mistake his meaning. Some of the younger peers could not help laughing at this undesigned sarcasm upon the lord-treasurer, whom Sacheverel had reviled under the name of

A. C. 1709. Volpone: they exclaimed "Name him, name him;" and, in all probability, the zealous bishop, who was remarkable for absence of mind and unguarded expressions, would have gratified their request, had not the chancellor interposing, declared that no peer was obliged to say more than he should think proper.

He is silenced for three years.

After obstinate disputes and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; and four and thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years: his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord-mayor and the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The lords likewise voted that the executioner should commit to the same fire the famous decree passed in the convocation of the university of Oxford, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of princes. A like sentence was denounced by the commons upon a book intitled, "Collections of passages referred to by Dr. Sacheverel, in his answer to the articles of impeachment." These he had selected from impious books lately published, and they were read by his counsel as proofs that the church was in danger. The lenity of the sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, his friends considered as a victory obtained over a Whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations. On the fifth day of April, the queen ordered the parliament to be prorogued, after having, in her speech to both houses, expressed her concern for the necessary occasion which had taken up great part of their time towards the latter end of the session. She declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and

A. C. 1710

Burnet.

Hare.

Tercy.

Feuquieres.

Hist. of the

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Voltaire.

pro-

prosperity of the church than she had, and should always have; and she said it was very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that the church was in danger by her administration.

The French king seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, humbled himself again before the allies, and by the means of Petkum, who still corresponded with his ministers, implored the states-general, that the negotiation might be resumed. In order to facilitate their consent, he dispatched a new project of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be re-established in their estates and dignities. These overtures being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the queen of Great-Britain. Then Petkum wrote a letter to the marquis de Torcy, intimating that the allies required his most christian majesty should declare in plain and expressive terms, that he consented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of arms, in case the Spanish monarchy should be delivered to king Charles in the space of two months. He said, the allies would send passports to the French ministers to treat of an equivalent for that article. Lewis was even forced to swallow this bitter draught. He signified his consent, and appointed the marechal D'Uxelles and the abbé Polignac his plenipotentiaries. They were not suffered, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the deputies Buys and Vanderdussen at Gertruydenberg. Mean while, the states desired the queen of England to send over the duke of Marlborough to assist them with his advice on these conferences. The two houses of parliament seconded

Conferences
at Gertruy-
denberg.

A. C. 1710.

A. C. 1710. seconded their request in a joint-address to her majesty, who told them she had already given directions for his departure; and said, she was glad to find they concurred with her in a just sense of the duke's eminent services. Both the letter and the address were procured by the interest of Marlborough, to let the queen see how much that nobleman was considered both at home and abroad. But she was already wholly alienated from him in her heart, and these expedients served only to increase her disgust.

Pride and
obstinacy of
the Dutch.

The French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. They were in a manner confined to a small fortified town, and all their conduct narrowly watched. Their accommodation was mean: their letters were opened; and they were daily insulted by injurious libels. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. In vain the plenipotentiaries declared, that the French king could not with decency, or the least regard to his honour, wage war against his own grandson: the deputies insisted upon his effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria; and submitting to every other article specified in the preliminaries. Nay, they even reserved to themselves a power of making ulterior demands after the preliminaries should be adjusted. Lewis proposed, that some small provision should be made for the duke of Anjou, which might induce him to relinquish Spain the more easily. He mentioned the kingdom of Arragon; and this hint being disagreeable to the allies, he demanded Naples and Sicily. When they urged, that Naples was already in possession of the house of Austria, he restricted the provision to Sicily and Sardinia. He offered to deliver up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a security for
Philip's

Philip's evacuating Spain; and even promised to supply the confederates with a monthly sum of money, to defray the expence of expelling that prince from his dominions, should he refuse to resign them with a good grace. The substance of all the conferences was communicated to lord Townshend and count Zinzendorf, the Imperial plenipotentiary; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the pensionary Heinsius, who was firmly attached to prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, more averſe than ever to a pacification. The negotiation laſted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which term the conferences were ſeveral times interrupted, and a great many diſpatches and new propoſals arrived from Verſailles. At length, the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having ſent a letter to the pensionary, in which they declared, that the propoſals made by the deputies were unjuſt and impracticable; and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been expoſed. Lewis reſolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope, that there might be ſome lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the Engliſh miniſtry, of which he was well apprized, would be productive of a more reaſonable pacification. The ſtates-general reſolved, That the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun, and ſtudied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the reſtitution of Spain and the Indies: and in ſhort, that France had no other view than to ſow and create jealousy and diſunion among the allies. Lord Townſhend, in a memorial aſſured them, that the queen intirely approved their reſolution, and all the ſteps they had taken in the courſe of the negotiation; and, that ſhe was firmly reſolved to proſecute the war with
all

A. C. 1710. all possible vigour, until the enemy should accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquillity of the christian world.

Doway besieged and taken by the confederates, as well as Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant.

The conferences did not retard the operations of the campaign. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague on the 15th day of March for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabant. On the twentieth of April they suddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines upon which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Doway and other frontier towns, which were threatened by the confederates. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition. The allies having laid bridges over the Scarpe, the duke of Marlborough with his division passed that river, and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other side and invested Doway, the enemy retiring towards Cambrai. Marechal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and well appointed, considering the distress of that kingdom. Indeed, the number was augmented by this distress; for many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger by carrying arms in the service. The marechal having assembled all his forces, passed the Schelde, and encamped at Bouchain, declaring, that he would give battle to the confederates: an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception. He advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the confederates, he marched back to the heights of St. Laurence, where he fixed his camp. His aim was by continual alarms to interrupt the siege of Doway, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of monsieur Albergotti, who

who made a number of successful sallies, in which A. C. 1710. the besiegers lost a great number of men. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults; but still proceeded with unremitting vigour, until the besieged being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened. The generals finding it impracticable to attack the enemy, who were posted within strong lines from Arras towards Miramont, resolved to besiege Bethune, which was invested on the fifteenth day of July, and surrendered on the twenty-ninth of August. Villars marched out of his intrenchments with a view to raise the siege; but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement: some warm skirmishes, however; happened between the foragers of the two armies. After the reduction of Bethune, the allies besieged at one time the towns of Aire and St. Venant, which were taken without much difficulty. Then the armies broke up and marched into winter-quarters.

The campaign on the Rhine was productive of no military event: nor was any thing of consequence transacted in Piedmont. The duke of Savoy being indisposed and out of humour, the command of the forces still continued vested in count Thaurin, who endeavoured to pass the Alps and penetrate into Dauphine; but the duke of Berwick had cast up intrenchments in the mountains, and taken such precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the Imperial general. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents. The horse and dragoons in the army of king Charles, headed by general Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almennara. Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew general Ameffaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spanish horse were intirely routed,

King Charles obtains a victory over Philip at Saragossa, and enters Madrid.

A. C. 1710. routed, together with nine battalions that escaped by favour of the darkness; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement ensuing on the ninth day of August, the enemy was totally defeated: five thousand of their men were killed, seven thousand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and standards. King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid. Having sent his queen and son to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered troops so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of short duration. Stanhope proposed, that he should immediately secure Pampeluna, the only pass by which the French king could send troops to Spain. But this salutary scheme was rejected, and King Charles proceeded to Madrid, which was deserted by all the grandees; and he had the mortification to see that the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor.

Battle of
Villa-
viciosa.

While his forces continued cantoned in the neighbourhood of Toledo, the king of France, at the request of Philip, sent the duke of Vendome to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendome's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize themselves under the eye of this renowned general. The Castilians were inspired with fresh courage, and made surprising efforts in favour of their sovereign; so that in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa, he was in a condition to go in quest of his rival. Charles, on the

the other hand, was totally neglected by the courts A. C. 1710. of Vienna and Great-Britain, which took no steps to supply his wants, or enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained. In the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where Staremberg established his headquarters. General Stanhope with the British forces was quartered in the little town of Brihuega, where, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, he found himself suddenly surrounded by the whole Spanish army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short, but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, with all the colonels and officers of the respective regiments. He was greatly censured for having allowed himself to be surprised; for, if he had placed a guard upon the neighbouring hills, according to the advice of general Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes. Thither he detached his aid-du camp with an account of his situation, on the appearance of the Spanish army; and Staremberg immediately assembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to march towards Brihuega; but the roads were so bad, that night overtook them before they reached the heights in the neighbourhood of that place. Staremberg is said to have loitered away his time unnecessarily, from motives of envy to the English general, who had surrendered before his arrival. The troops lay all night on their arms near Villaviciosa, and on the twenty-ninth were attacked by the enemy, who doubled their number. Staremberg's left wing was utterly defeated, all the infantry

A. C. 1710. try that composed it, having been either cut in pieces or taken; but the victors, instead of following the blow, began to plunder the baggage; and Staremburg with his right wing fought their left with surprising valour and perseverance till night. Then they retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field of battle and of all their artillery. Six thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot: but the allies had suffered so severely that the general could not maintain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be nailed up, and marched to Saragossa, from whence he retired to Catalonia. Thither he was pursued by the duke de Vendôme, who reduced Balaguer, in which he had left a garrison, and compelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. At this period the duke de Noailles invested Gironne, which he reduced, notwithstanding the severity of the weather: so that Philip, from a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incursions. Nothing of consequence was atchieved on the side of Portugal, from whence the earl of Galway returned to England by the queen's permission. After the battle of Pultowa the czar of Muscovy reduced all Livonia; but he and king Augustus agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania. The king of Sweden continued at Bender, and the grand signior interested himself so much in behalf of that prince, as to declare war against the emperor of Russia. Hostilities were carried on between the Swedish and Danish fleets with various success. The malcontents in Hungary sustained repeated losses during the summer; but they were encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture between the Ottoman Porte and Russia. They were flattered with hopes of auxiliaries from
the

the Turks; and expected engineers and money from the French monarch. A. C. 1710.

In England the effects of those intrigues which had been formed against the Whig ministers began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the dissenters. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were presented to the queen, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon antimonarchical and republican principles. At the same time counter addresses were procured by the Whigs, extolling the revolution, and magnifying the conduct of the present parliament. The queen began to express her attachment to the Tories, by mortifying the duke of Marlborough. Upon the death of the earl of Effex she wrote to the general, desiring, that the regiment which had been commanded by that nobleman, should be given to Mr. Hill brother to Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the dutchess of Marlborough in the queen's friendship, and was in effect the source of this political revolution. The duke represented to her majesty in person, the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of such a young officer over the heads of a great many brave men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. He expostulated with his sovereign on this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mrs. Masham, which he could not help considering as a declaration against himself and his family, who had so much cause to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude. To this remonstrance the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. The earl of Godolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without effect; and the duke retired in disgust to Windsor. The queen appeared at council without taking the least notice of his absence,

The Whig
ministry
disgraced.

A. C. 1710.

which did not fail to alarm the whole Whig faction: Several noblemen ventured to speak to her majesty on the subject, and explain the bad consequences of disobliging a man who had done such eminent services to the nation. She told them, his services were still fresh in her memory; and, that she retained all her former kindness for his person. Hearing, however, that a popular clamour was raised, and that the house of commons intended to pass some votes that would be disagreeable to her and her new counsellors, she ordered the earl of Godolphin to write to the duke, to dispose of the regiment as he should think proper, and return to town immediately. Before he received this intimation he had sent a letter to the queen, desiring she would permit him to retire from business. In answer to this petition, she assured him, his suspicions were groundless, and insisted upon his coming to council. The dutchess demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her own character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, and retrieve the influence she had lost. She protested, argued, wept, and supplicated: but the queen was too well pleased with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other's friendship, to incur such slavery for the future. All the humiliation of the dutchess served only to render herself the more contemptible. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least sign of emotion, and all she would vouchsafe, was a repetition of these words, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none:" alluding to an expression in a letter she had received from the dutchess. As an additional mortification to the ministry, the office of lord-chamberlain was transferred from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimacy of

corre.

Correspondence with Mr. Harley. The interest of the duke of Marlborough was not even sufficient to prevent the dismissal of his son-in-law the earl of Sunderland from the post of secretary of state, in which he was succeeded by the lord Dartmouth. A. C. 1710.

The queen was generally applauded for thus asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary cabal, by which she had been so long kept in dependence. The parliament is dissolved. The duke of Beaufort went to court on this occasion, and told her majesty, he was extremely glad that he could now salute her queen in reality. The whole Whig party were justly alarmed at these alterations. The directors of the bank represented to her majesty the prejudice that would undoubtedly accrue to public credit from a change of the ministry. The emperor and the states-general interposed in this domestic revolution. Their ministers at London presented memorials, explaining in what manner foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in the British ministry. The queen assured them, that whatever changes might be made, the duke of Marlborough should be continued in his employments. In the month of August the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers: the staff of lord-steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord-chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission

A. C. 1710. of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred on the duke of Ormond. The earl of Orford withdrew himself from the board of admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed upon the earl of Portmore: the duke of Hamilton was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaster. In a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of state, except the duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had not he been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends, from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the queen dissolved the Whig parliament, after such precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election, in favour of the other party.

Meeting of
the new par-
liament.

To this end nothing so effectually contributed as did the trial of Sacheverel, who was used as an instrument and tool to wind and turn the passions of the vulgar. Having been presented to a benefice in North-Wales, he went in procession to that country with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and different noblemen, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgnorth he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands of flowers, and lined
with



SIDNEY Earl of *GODOLPHIN*.

with people; and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. Nothing was heard but the cry of "the church and Dr. Sacheverel." The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, which seemed to spread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect upon the elections for the new parliament, that very few were returned as members but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. Now the queen had the pleasure to see all the offices of state, the lieutenancy of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both houses of parliament, in the hands of the Tories. When these met on the twenty-fifth day of November, Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition. The queen in her speech recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour, especially in Spain. She declared herself resolved to support the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The lords, in their address, promised to concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honourable peace. The commons were more warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her majesty to discountenance all such principles and measures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; measures, which whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole constitution both in church and state. After this declaration they proceeded to consider the estimates, and cheerfully granted the supplies for the ensuing year, part of which was raised by two lotteries. In the house of peers the earl of Scarborough moved, that the thanks of the house

A. C. 1710.

should be returned to the duke of Marlborough; but the duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion, and the general's friends, dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the duke should return from the continent. The earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Imperial court: the earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover; and Mr. Richard Hill nominated envoy extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan. Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood were deprived of their regiments, because in their cups they had drank confusion to the enemies of the duke of Marlborough.

The duke of Marlborough insulted and reviled.

This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy-council. Her majesty gave him to understand that he needed not expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second day of January, the queen sent a message to both houses, intimating, that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of king Charles: that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the parliament would approve her conduct. Both houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two
turbulent

turbulent factions, that in their turn engrossed the administration and legislative power. The parliamentary strain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride, and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels, was in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct: even his courage was called in question, and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction!

The lords in their answer to the queen's message, declared that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future. They set on foot an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war to the earl of Galway and general Stanhope. Notwithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the house resolved, That

*Inquiry into
the conduct
of the war
in Spain.*

A. C. 1710.

the earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and honourable account of the councils of war in Valencia: That the earl of Galway, the lord Tyravley, and general Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle at Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the disappointment from the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her majesty. They voted, That the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain, was approved and directed by the ministers, who were therefore justly blameable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon: That the earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that ensued. Then the duke of Buckingham moved, That the thanks of the house should be given to the earl for his remarkable and eminent services: and these he actually received from the mouth of the lord-keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop some oblique reflections upon the mercenary disposition of the duke of Marlborough. The house proceeding in the inquiry, passed another vote, importing, That the late ministry had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, That the earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great-Britain. These resolutions they included in an address to the queen, who had been present during the debates, which were extremely violent; and to every separate vote was attached a severe protest. These were not the proceedings of candour and national justice,

justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animosity. A. C. 1710.

While the lords were employed in this inquiry, the commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen. The inhabitants of St. Olave's, and other parishes presented a petition, complaining, that a great number of Palatines inhabiting one house might produce among them a contagious distemper; and in time become a charge to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. This petition had been procured by the Tories, that the house of commons might have another handle for attacking the late ministry. A committee was appointed to enquire upon what invitation or encouragement those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the queen's order, and perused, the house resolved, That the inviting and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the public expence, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution in church and state: and, That whoever advised their being brought over, was an enemy to the queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all protestants; but this was rejected in the house of lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a year; and restricting the qualification of burgesses to half that sum. The design of this bill was, to exclude

Severe votes in the house of commons against those who invited over the poor Palatines.

A. C. 1710. exclude trading people from the house of commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-holders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms: a bill against which the Whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

Harley stabbed at the council-board by Guiscard, and created earl of Oxford.

A violent party in the house of commons began to look upon Harley as a lukewarm Tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular incident. Guiscard the French partisan, of whom mention hath already been made, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services with a precarious pension of four hundred pounds, which he enjoyed from the queen's bounty. He had been renounced by St. John the former companion of his pleasures: he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the queen, with a view to demand more considerable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all access to her majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services, in a letter to one Moreau a banker in Paris. His packet, which he endeavoured to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high treason. When the messenger disarmed him in St. James's park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the Cockpit in a sort of frenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon a table, and took it up without being perceived by his attendants. A committee of council was immediately summoned, and Guiscard brought before them to be examined. Finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered,



HARLEY Earl of *OXFORD*.

ed, he desired to speak in private with secretary St. John, whom, in all probability he had resolved to assassinate. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then," stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The instrument broke upon the bone without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless he repeated the blow with such force, that the chancellor of the exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John seeing him fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" and drew his sword. Several other members followed his example, and wounded Guiscard in several places. Yet he made a desperate defence, until he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a person who wanted to establish a traitorous correspondence with France, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt that minister's integrity. The two houses of parliament, in an address to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. They besought her majesty, to take all possible care of her sacred person; and for that purpose, to give directions for causing papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. A proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in execution against papists. When Harley appeared in the house of commons after his recovery, he was

A. C. 710.

Burnet.
Quincy.
Feuquieres.
Torcy.
Burchet.
Hist. of the
D. of Marl-
borough
Mil. Hist.
Conduct of
the dutchess
of Marlbo-
rough.

A. C. 1710. congratulated upon it by the speaker in a florid and fullsome premeditated speech. An act was passed, decreeing, That an attempt upon the life of a privy-counsellor should be felony without benefit of the clergy. The earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl by the noble and antient titles of Oxford and Mortimer: to crown his prosperity, he was appointed lord-treasurer, and vested with the supreme administration of affairs.

A. C. 1711. The commons impowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by king William, and report the value of them, as well as the considerations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed, and passed that house; but the lords rejected it at the first reading. Their next step was to examine the public accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the earl of Godolphin. They voted, That above five and thirty millions of the money granted by parliament remained unaccounted for. This sum, however, included some accounts in the reigns of king Charles and king William. One half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though these accounts had not passed through the auditor's office. The commons afterwards proceeded to inquire into the debts of the navy, that exceeded five millions, which with many other debts were thrown into one stock, amounting to nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand, three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be discharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade to the South-

South-sea, vested in the proprietors of navy-bills, A. C. 1711. debentures, and other public securities, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South-sea company, founded upon a chimerical supposition, that the English would be permitted to trade upon the coast of Peru in the West-Indies. Perhaps, the new ministry hoped to obtain this permission as an equivalent for their abandoning the interest of king Charles with respect to his pretensions upon Spain. By this time the emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox without male issue; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the Imperial throne. This event was on the twentieth day of April communicated by a message from the queen to both houses. She told them, that the states-general had concurred with her in a resolution to support the house of Austria; and, that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

The house of commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the church, in consequence of an address from the lower house of convocation, and a quickening message from the queen, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster, and appropriated for this purpose the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finished. This imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. At the close of the session the commons presented a remonstrance or representation to the queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and justly complained. They said, that in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement and misapplication of the public money. That they

Representation by the commons to the queen.

A. C. 1711. they who of late years had the management of the treasury, were guilty of notorious breach of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to remain unaccounted for; a purposed omission that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements. They begged her majesty would give immediate directions for compelling the several imprest accountants speedily to pass their accounts. They expressed their hope, that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be intrusted with the public money. They affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs, of some persons, who had by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into her royal favour, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the public, had not her majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her majesty's favourable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them. They observed, that her people could with greater patience have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves, by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation being circulated through the kingdom, produced the desired effect of inflaming the minds of the people against the late ministry. Such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was to put a speedy end to a war that had already subjected the people to grievous oppression, and even accumulated heavy burdens to be transmitted to their posterity. The nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to dispel those dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take
measures

measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth of June the queen having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both houses. She thanked the commons in the warmest expressions for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts: so that the credit of the nation was restored. She expressed her earnest concern for the succession of the house of Hanover; and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England as by law established. Then the parliament was prorogued.

Of the convocation, which was assembled with the new parliament, the lower house chose Dr. Atterbury their prolocutor. He was an enterprising ecclesiastic of extensive learning, acute talents, violently attached to Tory principles, and intimately connected with the prime minister Oxford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the lower house of convocation in concert with that minister. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her hope, that the consultations of the clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons. She sent a licence under the broad seal, empowering them to sit and do business, in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the reformation. They were ordered to lay before the queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with

Proceedings
in the con-
vocation.

A. C. 1711. with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church and religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures upon the administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the revolution. Another was penned by the bishops in more moderate terms; and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets favouring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, mathematical professor in Cambridge. He had been expelled the university, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the convocation. The archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave in their opinion, that the convocation had a jurisdiction. Four of them professed the contrary sentiment; which they maintained from the statutes made at the reformation. The queen, in a letter to the bishops, said, that as there was now no doubt of their jurisdiction, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them. Fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, without proceeding against the author, and this was censured accordingly. An extract of the sentence was sent to the queen; but she did not signify her pleasure on this subject, and the affair remained in suspense. Whiston published a work in four volumes, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining, that the apostolical constitutions were not only canonical, but also preferable in point of authority to the epistles and the gospel.

The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was a step which could

not

not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other allies. He therefore set out for Holland in the month of February, after the queen had assured him, that he might depend upon the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the deputies of the states about the operations of the campaign, he about the middle of April assembled the army at Orchies, between Lisle and Douay; while marechal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambay and Arras. Lewis had by this time depopulated as well as impoverished his kingdom; yet his subjects still flocked to his standard with surprising spirit and attachment. Under the pressure of extreme misery they uttered not one complaint of their sovereign; but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obstinacy of the allies. Exclusive of all the other impositions that were layed upon that people, they consented to pay the tenth penny of their whole substance: but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the kingdom, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South-sea, from whence they brought home immense treasures: while the allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though nothing could have been more easy for the English than to deprive the enemy of this great resource, and convert it to their own advantage. Had a squadron of ships been annually employed for this purpose, the subjects of France and Spain must have been literally starved, and Lewis obliged to submit to such terms as the confederates might have thought proper to impose. Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success. Mean while the

A. C. 1711.
The duke
of Marlbo-
rough conti-
nues to
command
the allied
army.

A. C. 1711. duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by prince Eugene on the twenty-third day of May. This general, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Understanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, he, by order from the court of Vienna, marched towards the Upper Rhine with the Imperial and Palatine troops to secure Germany. The duke of Marlborough repassing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. These lines beginning at Bouchain on the Schelde, were continued along the Sanfct and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. They were defended by redoubts and other works, in such a manner, that Villars judged they were impenetrable, and called them the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough.

He surpriseth
the French
lines.

This nobleman advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning; so that Villars drew all his forces on that side, in full expectation of an engagement. The duke, on the supposition that the passage of the Sanfct by Arleux would be left unguarded, had ordered the generals Cadogan and Hompesch to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons, from Douay and the neighbouring garrisons, and march to Arleux, where they should endeavour to pass the Sanfct. Brigadier Sutton was detached with the artillery and pontoons to lay bridges over the canal near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry, while the duke with the whole confederate army began his march for the same place about nine in the evening. He

pro-

proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river Vitry. There he received intelligence, that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sanfct and Schelde without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn their detachments from that side, just as he had imagined. He himself with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight of the clock arrived at Baca Bachuel, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry. Villars being certified of his intention, about two in the morning decamped with his whole army, and putting himself at the head of the king's household-troops, marched all night with such expedition, that about eleven in the forenoon he was in sight of the duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined count Hompesch. The French general immediately retreated to the main body of his army, which had advanced to the high-road between Arras and Cambray, while the allies encamp'd upon the Schelde between Oisy and Estrun, after a march of ten leagues without halting, scarce to be paralleled in history. By this plan, so happily executed, the duke of Marlborough fairly outwitted Villars, and, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impenetrable. This stroke of the English general was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The field-deputies of the states-general proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Schelde at Crevecœur, in order to cover Bouchain: but the duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines,

A. C. 1711. might be fatal. His intention was to besiege Bouchain, an enterprize that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege: and, in the mean time, dispatched brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence, to a great man who had done so much honour to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service.

Reduces
Bouchain.

On the tenth day of August Bouchain was invested, and the duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to baffle the endeavours of the English general. He had reinforced the garrison to the number of six thousand chosen men, commanded by officers of known courage and ability. He made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of the duke of Marlborough. Then he layed a scheme for surprising Douay, which likewise miscarried. If

we consider that the English general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the garrison of Condé and Valenciennes on the other ; we must allow this was the boldest enterprize of the whole war ; that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarce ever exhibited such amazing proofs of courage upon any other occasion, as they now displayed at the siege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war ; and this conquest was the last military exploit performed by the duke of Marlborough : for the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired, than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring. They were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre ; of the Schelde from Tournay, and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limeburg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greater part of Hainault : they were masters of the Scarpe ; and by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France. All these acquisitions were owing to the valour and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

The queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain upon the duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the service in Flanders for that purpose. He had long been at variance with the duke

The duke of Argyle commands the British troops in Spain.

A. C. 1711.
K. Charles
elected em-
peror.

of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry. He landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence. The treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the commons had granted one million, five hundred thousand pounds for that service. All their hopes of success were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the duke of Vendome was in such a wretched condition, that if Staremberg had been properly supported by the allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. The duke of Argyle having waited in vain for the promised remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the British troops could take the field. At length Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable damage. After this action the duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place, defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Staremberg was unable to follow the blow: the duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported; but all his remonstrances were ineffectual: no remittances arrived; and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, king Charles leaving his queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview with the duke of Savoy, where all disputes were compromised. That prince had forced his way into Sa-

voy,

voy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine : but he A. C. 1711. suddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a short campaign repassed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the electors at Franckfort from the designs of the enemy, and Charles was unanimously chosen emperor ; the electors of Cologne and Bavaria having been excluded from voting, because they lay under the ban of the empire. The war between the Ottoman Porte and the Muscovites was of short duration. The czar advanced so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from all supplies, and altogether in the power of his enemy. In this emergency, he found means to corrupt the grand vizir in private, while in public he proposed articles of peace that were accepted. The king of Sweden, who was in the Turkish army, charged the vizir with treachery, and that minister was actually disgraced. The grand signor threatened to renew the war ; but he was appeased by the czar's surrendering Asoph.

The English ministry had conceived great ex- Expedition to Canada, pectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North-America, planned by colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova Scotia, and garrisoned Port-royal, to which he gave the name of Annapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation, in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North-America. The ministers relished the proposal. A body of five thousand men were embarked in transports, under the command of brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham ; and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a strong squadron of ships commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker. At Boston in New England, they were joined by two regiments of provincials ;

A. C. 1711. and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvoused at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet sailed up the river of that name. On the twenty-first day of August, they were exposed to a violent storm, and driven among rocks, where eight transports perished with about eight hundred men. The admiral immediately sailed back to Spanish-River bay, where it was determined in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a supply of provisions from New England, they should return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the issue of this poultry expedition, intrusted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience.

Infolence
of the Jaco-
bites in
Scotland.

In the Irish parliament held during the summer, the duke of Ormond and the majority of the peers supported the Tory interest, while the commons expressed the warmest attachment to revolution-principles. The two houses made strenuous representations, and passed severe resolutions against each other. After the session, Sir Constantine Phipps the chancellor, and general Ingoldsby, were appointed justices in the absence of the duke of Ormond, who returned to England in the month of November. In Scotland the Jacobites made no scruple of professing their principles and attachments to the pretender. The dutchess of Gordon presented the faculty of advocates with a silver medal representing the chevalier de St. George; and on the reverse the British islands, with the motto "Reddite." After some debate, it was voted, by a majority of sixty-three voices against twelve, that the dutchess should be thanked for this token of her regard. This task was performed by Dundas of Arnistoun, who thanked her grace for having presented them with a medal of their sovereign lord

the king; hoping, and being confident, that her grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family, and the finishing rebellion, usurping tyranny, and whiggery. An account of this transaction being laid before the queen, the lord-advocate was ordered to inquire into the particulars. Then the faculty were so intimidated, that they disowned Dundas, and Horne his accomplice. They pretended that the affair of the medal had been transacted by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent; and, by a solemn act, they declared their attachment to the queen and the protestant succession. The court was satisfied with this atonement; but the resident from Hanover having presented a memorial to the queen, desiring that Dundas and his associates might be prosecuted, the government removed Sir David Dalrymple from his office of lord-advocate, on pretence of his having been too remiss in prosecuting those delinquents; and no further inquiry was made into the affair.

For some time a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministers, who had a double aim in this measure; namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they detested, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution. They foresaw the risque they would run by entering into such measures, should ever the opposite faction regain the ascendancy: they knew the Whigs would employ all their art and influence, which was very powerful, in obstructing the peace, and in raising a popular clamour against the treaty. But their motives for treating were such as prompted them to undervalue all those difficulties and dangers.

They

A negotiation set on foot between the courts of France and England,

A. C. 1711. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce, for the subjects of Great-Britain, as would silence all detraction. They did not doubt of being able to maintain the superiority which they had acquired in parliament; and perhaps some of them cherished views in favour of the pretender, whose succession to the crown would have effectually established their dominion over the opposite party. The earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire of peace, representing the impossibility of a private negotiation, as the ministry was obliged to act with the utmost circumspection; and desiring that Lewis would propose to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which case the English plenipotentiaries should have such instructions, that it would be impossible for the states-general to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who acted as chaplain to count Gallas the Imperial ambassador, and had been employed as a spy by the French ministry, since the commencement of hostilities. His connection with lord Jersey was by means of his lady, who professed the Roman catholic religion. His message was extremely agreeable to the court of St. Germain's; and he returned to London with a letter of compliment from the marquis de Torcy to the earl of Jersey, in which that minister assured him of his master's sincere inclination for peace, though he was averse to a renewal of the conferences with the states-general. Gualtier wrote a letter to Versailles, desiring, in the name of the English ministry, that his most christian majesty would communicate to them his proposals for a general peace, which they would communicate to the states-general, that they might negotiate in concert with their allies.

A gene-

A general answer being made to this intimation, Gualtier made a second journey to Versailles, and brought over a memorial, which was immediately transmitted to Holland. In the mean time, the pensionary endeavoured to renew the conferences in Holland. Petkum wrote to the French ministry, that if his majesty would resume the negotiation, in concert with the queen of Great-Britain, he should certainly have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies. This proposal Lewis declined, at the desire of the English ministers.

The states-general having perused the memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would communicate a more particular plan for securing the interest of the allied powers, and for settling the repose of Europe. Gualtier was once more sent to Versailles, accompanied by Mr. Prior, who had resided in France as secretary to the embassies of the earls of Portland and Jersey. He had acquired some reputation by his poetical talents; was a man of uncommon ability, insinuating address, and perfectly devoted to the Tory interest. He was empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the English; to receive the answer of the French king, and demand whether or not king Philip had transmitted a power of treating to his grandfather. He arrived incognito at Fontainebleau, and presented the queen's memorial, in which she demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire; a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all her allies. She required that the strong places taken from the duke of Savoy should be restored; and that he should possess such towns and districts

Prior is sent
to Fontaine-
bleau.

in

A. C. 1711. in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his allies: that Lewis should acknowledge queen Anne and the protestant succession; demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and agree to a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Portmahon should be yielded to the crown of England: that the negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be ceded to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed. She expected security that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that crown to the most favoured nation: that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's bay, either by way of restitution or cession; and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. Her majesty no longer insisted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the exorbitant power of the house of Austria would be as dangerous to the liberty of Europe, as ever that of the family of Bourbon had been in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition, of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow creatures: she was eagerly bent upon procuring such advantages to her people, as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they laboured, and recompense them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the

the

the war. These were the sentiments of a christian A. C. 1711.
 princess; of an amiable and pious sovereign, who bore a share in the grievances of her subjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought she had the better title to insist upon those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with king Charles.

As Prior's powers were limited in such a manner that he could not negotiate, Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the board of trade, accompanied the English minister to London, with full powers to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. At his arrival in London, the queen immediately commissioned the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him; and the conferences were immediately begun. After long and various disputes, they agreed upon certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth day of October, were signed by the French minister, and by the two secretaries of state, in consequence of a written order from her majesty. Then Menager was privately introduced to the queen at Windsor. She told him she was averse to war: that she would exert all her power to conclude a speedy peace: that she should be glad to live upon good terms with the king of France, to whom she was so nearly allied in blood; and she expressed her hope that there would be a closer union after the peace, between them, and between their subjects, cemented by a perfect correspondence and friendship. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary the proposals of peace which France had made; to signify the queen's approbation of them, and propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should

Menager
 arrives pri-
 vately in
 England.

A. C. 1717. should assemble. The English ministers now engaged in an intimate correspondence with the court of Versailles; and marechal Tallard being released from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole. After the departure of Menager, the preliminaries were communicated to count Gallas, the emperor's minister, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, caused them to be translated and inserted in one of the daily papers. This step was so much resented by the queen, that she sent a message, desiring he would come no more to court; but that he might leave the kingdom as soon as he should think proper. He took the hint, and retired accordingly; but the queen gave the emperor to understand, that any other minister he should appoint, would be admitted by her without hesitation.

The French king's proposals disagreeable to the allies.

The states of Holland, alarmed at the preliminaries, sent over Buys as envoy extraordinary, to intercede with the queen that she would alter her resolutions: but she continued steady to her purpose; and the earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the states, declaring, in the queen's name, that she would look upon any delay, on their part, as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the first day of January. They granted passports to the French ministers; and the queen appointed Robinson bishop of Bristol, and the earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congress. Charles, the new emperor, being at Milan when he received a copy of the preliminaries, wrote circular letters to the electors and princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their engagements to the grand alliance. He likewise desired the states-general to join counsels with him in persuading

suading the queen of England to reject the proposals of France, and prosecute the war; or at least negotiate on the foundation of the first preliminaries, which had been signed by the marquis de Torcy. He wrote a letter to the same purpose to the queen of Great-Britain, who received it with the most mortifying indifference. No wonder that he should zealously contend for the continuance of a war, the expence of which she and the Dutch had hitherto almost wholly defrayed. The new preliminaries were severely attacked by the Whigs, who ridiculed and reviled the ministry in word and writing. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were to-day published by one faction, and to-morrow answered by the other. They contained all the insinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterness of reproach, and all the rancour of recrimination. In the midst of this contention, the queen dispatched the earl of Rivers to Hanover, with an assurance to the elector, that his succession to the crown should be effectually ascertained in the treaty. The earl brought back an answer in writing: but, at the same time, his electoral highness ordered the baron de Bothmar, his envoy in England, to present a memorial to the queen, representing the pernicious consequences of Philip's remaining in possession of Spain and the West-Indies. This remonstrance the baron published by way of appeal to the people, and the Whigs extolled it with the highest encomiums, while the queen and her ministers resented this step, as an officious and inflammatory interposition.

The proposals of peace made by the French king were disagreeable even to some individuals of the Tory-party, and certain peers who had hitherto adhered to that interest, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonstrance against the preliminary articles. The court being apprised of their intention,

Violent debates upon them in the house of lords.

A. C. 1711. tion, prorogued the parliament till the seventh day of December, in expectation of the Scottish peers, who would cast the balance in favour of the ministry. In her speech, at the opening of the session, she told them that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congress; and that the states-general had expressed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern should be to secure the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her allies. She observed, that the most effectual way to procure an advantageous peace, would be to make preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. She recommended unanimity, and prayed God would direct her consultations. In the house of lords, the earl of Nottingham, who had now associated himself with the Whigs, inveighed against the preliminaries as captious and insufficient, and offered a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, representing to her majesty, that in the opinion of the house, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West-Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. A violent debate ensued, in the course of which the earl of Anglesey represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expensive war. He affirmed, that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by some persons who prolonged the war for their own private interest. This insinuation was levelled at the duke of Marlborough, who made a long speech in his own vindication. He bowed to the place where the queen sat incognito; and appealed

to her, whether, while he had the honour to serve A. C. 1711: her majesty as general and plenipotentiary, he had not constantly informed her and her council of all the proposals of peace which had been made; and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject? He declared, upon his conscience, and in presence of the supreme Being, before whom he expected soon to appear, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. At last the question being put, Whether the earl of Nottingham's advice should be part of the address? it was carried in the affirmative by a small majority. The address was accordingly presented; and the queen, in her answer, said she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West-Indies from the house of Bourbon. Against this advice, however, several peers protested, because there was no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks; and because they looked upon it as an invasion of the royal prerogative. In the address of the commons there was no such article; and therefore the answer they received was warm and cordial.

The duke of Hamilton claiming a seat in the house of peers, as duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was opposed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foresee great danger to the constitution from admitting into the house a greater number of Scottish peers than the act of union allowed. Counsel was heard upon the validity of his patent. They observed that no objection could be made to the queen's prerogative in conferring honours; and that all the subjects of the united kingdom were equally capable of receiving honour.

The duke of Hamilton's title of duke of Brandon disallowed. Bill against occasional conformity passes.

4. C. 1711. The house of lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the duke of Queensberry upon his being created duke of Dover. The debate was managed with great ability on both sides: the Scottish peers united in defence of the duke's claim; and the court exerted its whole strength to support the patent. Nevertheless, the question being put, Whether Scottish peers, created peers of Great-Britain since the union, had a right to sit in that house? it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices; though not without a protest signed by the lords in the opposition. The Scottish peers were so incensed at this decision, that they drew up a representation to the queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than those that had been formerly rejected; and it passed both houses by the connivance of the Whigs, upon the earl's promise that if they would consent to this measure, he would bring over many friends to join them in matters of greater consequence. On the twenty-second day of December, the queen being indisposed, granted a commission to the lord keeper, and some other peers, to give the royal assent to this bill, and another for the land-tax. The duke of Devonshire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all peers to the electoral prince of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge. An address was presented to the queen, desiring she would give instructions to her plenipotentiaries, to consult with the ministers of the allies in Holland before the opening of the congress, that they might concert the necessary measures for proceeding with unanimity, the better to obtain the great ends proposed by her majesty.

The

The commissioners for examining the publick accounts having discovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors for bread to the army, the queen declared in council, that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received. She probably alluded to the insolence of his dutchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry; and the pains lately taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her measures with respect to the peace. The duke wrote an answer to her majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters, the countess of Sunderland and the lady Rialton, resigned their places of ladies of the bed chamber. The ministry, in order to ascertain a majority in the house of lords, persuaded the queen to take a measure which nothing but necessity could justify. She created twelve peers* at once; and, on the second day of January, they

A. C. 1711.

Duke of Marlborough dismissed from all his employments. Twelve new peers created.

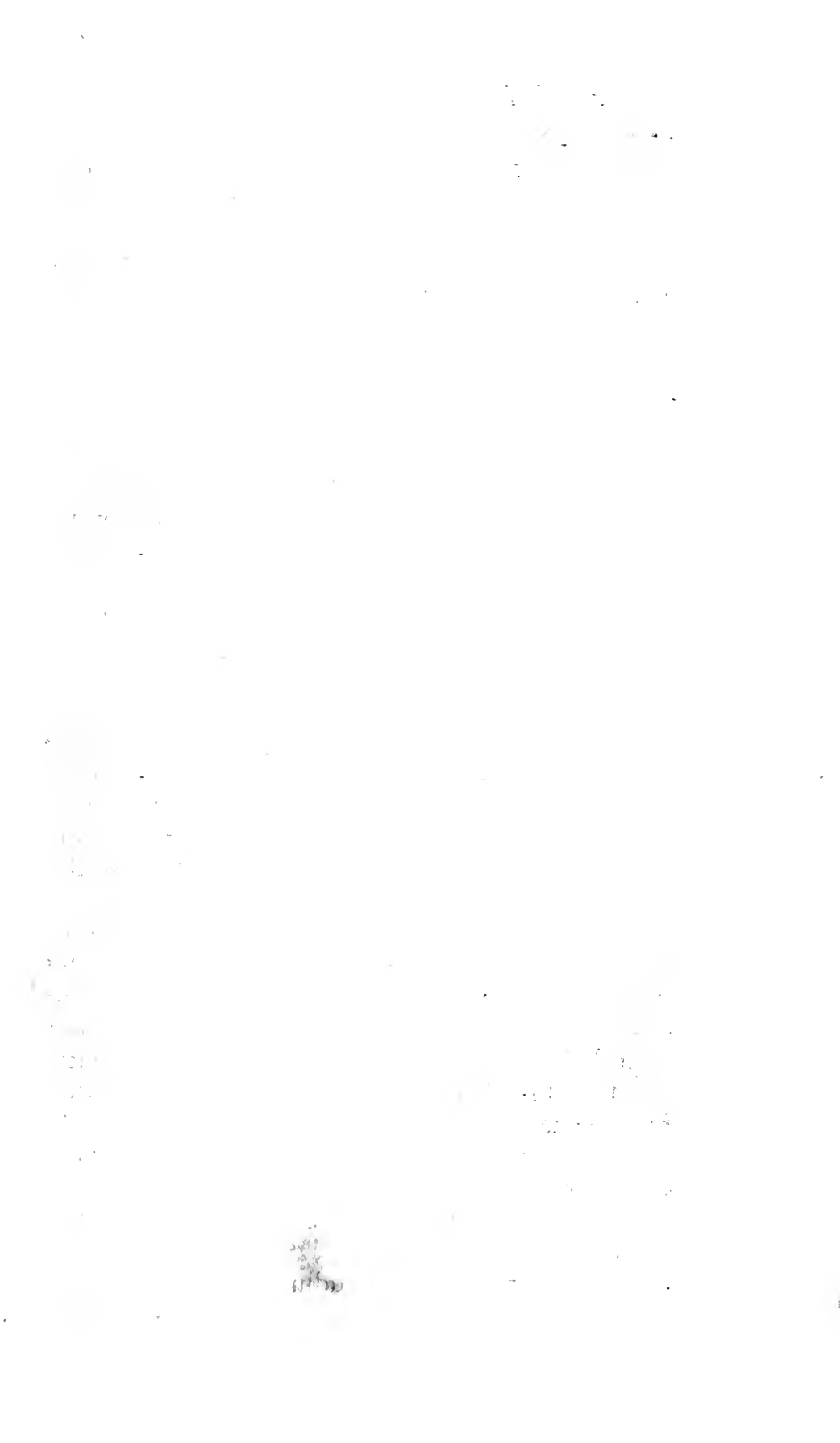
* Lord Compton and lord Bruce, sons to the earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ to the house of peers. The other ten were these: lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created baron Hay of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; lord viscount Windsor of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy in the Isle of Wight; Henry Paget, son to the lord Paget, created baron Burton in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, baron Mansel of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willeughby, baron Middleton of Middleton in the

county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, baron Lansdowne of Biddesford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, baron Masham of Oates, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, baron Foley of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester; and Allen Bathurst, baron Bathurst of Bathelshden, in the county of Bedford. On the first day of their being introduced, when the question was put, about adjourning, the earl of Wharston asked one of them, "Whether they voted by their foreman?"

A. C. 1711. were introduced into the upper-house without opposition. The lord-keeper delivered to the house a message from the queen, desiring they would adjourn to the fourteenth day of the month. The anti-courtiers alledged that the queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both houses. This objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favour of the court by the weight of the twelve new peers.

Prince
Eugene of
Savoy ar-
rives in
England.

At this period prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter to the queen from the emperor, and instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war. His errand was far from being agreeable to the ministry; and they suspected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the discontented party, who opposed the peace. Nevertheless, he was treated with that respect which was due to his quality and eminent talents. The ministers, the nobility, and officers of distinction, visited him at his arrival. He was admitted to an audience of the queen, who received him with great complacency. Having perused the letter which he delivered, she expressed her concern that her health did not permit her to speak with his highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the treasurer and secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper. He expressed extraordinary respect for the duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his disgrace. The lord-treasurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared, that he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life, since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of the age. The prince is said to have replied, "If I am, it is owing to your lordship:" alluding to the disgrace of Marlborough, whom the earl's intrigues had deprived:





EUGENE Prince of *SAVOY*.

deprived of all military command. When bishop Burnet conversed with him about the scandalous libels that were every day published against the duke, and in particular mentioned one paragraph, in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the prince observed it was the greatest commendation that could be bestowed upon him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct. While the nobility of both parties vied with each other in demonstrations of respect for this noble stranger; while he was adored by the Whigs, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in public; even in the midst of all these careffes, party-riots were excited to insult his person, and some scandalous reflections upon his mother were inserted in one of the public papers. The queen treated him with distinguished marks of regard; and, on her birth-day, presented him with a sword worth five thousand pounds. Nevertheless, she looked upon him as a patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which she owed so much disquiet. She knew he had been pressed to come over by the Whig noblemen, who hoped his presence would inflame the people to some desperate attempt upon the new ministry: she was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the duke of Marlborough, the earl of Sunderland, the lords Somers, Hallifax, and all the chiefs of that party, and entered into a close connection with the baron de Bothmar the Hanoverian envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances of the people.

Her majesty, who had been for some time afflicted with the gout, sent a message to both houses, on the seventeenth day of January, signifying that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; and that she was employed in making preparations for

Walpole expelled the house of commons.

A. C. 1711. an early campaign: she hoped therefore that the commons would proceed in giving the necessary dispatch to the supplies. The lord-treasurer, in order to demonstrate his attachment to the protestant succession, brought in a bill which had been proposed by the duke of Devonshire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and, when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley. The sixteen peers for Scotland were prevailed upon, by promise of satisfaction, to resume their seats in the upper-house, from which they had absented themselves since the decision against the patent of the duke of Hamilton; but whatever pecuniary recompence they might have obtained from the court, on which they were meanly dependent, they received no satisfaction from the parliament. The commons finding Mr. Walpole very troublesome in their house, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the Whig interest, found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the forage-contract in Scotland. The contractors, rather than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who indorsed it, and his friend touched the money. This transaction was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the house. Being afterwards re-chosen by the same borough of Lynn Regis, which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him, and the commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament.

Their

Their next attack was upon the duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the queen with ten thousand pounds a year to defray the expence of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It was alledged, in his justification, that the present from the Jew was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her majesty: that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to king William for contingencies: that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact that the duke was never surpris'd: that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off; and all his designs were by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations, the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. These resolutions were communicated to the queen, who ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had deducted, by virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished the glory which the duke had acquired by his military talents, and other shining qualities.

The commons now directed the stream of their resentment against the Dutch, who had certainly exerted all their endeavours to overwhelm the new ministry, and retard the negotiations for peace.

A. C. 1711.
Votes
against the
Duke of
Marlbo-
rough.

Resolutions
against the
barrier trea-
ty and the
Dutch.

A. C. 1711. They maintained an intimate correspondence with the Whigs of England. They diffused the most invidious reports against Oxford and secretary St. John. Buys their envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in suggesting violent measures to the malcontents, and caballing against the government. The ministers, by way of reprisal, influenced the house of commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the states-general. They alledged that the states had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, during the whole course of the war; and that the queen had payed above three millions of crowns in subsidies, above what she was obliged to advance by her engagements. They attacked the barrier treaty, which had been concluded with the states by lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this agreement, England guarranteed a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the states bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the queen's title and the protestant succession. The Tories affirmed that England was disgraced, by engaging any other state to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to alter: that, by this treaty, the states were authorized to interpose in British councils: that being possessed of all those strong towns, they might exclude the English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. The house of commons voted, That in the barrier-treaty there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great-Britain; and therefore highly dishonourable to her majesty; That the lord viscount Townshend was not authorized to conclude several articles in that treaty: and, That he and all those who advised its being ratified, were enemies to the queen and kingdom. All their votes were digested into a long representation presented to the queen, in which they averred

ed that England, during the war, had been over-^{A. C. 1711.}charged nineteen millions; a circumstance that implied mismanagement or fraud in the old ministry. The states, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the queen, representing the necessity of a barrier, for the mutual security of England and the United Provinces. They afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war, and it was published in one of the English papers. The commons immediately voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the resolutions of the house; and the printer and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

They now repealed the naturalization act. They passed a bill granting a toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland, without paying the least regard to a representation from the general assembly to the queen, declaring that the act for securing the presbyterian government was an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of union. The house, notwithstanding this remonstrance, proceeded with the bill, and inserted a clause prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the kirk-judicatories. The episcopal, as well as the presbyterian clergy, were required to take the oath of abjuration, that they might be upon an equal footing in case of disobedience; for the commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both, from very different motives. In order to exasperate the presbyterians with further provocations, another act was passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature during the Christmas holidays, which had never been kept by persons of that persuasion. When this bill was read for the third time, Sir David Dalrymple said, "Since the house is resolved to make no alteration in the body of
" this

Acts unfavourable to the presbyterian discipline in Scotland,

Burnet.
Boyer.

Lamberty.
Quincy.
Rouffet.

Torcy.
Tindal.

Hist of the
D. of Marlborough.

Milit. Hist.
Voltaire.

A. C. 1711. “ this bill, I acquiesce ; and only desire it may be
 “ intituled, A bill for establishing Jacobitism and
 “ immorality.” The chagrin of the Scottish pres-
 byterians was completed by a third bill, restoring
 the right of patronage, which had been taken away
 when the discipline of the kirk was last established.
 Prince Eugene having presented a memorial to
 the queen, touching the conduct of the emperor
 during the war, and containing a proposal with re-
 lation to the affairs of Spain, the queen communi-
 cated the scheme to the house of commons, who
 treated it with the most contemptuous neglect:
 The prince finding all his efforts ineffectual, re-
 tired to the continent, as much displeas'd with the
 ministry, as he had reason to be satisfi'd with the
 people of England. The commons having settled
 the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting
 to six millions ; the treasurer formed the plan of a
 bill appointing commissioners to examine the value
 and consideration of all the grants made since the
 revolution. His design was to make a general re-
 sumption ; but, as the interest of so many noble-
 men was concern'd, the bill met with a very warm
 opposition ; notwithstanding which, it would have
 certainly pass'd, had not the duke of Buckingham
 and the earl of Strafford absented themselves from
 the house during the debate.

A. C. 1712.

The con-
 ferences
 opened at
 Utrecht.

In the month of January the conferences for
 peace began at Utrecht. The earl of Jersey would
 have been appointed plenipotentiary for England ;
 but he dying after the correspondence with the
 court of France was established, the queen con-
 ferred that charge upon Robinson bishop of Bris-
 tol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford. The
 chief of the Dutch deputies named for the congress,
 were Buys and Vanderdussen ; and the French
 king granted his powers to the marechal D'Ux-
 elles, the abbot (afterwards cardinal) de Polignac,
 and

and Menager, who had been in England. The A. C. 1712. ministers of the emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the conferences, to which the empire and the other allies likewise sent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. As all those powers, except France, entertained sentiments very different from those of her Britannic majesty, the conferences seemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The queen of England had foreseen and provided against these difficulties. Her great end was to free her subjects from the miseries attending an unprofitable war, and to restore peace to Europe; and this aim she was resolved to accomplish, in spite of all opposition. She had also determined to procure reasonable terms of accommodation for her allies, without, however, continuing to lavish the blood and treasure of her people in supporting their extravagant demands. The emperor obstinately insisted upon his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions; and the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Lewis had formerly rejected. The queen saw, that the liberties of Europe would be exposed to much greater danger from an actual union of the Imperial and Spanish crowns in one head of the house of Austria, than from a bare possibility of Spain's being united with France in one branch of the house of Bourbon. She knew by experience the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and, that a prosecution of this design would serve no purpose but to protract the war, and augment the grievances of the British nation. She was well acquainted with the distresses of the French, which she considered as pledges of their monarch's sincerity. She sought not the total ruin of that people, already reduced to the brink of despair. The dictates of true policy dissuaded her
her

A. C. 1712. her from contributing to further conquests in that kingdom, which would have proved the source of contention among the allies, depressed the house of Bourbon below that standard of importance which the balance of Europe required it should maintain, and aggrandize the states-general at the expence of Great-Britain. As she had borne the chief burden of the war, she had a right to take the lead, and dictate a plan of pacification; at least, she had a right to consult the welfare of her own kingdom, in delivering, by a separate peace, her subjects from those enormous loads which they could no longer sustain; and she was well enough aware of her own consequence, to think she could obtain advantageous conditions.

The queen's
measures ob-
structed by
the allies.

Such were the sentiments of the queen: and her ministers seem to have acted on the same principles, though, perhaps, party-motives may have helped to influence their conduct. The allies concurred in opposing with all their might any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, interest, and ambition. They practised a thousand little artifices to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Lewis, to blacken the characters of her ministers, to raise and keep up a dangerous ferment among her people, by which her life and government were endangered. She could not fail to resent these efforts, which greatly perplexed her measures and obstructed her design. Her ministers were sensible of the dangerous predicament in which they stood. The queen's health was much impaired; and the successor countenanced the opposite faction. In case of their sovereign's death they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands; and they saw no hope of safety except in renouncing their principles, and submitting to their adversaries, or else in taking such measures as would hasten the pacification,

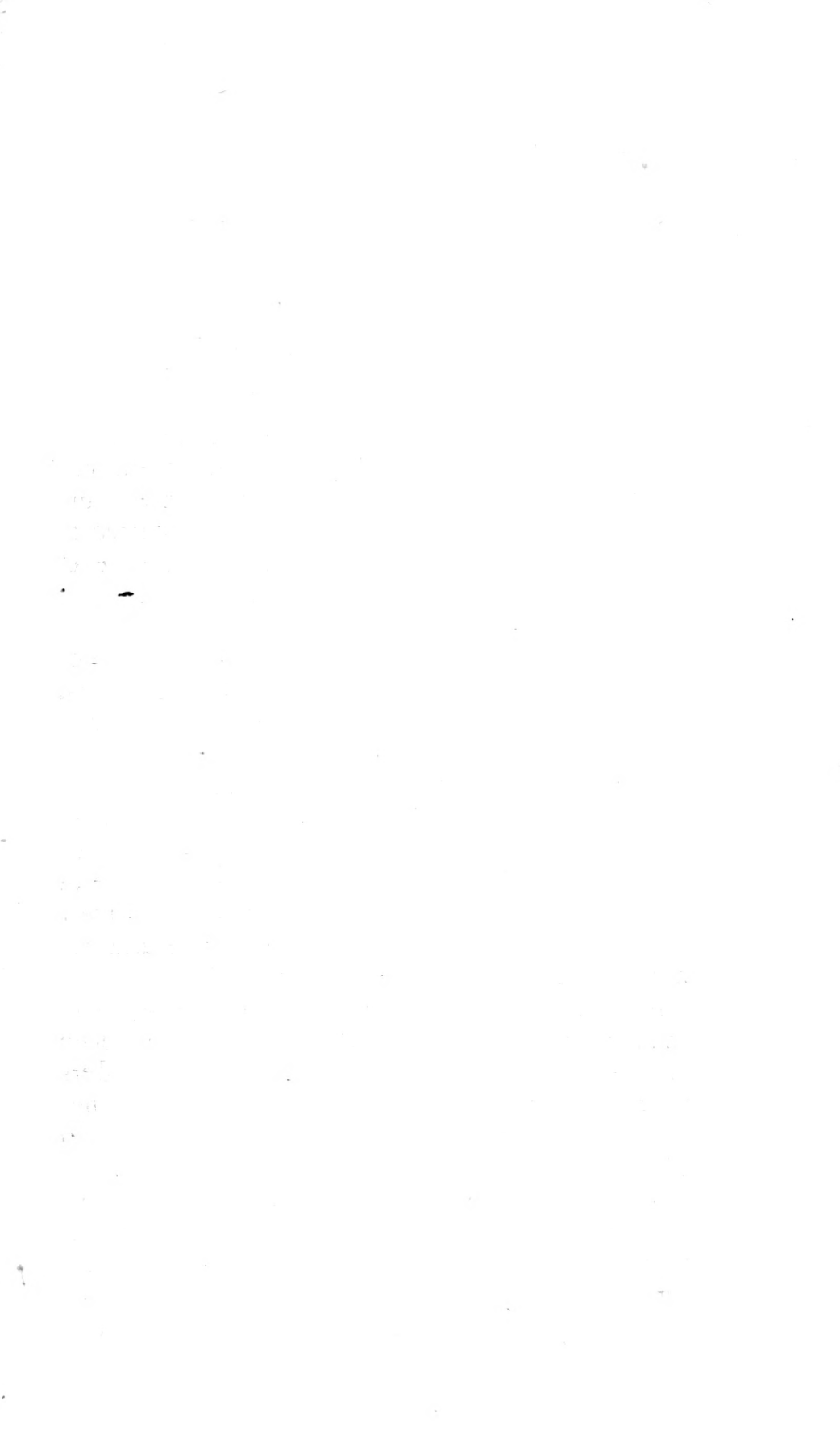
cation, that the troubles of the kingdom might be appeased, and the people be satisfied with their conduct before death should deprive them of their sovereign's protection. With this view they advised her to set on foot a private negotiation with Lewis; to stipulate certain advantages for her own subjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into such mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to her prejudice, and in some measure enable her to prescribe terms for her allies. The plan was judiciously formed, but executed with too much precipitation. The stipulated advantages were not such as she had a right to demand and insist upon; and, without all doubt, better might have been obtained, had not the obstinacy of the allies abroad, and the violent conduct of the Whig faction at home, obliged the ministers to relax in some material points, and hasten the conclusion of the treaty.

The articles being privately regulated between the two courts of London and Versailles, the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furnished with general powers and instructions, being ignorant of the agreement which the queen had made with the French monarch touching the kingdom of Spain, which was indeed the basis of the treaty. This secret plan of negotiation, however, had well nigh been destroyed by some unforeseen events that were doubly afflicting to Lewis. The dauphin had died of the small pox in the course of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred upon his son the duke of Burgundy, who now expired on the last day of February, six days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. The parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest offspring the duke of Brittany, in the sixth year of his age; so that, of the duke of Burgundy's children, none remained alive but the duke of Anjou,

Death of the dauphin and his son.

A. C. 1712. the present French king, who was at that time a sickly infant. Such a series of calamities could not fail of being extremely shocking to Lewis in his old age; but they were still more alarming to the queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies of France and Spain, the union of which she resolved by all possible means to prevent. She therefore sent the abbe Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, representing the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be exposed should Philip ascend the throne of France: and demanding, that his title should be transferred to his brother the duke of Berry, in consequence of his pure, simple, and voluntary renunciation.

Mean while the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed upon to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the allies received with indignation. They were treated in England with universal scorn. Lord Halifax, in the house of peers, termed them trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies: an address was presented to the queen, in which they expressed their resentment against the insolence of France, and promised to assist her with all their power in prosecuting the war, until a safe and honourable peace should be obtained. The plenipotentiaries of the allies were not less extravagant in their specific demands, than the French had been arrogant in their offers. In a word, the ministers seemed to have been assembled at Utrecht, rather to start new difficulties and widen the breach, than to heal animosities, and concert a plan of pacification. They amused one another with fruitless conferences, while the queen of Great-Britain endeavoured to engage the states-general in her measures, that they might treat with France upon moderate





JAMES Duke of *ORMOND*.

derate terms, and give law to the rest of the allies. A. C. 1712.
 She departed from some of her own pretensions; in order to gratify them with the possession of some towns in Flanders. She consented to their being admitted into a participation of some advantages in commerce; and ordered the English ministers at the congress to tell them, that she would take her measures according to the return they should make on this occasion. Finding them still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, she gave them to understand, that all her offers for adjusting the differences were founded upon the express condition, That they should come into her measures, and co-operate with her openly and sincerely; but they had made such bad returns to all her condescension towards them, that she looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The ministers of the allies had insisted upon a written answer to their specific demands; and this the French plenipotentiaries declined, until they should receive fresh instructions from their master. Such was the pretence for suspending the conferences; but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France, was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which, at length, however, arrived; and produced a cessation of arms.

The queen demands Philip's renunciation of the crown of France.

In the mean time the duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, received a particular order, that he should not hazard an engagement. Lewis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandson. Reflecting on his own great age, he was shocked at the prospect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority; and determined to procure a peace at all events. The queen, knowing his motives, could not help believing his protestations, and resolved to avoid a battle, the issue of which might have considerably altered

Duke of Ormond commands the British forces in Flanders.

A. C. 1712. altered the situation of affairs, and consequently retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Preparations had been made for an early campaign. In the beginning of March the earl of Albemarle having assembled a body of thirty-six battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to an heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment. In May the duke of Ormond conferred with the deputies of the states-general at the Hague, and assured them he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He joined prince Eugene at Tournay; and on the twenty-sixth day of May the allied army passing the Schelde, encamped at Haspre and Solemnes. The Imperial general proposed, that they should attack the French army under Villars; but by this time the duke was restrained from hazarding siege or battle: a circumstance well known to the French commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance. It could not be long concealed from prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith dispatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obedience to such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the queen would permit him to return to England.

He is restricted from acting against the enemy

Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the queen's order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the duke furnished towards this enterprize seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great-Britain. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the bishop of Bristol upon the duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that prelate told them, that he had lately received

an exprefs with a letter from her majesty, in which she complained, that as the states-general had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surpris'd, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own conveniency. When they remonstrated against such conduct, as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the queen and the states-general, the bishop declared his instructions further import'd, that considering the conduct of the states towards her majesty, she thought herself disengag'd from all alliances and engagements with their high mightinesses. The states and the ministers of the allies were instantly in commotion. Private measures were concerted with the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, concerning the troops belonging to those powers, in the pay of Great-Britain. The states-general wrote a long letter to the queen, and order'd their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzendorf the emperor's plenipotentiary dispatch'd expresses to his master, to prince Eugene, and to the Imperial ambassador at London. The queen held a council at Kensington upon the subject of the letter; and a fresh order was sent to the duke of Ormond, directing him to concur with the general of the allies in a siege.

On the twenty-eighth day of May, lord Halifax, in the house of peers, descanted upon the ill consequences of the duke's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene; and mov'd for an address, desiring her majesty would order the general to act offensively, in concert with her allies. The treasurer observ'd it was prudent to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to do with an enemy so apt to break his word. The earl of Wharton replied, this was a strong reason

Debate in the house of lords on this subject.

A. C. 1712. for keeping no measures with such an enemy. When Oxford declared, that the duke of Ormond had received orders to join the allies in a siege, the duke of Marlborough affirmed, it was impossible to carry on a siege without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy should attempt to relieve the place, or shamefully abandoning the enterprize. The duke of Argyle having declared his opinion, that since the time of Julius Cæsar there had not been a greater captain than prince Eugene of Savoy, observed, that considering the different interests of the house of Austria and of Great-Britain, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle won or lost might intirely break off a negotiation of peace, which, in all probability, was near being concluded. He added, that two years before, the confederates might have taken Arras and Cambray, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquests of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. The duke of Devonshire said, he was, by proximity of blood more concerned than any other in the reputation of the duke of Ormond; and therefore could not help expressing his surprize, that any one would dare to make a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings. Earl Pawlet answered, that no body could doubt the duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. The duke of Marlborough was so deeply affected by this reflection, that though he suppressed his resentment in the house, he took the first opportunity to send lord Mohun to the earl with a message, importing, that he should be glad to come to an explanation.

planation with his lordship about some expressions he had used in that day's debate; and desiring his company to take the air in the country. The earl understood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the observation of his lady, by whose means the affair was communicated to the earl of Dartmouth secretary of state. Two centinels were immediately placed at his lordship's gate; the queen, by the canal of lord Dartmouth, desired the duke of Marlborough would proceed no farther in the quarrel: and he assured her he would punctually obey her majesty's commands. The earl of Oxford assured the house, that a separate peace was never intended: that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villainous, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation; but that it would appear to be a safe and glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation than the first preliminaries insisted upon by the allies. The question being put for adjourning, the debate was carried in the affirmative; but twenty lords entered a protest. The earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed that they should examine the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, before they considered that of Utrecht. He observed, that in the former negotiations the French ministers had conferred only with the pensionary, who communicated no more of it to the ministers of the allies than what was judged proper to let them know: so that the Dutch were absolute masters of the secret. He asserted, that the states-general had consented to give Naples and Sicily to king Philip: a circumstance which proved that the recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy was looked upon as impracticable. He concluded with a motion for an address to her majesty, desiring, that the papers relating to the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruyden-

A. C. 1712. berg, should be layed before the house. This was carried without a division.

Loyal ad-
dresses of the
commons.

In the house of commons Mr. Pulteney moved for an address, acquainting her majesty, that her faithful commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her general in Flanders had declined acting offensively against France in concurrence with her allies; and besought her majesty, that he might receive speedy instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. This motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain member having insinuated, that the present negotiation had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. secretary St. John said, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great-Britain: that he gloried in the small share he had in the transaction; and whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view, would be a sufficient recompence and comfort to him during the whole course of his life. The house resolved, That the commons had an intire confidence in her majesty's promise to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before it should be concluded: and, That they would support her against all such persons either at home or abroad as should endeavour to obstruct it. The queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. They likewise presented an address, desiring, they might have an account of the negotiations and transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and know who were then employed as her majesty's plenipotentiaries.

A. C. 1712

The ministry foreseeing, that Philip would not willingly resign his hopes of succeeding to the crown of France, proposed an alternative, that, in case of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France to the present possession of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, should be forthwith ceded to the duke of Savoy; and Philip in the mean time should possess the duke's hereditary dominions and the kingdom of Sicily, together with the Montferrat and Mantua; all which territories should be annexed to France at Philip's succession to that crown, except Sicily, which should revert to the house of Austria. Lewis seemed to relish this expedient, which, however, was rejected by Philip, who chose to make the renunciation, rather than quit the throne upon which he was established. The queen demanded, that the renunciation should be ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of France; but she afterwards waved this demand, in consideration of its being registered in the different parliaments. Such forms are but slender securities against the power, ambition, and interests of princes. The marquis de Torcy frankly owned, that Philip's renunciation was in itself void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and constitution of the French monarchy; but it was found necessary for the satisfaction of the English people. Every material article being now adjusted between the two courts, particularly those relating to the king of Spain, the commerce of Great-Britain, and the delivery of Dunkirk, a suspension of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the duke of Ormond acted in concert with the marechal de Villars.

Philip renounces the crown of France.

On the sixth day of June the queen going to the house of peers, communicated the plan of peace to her parliament, according to the promise she

A. C. 1712.
The queen
communicates the
plan of
peace to her
parli. meet.

had made. After having premised, that the making peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and hinted at the difficulties which had arisen both from the nature of the affair, and numberless obstructions contrived by the enemies of peace, she proceeded to enumerate the chief articles to which both crowns had agreed, without, however, concluding the treaty. She told them she had secured the protestant succession, which France had acknowledged in the strongest terms; and that the pretender would be removed from the French dominions: that the duke of Anjou should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France; so that the two monarchies would be for ever divided. She observed, that the nature of this proposal was such as would execute itself: that it would be the interest of Spain to support the renunciation: and in France, the persons entitled to the succession of that crown upon the death of the dauphin, were powerful enough to vindicate their own right. She gave them to understand, that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted; but provision was made, that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to the most favoured nation: that the French king had agreed to make an absolute cession of the island of St. Christopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations: that he had also consented to restore the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; to cede Annapolis, with the rest of Acadia or Nova Scotia; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; to leave England in possession of Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca: that the trade to Spain in the West-Indies might be settled as it was in the reign
of

his late catholic majesty : and, that she had obtained for her subjects, the assiento or contract for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French. With respect to the allies, she declared, that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire ; to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl and Landau, and raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine and in the islands of that river : that the protestant interest in Germany would be re-settled on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia : that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the dutchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, might be yielded to his Imperial majesty ; but the disposition of Sicily was not yet determined : that the demands of the states-general with relation to commerce and the barrier in the Low-Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients : that no great progress had yet been made upon the pretensions of Portugal ; but that those of Prussia would be admitted by France without much difficulty : that the difference between the barrier demanded by the duke of Savoy in the year one thousand seven hundred and nine, and that which France now offered, was very considerable : that the elector Palatine should maintain his present rank among the electors : and, that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover. Such were the conditions which the queen hoped would make some amends to her subjects for the great and unequal burden they had borne during the whole course of the war. She concluded with saying, she made no doubt but they were fully persuaded, that nothing would be neglected on her part in the

A. C. 1712. progress of this negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and she expressed her dependence upon the intire confidence and chearful concurrence of her parliament.

Exceptions
to some
articles.

An address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and presented to the queen by the commons in a body. When the house of lords took the speech into consideration, the duke of Marlborough asserted, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with the allies: that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign; and would render the English name odious to all nations. The earl of Strafford said, that some of the allies would not have shewn such backwardness to a peace, had not they been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England. In answer to this insinuation against Marlborough, lord Cowper observed, that it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence with the allies of the nation; such allies, especially, whose interest her majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening of the session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies. This was a frivolous argument. A correspondence with any persons whatsoever becomes criminal, when it tends to foment the divisions of one's country, and arm the people against their sovereign. If England had
it

it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honour, to withdraw herself from a confederacy which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate, but a slave to the alliance. The earl of Godolphin affirmed, that the trade to Spain was such a trifle as deserved no consideration; and that it would continually diminish until it should be intirely engrossed by the French merchants. Notwithstanding these remonstrances against the plan of peace, the majority agreed to an address, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary condescension in communicating those conditions to her parliament; and expressed an intire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her majesty would take such measures in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guaranty. A debate ensued: the question was put, and the clause rejected. Several noblemen entered a protest, which was expunged from the books of the house by the decision of the majority.

In the house of commons a complaint was exhibited against bishop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four sermons which he published, took occasion to extol the last ministry, at the expence of the present administration. This piece was voted malicious and factious, tending to create discord and sedition amongst her majesty's subjects; and condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They presented an address to the queen, assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publishing a letter from the states-general to her majesty; and desiring she would so far resent such insults as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorials that should be thus ushered into the world

A. C. 1712. as inflammatory appeals to the public. Mr. Hambden moved for an address to her majesty, that she would give particular instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in alliance with her majesty might be guarantees for the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The question being put, was carried in the negative. Then the house resolved, That they had such confidence in the repeated declarations her majesty had made of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the protestant succession as by law established, that they could never doubt her taking the proper measures for the security thereof: that the house would support her against faction at home and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those who should endeavour to raise jealousies between her majesty and her subjects: especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her people. The queen was extremely pleased with this resolution. When it was presented, she told them, that they had shewn themselves honest assertors of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the constitution, and real friends to the protestant succession. She thought she had very little reason to countenance a compliment of supererogation to a prince who had caballed with the enemies of her administration. On the twenty first day of June the queen closed the session with a speech, expressing her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had received; observing, that should the treaty be broke off, their burdens would be at least continued, if not increased: that Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe: and, that though some of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would

would suffer in the common calamity. Notwith-
 standing the ferment of the people, which was
 now risen to a very dangerous pitch, addresses ap-
 proving the queen's conduct were presented by the
 city of London, and all the corporations in the
 kingdom that espoused the Tory interest. At this
 juncture the nation was so wholly possessed by the
 spirit of party, that no appearance of neutrality or
 moderation remained.

During these transactions the trenches were open-
 ed before Quesnoy, and the siege carried on with
 uncommon vigour under cover of the forces com-
 manded by the duke of Ormond. This nobleman,
 however, having received a copy of the articles
 signed by the marquis de Torcy, and fresh instruc-
 tions from the queen, signified to prince Eugene
 and the Dutch deputies, that the French king had
 agreed to several articles demanded by the queen,
 as the foundation of an armistice; and among others,
 to put the English troops in immediate possession
 of Dunkirk: that he could therefore no longer
 cover the siege of Quesnoy, as he was obliged by
 his instructions to march with the British troops
 and those in the queen's pay; and declare a suspen-
 sion of arms as soon as he should be possessed of
 Dunkirk. He expressed his hope, that they would
 readily acquiesce in these instructions, as their con-
 currence would act as the most powerful motive to
 induce the queen to take all possible care of their
 interests at the congress; and he endeavoured to
 demonstrate, that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town,
 was a place of greater consequence to the allies
 than Quesnoy. The deputies desired he would
 delay his march five days, that they might have
 time to consult their principals, and he granted
 three days without hesitation. Prince Eugene
 observed, that his marching off with the British
 troops and the foreigners in the queen's pay, would
 leave

The duke of
 Ormond de-
 clares he can
 no longer
 cover the
 siege of
 Quesnoy.

A. C. 1712. leave the allies at the mércy of the enemy; but he hoped these last would not obey the duke's order. He and the deputies had already tampered with their commanding officers, who absolutely refused to obey the duke of Ormond, alledging, that they could not separate from the confederacy without exprefs directions from their masters, to whom they had dispatched couriers. An extraordinary assembly of the states was immediately summoned to meet at the Hague. The ministers of the allies were invited to the conferences. At length, the princes, whose troops were in the pay of Britain, assured them that they would maintain them under the command of prince Eugene for one month at their own expence, and afterwards sustain half the charge, provided the other half should be defrayed by the emperor and states-general.

The bishop of Bristol imparted to the other plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, the concessions which France would make to the allies; and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject. Count Zinzendorf, the first Imperial plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the states-general, explaining the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms; and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and a certain plan for prosecuting the war with redoubled ardour. Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprize, detached major-general Grovestein with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, about the middle of June, advanced into

Cham-

Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes. The consternation produced by this irruption reached the city of Paris: the king of France did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards: all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein as soon as he understood his destination; but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, which had the mortification to follow him so close, that they found the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed. By way of retaliation, major-general Pâleur, a famous French partizan, made an excursion beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and ravaged the island of Tertole, belonging to Zealand.

The earl of Strafford having returned to Holland, proposed a cessation of arms to the states-general, by whom it was rejected. Then he proceeded to the army of the duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quefnoy, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war on the fourth day of July. By this time the officers of the foreign troops had a second time refused to obey a written order of the duke, and such a spirit of animosity began to prevail between the English and the allies, that it was judged absolutely necessary to effect a speedy separation. Prince Eugene resolved to undertake the siege of Landrecy: a design is said to have been formed by the German generals to confine the duke, on pretence of the arrears that were due to them; and disarm the British troops, lest they should join the French army. In the mean time, a literary correspondence

The foreign troops in British pay refuse to march with the duke of Ormond;

A. C. 1712. spondence was maintained between the English general, and the marechal de Villars. France having consented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was transported from England, under the command of brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the seventh day of July, the French garrison retiring to Winoxberg. On the sixteenth of the same month prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp, and Wales's regiment of dragoons belonging to the state of Liege.

who pro-
claims a
cessation of
arms,

Landrecy was immediately invested, while the duke of Ormond with the English forces removed from Chateau-Cambresis, and encamped at Avesne le Seeg, proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months. On the same day the like armistice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were so exasperated at the cessation of the English troops, that the governors would not allow the earl of Strafford to enter Bouchaine, nor the British army to pass through Douay, though in that town they had left great quantity of stores, together with their general-hospital. Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, understanding that the duke of Ormond had begun his march towards Ghent, began to be in pain for that city, and sent count Nassau Woudenburg to him with a written apology, condemning and disavowing the conduct of the commandants of Bouchaine and Douay; but, notwithstanding these excuses, the English troops afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle: insults which were resented by the whole British nation. The duke, however, pursued his march, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the queen of England: then he reinforced the garrison of Dunkirk,

and seizes
Ghent and
Bruges.

kirk, which he likewise supplied with artillery and ammunition. His conduct was no less agreeable to his sovereign than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the English, and were now fairly outwitted, and anticipated by the motions and expedition of the British general.

The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their intrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the enemy; and this advantage they gained in sight of prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Schelde to sustain Albemarle; but the bridge over that river was broke down by accident; so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Marchiennes, where the principal stores of the allies were lodged. The place was surrendered on the last day of July; and the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay; an enterprize, in consequence of which prince Eugene abandoned his design on Landrecy, and marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement. The states, however, would not run the risque; and the prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking Quesnoy and Bouchaine, of which places they were in possession before the tenth day of October; while the allies enjoyed no other

The allies
defeated at
Denain.

A. C. 1712. other compenſation for their great loſſes, but the conqueſt of fort Knocque, which was ſurpriſed by one of their partiſans.

Progreſs of
the con-
ferences at
Utrecht.

The Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs continued to preſs the Dutch and other allies to join in the armiſtice; but they were deaf to the propoſal, and concerted meaſures for a vigorous proſecution of the war. Then the earl of Strafford inſiſted upon their admitting to the congreſs the plenipotentiaries of king Philip; but he found them equally averſe to this expedient. In the beginning of Auguſt ſecretary St. John, now created lord viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſent to the court of Verſailles incognito, to remove all obſtructions to the treaty between England and France. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbé Gualtier, treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect, careſſed by the French king and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjuſted the principal intereſts of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria. He ſettled the time and manner of the renunciations, and agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms by ſea and land for four months between the crowns of France and England; which was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. This negotiation being finiſhed in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as reſident at the court of France. The ſtates-general breathed nothing but war: the penſionary Heiniſius pronoun- ced an oration in their aſſembly, repreſenting the impoſſibility of concluding a peace without loſing the fruits of all the blood and treaſure they had expended. The conferences at Utrecht were interrupted by a quarrel between the domeſtics of Menager and thoſe of the count de Rechteren, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries. The populace inſulted the earl of Strafford and the marquis del Borgo, miniſter of Savoy, whoſe maſter was re-
ported



ST. JOHN Lord *BOLINBROKE.*

ported to have agreed to the armistice. These A. C. 1712. obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British plenipotentiaries exerted all their rhetoric both in public and private to engage the allies in the queen's measures. The duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been sent ambassador to Hanover, with a view to persuade the elector that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her majesty: but that prince's resolution was already taken. "Whenever it shall please God (said he) to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me for the advantage of my people: in the mean time speak to me as to a German prince, and a prince of the empire." Nor was she more successful in her endeavours to bring over the king of Prussia to her sentiments. Lord Lexington was appointed ambassador to Madrid, where king Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the Cortez. The like renunciation to the crown of Spain was afterwards made by the princes of France: and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the remonstrances of England, until the marquis Bay invaded that kingdom at the head of twenty thousand men, and undertook the siege of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannic majesty. The Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh day of November, and excused this step to the allies, as the pure effect of necessity. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of count Staremberg, and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked on board of

A. C. 1712. an English squadron, commanded by Sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca.

The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party-disputes were become more violent than ever. The Whigs affected to celebrate the anniversary of the late king's birth-day in London with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions, and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord-treasurer with some squibs in a band-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed, on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the pretender. Some dispute arising between the duke and lord Mohun on the subject of a law-suit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had twice been tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the Hector of the Whig party, sent a message by general Macartney to the duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde park, attended by Macartney and colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy-council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example: that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the duke, Macartney having taken up one of the swords, stabbed

Duke Hamilton and lord Mohun killed in a duel.

stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney, and the dutchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party-duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed, that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all around Hyde-park, in case the duke of Hamilton had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs, on the other hand, affirm, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The duke of Marlborough hearing himself accused as the author of those party-mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, whither he was followed by his dutchess. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The duke of Shrewsbury was nominated ambassador to France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton: the duke D' Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and about the same time the queen granted an audience to the marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had appointed one of his plenipotentiaries at the congress.

Duke of
Marlbo-
rough retires
to the con-
tinent.

In vain had the British ministers in Holland endeavoured to overcome the obstinacy of the states-general,

A. C. 1712. general, by alternate threats, promises, and arguments. In vain did they represent, that the confederacy against France could be no longer supported with any prospect of success: that the queen's aim had been to procure reasonable terms for her allies; but that their opposition to her measures prevented her from obtaining such conditions as she would have a right to demand in their favour, were they unanimous in their consultations. In November, the earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promised to insist upon France's ceding to the states the city of Tournay, and some other places, which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty. They now began to waver in their councils. The first transports of their resentment having subsided, they plainly perceived that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burthen which they could not bear, especially since the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal had deserted the alliance: besides, they were staggered by the affair of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that which France had proposed in the beginning of the conferences. They were influenced by another motive: namely, the apprehension of new mischiefs to the empire from the king of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favourable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of the French monarch. The czar and king Augustus had penetrated into Pomerania: the king of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid Hamburg under contribution; but count Steenbock the Swedish general defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburg, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to ashes. The grand signor threatened to declare war against the czar, on pretence that he had not performed some essential articles of the late peace; but his
real

real motive was an inclination to support the king of Sweden. This disposition, however, was defeated by a powerful party at the Porte, which was averse to war. Charles, who still remained at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and given to understand, that the sultan would procure him a safe passage. He treated the person who brought this intimation with the most outrageous insolence, rejected the proposal, fortified his house, and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with the most frantic valour. They slew some hundreds of the assailants; but, at last, they set fire to the house: so that he was obliged to surrender himself and his followers, who were generally sold for slaves. He himself was conveyed under a strong guard to Adrianople. Mean while the czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced. Steenbock maintained himself in Tonningen, until all his supplies were cut off; and then he was obliged to deliver himself and his troops prisoners of war. But this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muscovites, and were given to understand, that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that case, they knew the emperor would recal great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burden of the war must lie upon their shoulders. After various consultations in their different assemblies, they came into the queen's measures, and signed the barrier-treaty.

The states-general sign the barrier-treaty.

Then the plenipotentiaries of the four associated circles presented a remonstrance to the British ministers at Utrecht, imploring the queen's interposition in their favour, that they might not be left in the miserable condition to which they had

A. C. 1712. been reduced by former treaties. They were given to understand, that if they should not obtain what they desired, they themselves would be justly blamed as the authors of their disappointment; that they had been deficient in furnishing their proportion of troops and other necessaries; and left the whole burden of the war to fall upon the queen and the states in the Netherlands: that when a cessation was judged necessary, they had deserted her majesty to follow the chimerical projects of prince Eugene: that while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but when she inclined to peace they began to exert themselves in prosecuting hostilities with uncommon eagerness: that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests, but endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand. Even the emperor's plenipotentiaries began to talk in more moderate terms. Zinzendorf declared, that his master was very well disposed to promote a general peace; and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria. Philip's ministers, together with those of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congress; and now the plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the allies.

The other allies become more tractable.

The pacification between France and England was retarded, however, by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in North-America. A long dispute ensued; and the duke of Shrewsbury and Prior held many conferences with the French ministry: at length, it was compromised, though not much to the advantage of Great-Britain; and the English plenipotentiaries received an order to sign a separate treaty. They declared to the ministers of the other powers, that

that they and some other plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties on the eleventh day of April. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to postpone this transaction, until he should be furnished with fresh instructions from Vienna; and even threatened that if the states should sign the peace contrary to his desire, the emperor would immediately withdraw his troops from the Netherlands. The ministers of Great-Britain agreed with those of France, that his Imperial majesty should have time to consider whether he would or would not accept the proposals; but this time was extended no farther than the first day of June; nor would they agree to a cessation of arms during that interval. Mean while the peace with France was signed in different treaties by the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal, and the states-general. On the fourteenth day of the month the British plenipotentiaries delivered to count Zinzendorf in writing, "Offers and demands of the French king for making peace with the house of Austria and the empire." The court and the ministers of the German princes exclaimed against the insolence of France, which had not even bestowed the title of emperor on Joseph; but wanted to impose terms upon them with relation to the electors of Cologne and Bavaria.

The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the queen of England, the parliament was assembled on the ninth day of April. The queen told them the treaty was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged. She said, what she had done for the protestant succession, and the perfect friendship subsisting between her and the house of Hanover, would convince those who wished well to both, and desired the quiet and safety of

A. C. 1712.

Burnet.
Boyer.
Hare.
Lamberti.
Quincy.
Rouffet.
Torcy.
Boling-
broke.

The peace
with France
signed at
Utrecht.

Voltaire.
Tindal.
Mil. Hist.
of the D.
Marlbo-
rough.

A. C. 1713.

A. C. 1713. their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them. She left it intirely to the house of commons to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons. “ Make yourselves safe (said she) and I shall be satisfied. Next to the protection of the divine providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I want no other guaranty.” She recommended to their protection those brave men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace. She desired they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom; for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery; and for employing the hands of idle people. She expressed her displeasure at the scandalous and seditious libels which had been lately published. She exhorted them to consider of new laws to prevent this licentiousness, as well as for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling. She conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and that groundless jealousies contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accomplish. This was the language of a pious, candid, and benevolent sovereign, who loved her subjects with a truly parental affection. The parliament considered her in that light. Each house presented her with a warm address of thanks and congratulation, expressing in particular, their inviolable attachment to the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, with the usual ceremonies, to the inexpressible joy of the nation in general; and it was about this period, that the

Both houses
of parliament con-
gratulate
the queen
upon the
peace.

chevalier de St George conveyed a printed remonſtrance to the miniſters at Utrecht, ſolemnly proteſting againſt all that might be ſtipulated to his prejudice. The commons, in a ſecond addreſs, had beſought her majeſty to communicate to the houſe in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benſon chancellor of the exchequer.

By the treaty of peace the French king obliged himſelf to abandon the pretender, acknowledge the queen's title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent: to cede Newfoundland, Hudſon's-bay, and St. Chriſtopher's, to England; but, the French were left in poſſeſſion of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fiſh on Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was eſtabliſhed, according to the tariff of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four, except in ſome commodities that were ſubjected to new regulations in the year ſixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, That no other duties ſhould be impoſed on the productions of France imported into England, than thoſe that were layed on the ſame commodities from other countries: and, That commiſſaries ſhould meet at London to adjust all matters relating to commerce: as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finiſhed. It was ſtipulated, That the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, and the Spaniſh Netherlands. That the duke of Savoy ſhould enjoy Sicily, with the title of king: That the ſame title, with the iſland of Sardinia, ſhould be allotted to the elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his loſſes: That the ſtates-general ſhould reſtore Liſle and its dependencies: and, That Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Ypres, and Newport, ſhould be added to the other places they

Subſtance of
the treaty
with France

A. C. 1713. they already possessed in Flanders. That the king of Prussia should have Upper Gueldres, in lieu of Orange and the other estates belonging to that family in Franche Comté. The king of Portugal was satisfied; and the first day of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the emperor for consideration.

Objections
to the treaty
of com-
merce.

A day being appointed by the commons to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles, importing, That Great-Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other, that either granted to the most favoured nation; and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France, than those that were drawn from the same productions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the side of France, severe duties had been laid on all the productions and manufactures of that kingdom, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition. Some members observed, that, by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country, were lower than those layed upon the wines of France: that should they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was so great, that the French wines would be found much cheaper than those of Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general, there would be no market for the Portuguese wines in England: that should this be the case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffic which they now carried on: for it consumed a great quantity of their manufactures, and returned a yearly sum of six hundred thousand pounds in gold. Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly governor of the bank, affirmed, that as France had, since the

the

the revolution, encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities which formerly they drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys formerly imported from France: by which means, an infinite number of artificers was employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation: but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money lost again to the kingdom, should French commodities of the same kind be imported under ordinary duties, because labour was much cheaper in France than in England, consequently the British manufactures would be underfold and ruined. He urged, that the ruin of the silk manufacture would be attended with another disadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turky, in consequence of the raw silk which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, those markets for British commodities would fail of course. Others alledged, that if the articles of commerce had been settled before the English troops separated from those of the confederates, the French king would not have presumed to insist upon such terms, but have been glad to comply with more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late ministry, for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power. He said, that Portugal would always have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events. After a violent debate, the house resolved, by a great majority, That a bill should be brought in to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Against these articles, however, the Portuguese minister presented a memorial, declaring, that should the duties on
French

A. C. 1713. French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were layed on the wines of Portugal, his master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great-Britain. Indeed all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miscarry, from the intrigues of the Whig faction, and the obstinate opposition of the confederates.

Debates on
the malt-
tax for
Scotland.

The commons having granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole island, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the Scottish members, who represented it as a burden which their country could not bear. They insisted upon an express article of the union, stipulating, That no duty should be layed on the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, inasmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the parliament, on account of the Whitsun-holidays, the Scots of both houses laying aside all party-distinctions, met and deliberated on this subject. They deputed the duke of Argyle, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburne, to lay their grievances before the queen. They represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the union; and that the imposition of such an insupportable burden as the malt-tax, would in all probability prompt them to declare the union dissolved. The queen, alarmed at this remonstrance, answered, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolution; but she would endeavour to make all things easy.

On

On the first day of June, the earl of Findlater, in the house of peers, represented that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances: that they were deprived of a privy-council; subjected to the English laws in cases of treason; that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created British peers: and that now they were oppressed with the insupportable burden of a malt-tax, when they had reason to expect they should reap the benefits of peace: he therefore moved, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the union, and securing the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The lord North and Grey affirmed, that the complaints of the Scots were groundless; that the dissolution of the union was impracticable; and he made some sarcastic reflections on the poverty of that nation. He was answered by the earl of Eglington, who admitted the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The earl of Ilay, among other pertinent remarks upon the union, observed, that when the treaty was made, the Scots took it for granted that the parliament of Great-Britain would never load them with any imposition that they had reason to believe grievous. The earl of Peterborough compared the union to a marriage. He said, that though England, who must be supposed the husband, might in some instances prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce, the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match. Ilay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God: and the union no more than a political expedient. The other affirmed, that the contract could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven: he inveighed against the Scots as a people that would never be satisfied; that would have all the advantages resulting from the union,

A. C. 1712.

The Scottish lords move for a bill to dissolve the union.

but

A. C. 1713. but would pay nothing by their good will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates. To these animadversions the duke of Argyle made a very warm reply. "I have been reflected on by some people" (said he) as if I was disgusted and had changed sides; but I despise their persons, as much as I undervalue their judgment." He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, because land was worth five pounds an acre in the neighbourhood of London, and would not fetch so many shillings in the remote counties. In like manner, the English malt was valued at four times the price of that which was made in Scotland; therefore the tax in this country must be levied by a regiment of dragoons. He owned he had a great share in making the union, with a view to secure the protestant succession; but he was now satisfied this end might be answered as effectually if the union was dissolved; and, if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. All the Whig members voted for the dissolution of that treaty which they had so eagerly promoted; while the Tories strenuously supported the measure, against which they had once argued with such vehemence. In the course of the debate, the lord-treasurer observed, that although the malt-tax were imposed, it might be afterwards remitted by the crown. The earl of Sunderland expressed surprize at hearing that noble lord broach a doctrine which tended to establish a despotic dispensing power and arbitrary government. Oxford replied, his family had never been famous, as some others had been, for promoting and advising arbitrary measures. Sunderland considering this expression as a sarcasm levelled at the memory of his father, took occasion to vindicate



JOHN Duke of *ARGYLL*.

dicare his conduct; adding, that in those days the other lord's family was hardly known. Much violent altercation was discharged. At length the motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority, and the malt-bill afterwards passed with great difficulty.

Another bill being brought into the house of commons, for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, such a number of petitions were delivered against it, and so many solid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of Tory members were convinced of the bad consequence it would produce to trade, and voted against the ministry on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices. At the same time, however, the house agreed to an address, thanking her majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace; as also for having layed so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade. They likewise besought her to appoint commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the subject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of her people. The queen interpreted this address into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and thanked them accordingly in the warmest terms of satisfaction and acknowledgment. The commons afterwards desired to know what equivalent should be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and she gave them to understand, that this was already in the hands of his most christian majesty: then they besought her that she would not evacuate the towns of Flanders that were in her possession, until those who were intitled to the sovereignty

Address of
the com-
mons re-
lating to
Dunkirk.

A. C. 1713. sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should agree to such articles for regulating trade as might place the subjects of Great-Britain upon an equal footing with those of any other nation. The queen made a favourable answer to all their remonstrances. Such were the steps taken by the parliament during this session, with relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, against which the Whigs so violently exclaimed, that many well-meaning people believed it would be attended with the immediate ruin of the kingdom: yet, under the shadow of this very treaty, Great-Britain enjoyed a long term of peace and tranquility. Bishop Burnet was heated with an enthusiastic terror of the house of Bourbon. He declared to the queen in private, that any treaty by which Spain and the West-Indies were left in the hands of king Philip, must in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France: that if any such peace was made, the queen was betrayed and her people ruined: that in less than three years she would be murdered, and the fires would blaze again in Smithfield. This prelate lived to see his prognostic disappointed; therefore he might have suppressed this anecdote.

On the twenty-fifth day of June, the queen signified, in a message to the house of commons, that her civil list was burdened with some debts incurred by several articles of extraordinary expence; and that she hoped they would empower her to raise such a sum of money upon the funds for that provision, as would be sufficient to discharge the incumbrances, which amounted to five hundred thousand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil-list revenue, and passed through both houses with some difficulty. Both lords and commons addressed the queen concerning

cerning the chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Lorrain. They desired she would press the duke of that name, and all the princes and states in amity with her, to exclude from their dominions the pretender to the Imperial crown of Great-Britain. A public thanksgiving for the peace was appointed and celebrated with great solemnity; and, on the sixteenth day of July, the queen closed the session with a speech, which was not at all agreeable to the violent Whigs, because it did not contain one word about the pretender and the protestant succession. From these omissions they concluded, that the dictates of natural affection had biased her in favour of the chevalier de St. George. Whatever sentiments of tenderness and compassion she might feel for that unfortunate exile, the acknowledged son of her own father, it does not appear that she ever entertained a thought of altering the succession as by law established. The term of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, extraordinary rejoicings were made upon the occasion. He was desired to preach before the house of commons, who thanked him for his sermon; and the queen promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's Holborn. On the other hand, the duke D'Aumont, ambassador from France, was insulted by the populace. Scurrilous ballads were published against him, both in the English and French languages. He received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by accident or design he could not well determine. The magistracy of Dunkirk having sent a deputation with an address to the queen, humbly imploring her majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects, the memorial was printed and dispersed,

Violence of parties in England.

A. C. 1713. and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground; the harbour was filled up; and the duke D'Aumont returned to Paris in the month of November. The queen, by her remonstrances to the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six protestants from the galleys; but understanding that as many more were detained on the same account, she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released. Then she appointed general Ross her envoy extraordinary to the king of France.

Proceedings
of the par-
liament of
Ireland.

The duke of Shrewsbury being nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland, assembled the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two houses still at variance, on the opposite principles of Whig and Tory. Allan Broderick being chosen speaker of the commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted Edward Loyd for publishing a book intituled, "Memoirs of the chevalier de St. George;" and they agreed upon an address to the queen, to remove from the chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the Tories of that kingdom. The lords, however, resolved, that chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two houses of convocation presented an address to the same purpose. They likewise complained of Mr. Moleworth, for having insulted them, by saying, when they appeared in the castle of Dublin, "They that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;" and he was removed from the privy-council. The duke of Shrewsbury received orders

orders to prorogue this parliament, which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestic broils. Then he obtained leave to return to England, leaving chancellor Phipps, with the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom.

The parliament of England had been dissolved; and the elections were managed in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in the hands of the Tories: but the meeting of the new parliament was delayed by repeated prorogations to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the queen's indisposition, and partly to the contests among her ministers. Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The treasurer's parts were deemed the more solid; the secretary's more shining: but both ministers were aspiring and ambitious. The first was bent upon maintaining the first rank in the administration, which he had possessed since the revolution in the ministry: the other disdained to act as a subaltern to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius and equalled in importance. They began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles. Bolingbroke insinuated himself into the confidence of lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust. By this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, while the treasurer lost it in the same proportion. Thus she who had been the author of his elevation, was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The queen was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she interposed her advice and authority by turns to appease; but their mutual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. The interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt the chancellor, Sir William

New parliament in England.

A. C. 1713. Wyndham, and Mr. secretary Bromley. Oxford perceived his own influence was in the wane, and began to think of retirement. Mean while, the earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the king of Sicily; and set out for Turin. The queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory fever. The hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose: the public funds immediately fell: a great run was made upon the bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France. They sent one of their members to represent to the treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The queen being made acquainted with these occurrences, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stancer lord mayor of London, declaring, that now she was recovered of her late indisposition, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discountenance those malicious rumours spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and to the imminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. The queen's recovery, together with certain intelligence that the armament was a phantom, and the pretender still in Lorrain, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been industriously raised by party-writings. Mr. Richard Steele published a performance intituled *The Crisis*, in defence of the revolution, and the protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a popish successor. On the other hand, the hereditary rights of the crown of England were asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way for

for the pretender's accession. One Bedford was apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise. A. D. 1713.

While England was harrassed by these intestine commotions, the emperor, rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expence, with the assistance of the empire. His forces on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, were so much outnumbered by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Friburg. His Imperial majesty hoped, that the death of queen Anne, or that of Lewis XIV. would produce an alteration in Europe that might be favourable to his interest; and he depended upon the conduct and fortune of prince Eugene for some lucky event in war. But finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the expence of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace that were made by the electors of Cologne and Palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Al-Rastadt, between prince Eugene and marechal de Villars, on the twenty-sixth day of November. In the beginning of February they separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion: but all the articles being settled between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again at the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third day of March; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides, to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French king yielded to the emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Friburg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with fort Khel. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huningen, the fort of Seltinghen, and all between that and Fort Louis. The town and fortress of Landau were ceded to the king.

Treaty of Rastadt between the emperor and France.

A. C. 1713.

of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the king of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarter of Gueldres. Finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congress should be opened on the first of May, at Baden in Swisserland, for terminating all differences: and prince Eugene and marechal de Villars were appointed their first plenipotentiaries.

Principal articles in the treaty between Great Britain and Spain.

The ratifications of the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the first day of March, in London; and the articles were not disagreeable to the English nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever. Philip acknowledged the protestant succession, and renounced the pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. He granted an exclusive privilege to the English for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, according to the asiento contract. He ceded Gibraltar to England, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion. He obliged himself to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with the possession of all their estates, honours, and privileges, and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The new parliament was opened by commission in February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker of the house of commons. On the second day of March, the queen being carried in a sedan to the house of lords, signified to both houses, that she had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greatest part of her allies; and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe.

Meeting of the parliament.

Europe. She observed, that some persons had^{A C. 1713.} been so malicious as to insinuate that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that those who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity. She said, that after all she had done to secure religion and the liberties of her people, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession. Affectionate addresses were presented by the lords, the commons, and the convocation; but the ill humour of party still subsisted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers. Steele, supported by Addison and Halifax, appeared in the front of those who drew their pens in defence of Whig principles; and Swift was the champion of the ministry.

The earl of Wharton complained in the house of lords of a libel intituled, "The public spirit of the Whigs, set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis." It was a sarcastic performance, imputed to lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interspersed with severe reflections upon the union, the Scottish nation, and the duke of Argyle in particular. The lord treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morphew the publisher, as well as John Barber, printer of the Gazette, from whose house the copies were brought to Morphew. The earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honour of that august assembly, to find out the villain who was author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation. He

The lords take cognizance of a libel against the Scots.

A. C. 1713. moved, that Barber and his servants might be examined: but, next day the earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, declared, that, in pursuance to her majesty's command, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted. Notwithstanding this interposition, which was calculated to screen the offenders, the lords presented an address, beseeching her majesty to issue out her royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be false, malicious, and factious, highly dishonourable and scandalous to her majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution. In compliance with their request, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered; but the author remained safe from all detection.

The commons having granted the supplies, ordered a bill to be brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons; and it passed through both houses with little difficulty. In March, a complaint was made of several scandalous papers lately published, under the name of Richard Steele, esquire, a member of the house. Sir William Wyndham observed, that some of that author's writings contained insolent, injurious, reflections on the queen herself, and were dictated by the spirit of rebellion. Steele was ordered to attend in his place: some paragraphs of his works were read; and he answered them with an affected air of self-confidence and unconcern. A day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more circumstantial defence. He was assisted by Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole; and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. Whatever could be urged in his favour was but little regarded by the majority, which voted,

voted, that two pamphlets, intituled, The Englishman, and the Crisis, written by Richard Steele, esquire, were scandalous and seditious libels; and that he should be expelled the house of commons.

A. C. 1713.
Mr. Steele expelled the house of commons.

The lords taking into consideration the state of the nation, resolved upon addresses to the queen, desiring they might know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain: that she would impart to them an account of the negotiations of peace; an account of the instances which had been made in favour of the Catalans; and an account of the monies granted by parliament since the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of Noli prosequi granted since his accession to the throne; and a list of such persons as, notwithstanding sentence of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licences to return into Great-Britain, or other her majesty's dominions since the revolution. Having voted an application to the queen in behalf of the distressed Catalans, the house adjourned itself to the last day of March. As the minds of men had been artfully irritated by false reports of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper, by command of his most christian majesty. The suspicions of many people, however, had been too deeply planted by the arts and insinuations of the Whig leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what served to rivet their apprehensions, was a total removal of the Whigs from all the employments civil and military which they had hitherto retained. These were now be-

Precautions of the Whigs for the security of the protestant succession.

A. C. 1713. stowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the queen's views were maliciously misrepresented: when the wheels of her government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she discharged the partisans of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the house of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority. Those were steps which her own sagacity must have suggested; and which her ministers would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the pretender's succession to the throne of Great-Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the elector: they received his instructions; they maintained a correspondence with the duke of Marlborough; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the protestant succession upon the death of the queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired, that every week was believed to be the last of her life. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation; but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

The house of peers resounded with debates upon the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession. With respect to the Catalonians, they represented, that Great-Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the

house

Fogers.
Burnet.
Tindal.
Torcy.
Boling-
broke.
Voltaire.

A. C. 1714.

Debates in
the house of
lords con-
cerning the
pretender
and the Ca-
talans.

house of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared, that the queen had used all her endeavours in their behalf; and that her engagements with them subsisted no longer than king Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her majesty's endeavours in favour of the Catalans, and requesting she would continue her interposition in their behalf. With respect to the pretender, the Whig lords expressed such a spirit of persecution and rancorous hate, as would have disgraced the members of any, even the lowest assembly of christians. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed eagerly bent upon extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it was a crime in him to be born. The earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the minister of Lorrain, that notwithstanding the application of both houses to her majesty during the last session, concerning the pretender's being removed from Lorrain, no instances had yet been made to the duke for that purpose. Lord Bolingbroke affirmed, that he himself had made those instances in the queen's name, to that very minister before his departure from England. The earl of Wharton proposed a question, "Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" A warm debate ensued, in which the archbishop of York and the earl of Anglesey joined in the opposition to the ministry. The earl pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments used in the course of the debate. He owned he had given his assent to the cessation of arms, for which he took shame to himself, asking pardon of God, his country, and his conscience. He affirmed, that the honour of his sovereign, and the

A. C. 1714. the good of his country, were the rules of his actions; but, that without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold. This conversation, however, was much more owing to a full persuasion, that a ministry divided against itself could not long subsist; and that the protestant succession was firmly secured. He therefore resolved to make a merit of withdrawing himself from the interests of a tottering administration, in whose ruin he might be involved. The duke of Argyle charged the ministers with mal-administration both within those walls and without: he offered to prove, that the lord-treasurer had yearly remitted a sum of money to the Highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be intirely devoted to the pretender. He affirmed, that the new modelling of the army, the practice of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers, on account of their affection to the house of Hanover, were clear indications of the ministry's designs: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for debt, on account of their pay's being detained. The treasurer laying his hand upon his breast, said, he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of affection to the protestant succession, that he was sure no member of that august assembly did call it in question. He owned he had remitted for two or three years past, between three and four thousand pounds to the Highland clans; and he hoped the house would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct in that particular; and, with respect to the reformed officers, he declared, he

had

had given orders for their being immediately paid. A. C. 1714.
 The protestant succession was voted out of danger by a small majority.

Lord Halifax proposed an address to the queen; that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the pretender out of Lorrain; and that she would, in conjunction with the states-general, enter into the guaranty of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The earl of Wharton moved, that in the address her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the pretender dead or alive. He was seconded by the duke of Bolton; and the house agreed, that an address should be presented. When it was reported by the committee, the lord North and Gray expatiated upon the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head: he proved it was an encouragement to murder and assassination; contrary to the precepts of Christianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honour of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was supported by lord Trevor, who moved, that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land in Great-Britain or Ireland. The cruelty of the first clause was zealously supported and vindicated by the lords Cowper and Halifax; but, by this time the earls of Anglesey and some others who had abandoned the ministry, were brought back to their former principles, by promise of profitable employments; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices. To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the Whig lords only, the queen replied in these words. "My lords, it would be a real strengthen-

They address the queen to set a price on the head of the pretender.

" as

A. C. 1714. “ as well as a support to my government, that an
 “ end were put to those groundless fears and jea-
 “ lousies which have been so industriously pro-
 “ moted. I do not at this time see any occasion
 “ for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it
 “ to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having
 “ it issued. As to the other particulars of this ad-
 “ dress, I will give proper directions therein.” She
 was likewise importuned by another address, to issue
 out a proclamation against all jesuits, popish priests,
 and bishops, as well as against all such as were
 outlawed for adhering to the late king James and
 the pretender. They resolved, That no person,
 not included in the articles of Limerick, and who
 had borne arms in France and Spain, should be
 capable of any employment civil or military: and,
 That no person, a natural-born subject of her
 majesty, should be capable of sustaining the cha-
 racter of a public minister from any foreign poten-
 tate. These resolutions were aimed at Sir Patrick
 Lawless, an Irish papist, who had come to England
 with a credential letter from king Philip, but now
 thought proper to quit the kingdom.

Then the lords in the opposition made an attack
 upon the treasurer, concerning the money he had
 remitted to the Highlanders; but he silenced his
 opposers, by asserting, that in so doing, he had fol-
 lowed the example of king William, who, after he
 had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly
 pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep
 them quiet. His conduct was approved by the
 house; and the lord North and Grey moved, That
 a day might be appointed for considering the state
 of the nation, with regard to the treaties of peace
 and commerce. The motion was seconded by the
 earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth day of April
 fixed for this purpose. In the mean time, baron
 Schutz demanded of the chancellor a writ for the
 electoral



MARQUIS of WHARTON.

electoral prince of Hanover, to sit in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge, intimating, that his design was to reside in England. The writ was granted with reluctance; but the prince's design of coming to England was so disagreeable to the queen, that she signified her disapprobation of such a step, in a letter to the princess Sophia. She observed, that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way, than as the prince who was in actual possession of the throne maintained her authority and prerogative: she said, a great many people in England were seditiously disposed; so she left her to judge, what tumults they might be able to raise should they have a pretext to begin a commotion: she therefore persuaded herself, that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the repose of her and her subjects. At the same time she wrote a letter to the electoral prince, complaining, that he had formed such a resolution without first knowing her sentiments on the subject; and telling him plainly, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, to the right of succession in the Hanoverian line, or more disagreeable to her, than such conduct at this juncture. A third letter was written to the elector his father; and the treasurer took this opportunity to assure that prince of his inviolable attachment to the family of Hanover.

The Whig lords were dissatisfied with the queen's answer to their address concerning the pretender; and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved upon, but never presented. They took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were taken; and much sarcasm was expended on both sides of the dispute; but, at length, the majority carried the question in favour of an address,

A. C. 1714.
A writ demanded for the electoral prince of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge.

A. C. 1714. acknowledging her majesty's goodness, in delivering them by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France, from the burden of a consuming land-war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable. The house of commons concurred in this address, after having voted, That the protestant succession was out of danger; but these resolutions were not taken without violent opposition, in which general Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole, chiefly distinguished themselves. The letters which the queen had written to the electoral house of Hanover were printed and published in England, with a view to inform the friends of that family, of the reasons which prevented the duke of Cambridge from executing his design of residing in Great-Britain. The queen considered this step as a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinions of her subjects: she therefore ordered the publisher to be taken into custody. At this period the princess Sophia died in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the queen by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover. This princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated: and was in all respects one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and the elector of Brunswick was prayed for by name in the liturgy of the church of England. On the twelfth day of May Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the church of England as by law established. The design

Death of
the princess
Sophia.

Bill to pre-
vent the
growth of
schism.

design of it was to prohibit dissenters from teaching A. C. 1714. in schools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each house as a species of persecution. Nevertheless, it made its way through both, and received the royal assent; but the queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

Her majesty's constitution was now quite broken: one fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind, occasioned partly by the discontents which had been raised and fomented by the enemies of her government; and partly by the dissensions among her ministers, which were now become intolerable. The council chamber was turned into a scene of obstinate dispute and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. Oxford advised moderate measures, and is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party. As he foresaw it would soon be their turn to dominate, such precautions were necessary for his own safety. Bolingbroke affected to set the Whigs at defiance: he professed a warm zeal for the church: and soothed the queen's inclinations with the most assiduous attention. He and his coadjutrix insinuated, that the treasurer was biassed in favour of the dissenters, and even, that he acted as a spy for the house of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes and commotions the Jacobites were not idle. They flattered themselves, that the queen in secret favoured the pretensions of her brother; and they depended upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the same interest. They believed the same sentiments were cherished by the nation in general. They held private assemblies both in Great-Britain and

A. C. 1714. Ireland. They concerted measures for turning the dissensions of the kingdom to the advantage of their cause. They even proceeded so far as to enlist men for the service of the pretender. Some of these practices were discovered by the earl of Wharton, who did not fail to sound the alarm. A proclamation was immediately published, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the pretender whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great-Britain. The commons voted an address of thanks for the proclamation; and assured her majesty, that they would cheerfully aid and assist her, by granting the sum of an hundred thousand pounds as a further reward to any who should perform so great a service to her majesty and her kingdoms. The lords likewise presented an address on the same subject. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill, decreeing the penalties of high-treason against those who should list or be enlisted in the pretender's service. The motion was approved, and the penalty extended to all those who should list or be enlisted in the service of any foreign prince or state, without a licence under the sign manual of her majesty, her heirs, or successors.

Another
against all
who should
enlist in a
foreign ser-
vice.

On the second day of July the lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain; and a good number of merchants being examined at the bar of the house, declared, that unless the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was signed were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing five and twenty per cent. After a long debate, the house resolved to address the queen for all the papers relating to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the persons who advised her majesty to
that

that treaty. To this address she replied, that un-^{A. C. 1714.}derstanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty. The earl of Wharton represented, that if so little regard was shewn to the addressess of that august assembly to the sovereign, they had no business in that house. He moved for a remonstrance, to lay before her majesty the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty: and the house agreed to his motion. Another member moved, That the house should insist on her majesty's naming the persons who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a member of the lower house, whom lord Bolingbroke had consulted on the subject of the treaty. He was screened by the majority in parliament; but, a general court of the South-sea company resolved, upon a complaint exhibited by captain Johnson, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to, and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him: that, therefore, he should be declared incapable of being a director of, or having any employment in this company. The queen had reserved to herself the quarter part of the assiento contract, which she now gave up to the company, and received the thanks of the upper-house; but, she would not discover the names of those who advised her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them, that her chief concern was to preserve the protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of

The parliament pro-
rogued.

A. C. 1714. her kingdoms, she concluded in these words:
 “ But, I must tell you plainly, that these desirable
 “ ends can never be obtained, unless you bring
 “ the same dispositions on your parts; unless all
 “ groundless jealousies which create and foment
 “ divisions among you, be layed aside; and un-
 “ less you shew the same regard for my just pre-
 “ rogative, and for the honour of my govern-
 “ ment, as I have always expressed for the rights
 “ of my people.”

After the peace had thus received the sanction of the parliament, the ministers being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity. Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of the public transactions; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile; and maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. The duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majesty and the council. In all probability, his greatest crime was, his having given umbrage to the favourite lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the queen's presence. The treasurer affirmed he had been wronged, and abused by lies and misrepresentations; but he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attracted his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had

The trea-
 surer dis-
 graced.

had obtained. He laid his account with being admitted as chief minister into the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed the design of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably, Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a repulse from the duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the dutchess had conceived against that minister.

Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. The confusion that incessantly ensued at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council on this event, had such an effect upon the queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of her life. Then the committee of the council assembled at the Cockpit, adjourned to Kensington. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle, informed of the desperate situation in which she lay, repaired to the palace; and, without being summoned, entered the council-chamber. The members were surprised at their appearance; but the duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture; and desired they would take their places. The physicians having declared, that the queen was still sensible, the council unanimously agreed, to recommend the duke of Shrewsbury as the fittest person to fill the place of lord-treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the queen, she

A. C. 1714. said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord-chamberlain's staff; but she desired he would keep them both: so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts of the kingdom, under the titles of lord-treasurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. No nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favour. He was modest, liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country. Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigour which the dukes of Somerset and Argyle exerted on this occasion. They proposed, that all privy-counsellors in or about London should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved, and the lord Somers, with many other Whig members, repaired to Kensington. The council being thus reinforced, began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were immediately dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands, were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition: an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the elector of Brunswick, signifying, that the physicians had despaired of the queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attend-

Precautions
taken for
securing the
peace of the
kingdom.

attended by a British Squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her majesty's decease. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Strafford, to desire the states-general would be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting, with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new king as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea ports; to overawe the Jacobites in Scotland; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley.

The queen continued to dose in a lethargic insensibility, with very short intervals, till the first day of August in the morning, when she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirtieth of her reign. Anne Stuart, queen of Great-Britain, was in her person of the middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy, her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, or personal ambition. She was certainly deficient in that vigour of mind by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants and favourites: but, whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in question. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful princess, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was

Death and
character of
queen Anne.

A. C. 1711. zealously attached to the church of England from conviction rather than from prepossession, unaffectedly pious, just, charitable, and compassionate. She felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England; and well deserved the expressive, though simple epithet, of "The good queen Anne."



GEORGE I.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.
B O O K N I N T H.

From the Death of Queen ANNE to the Treaty
of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1748.

G E O R G E I.

IT may be necessary to remind the reader of the state of party at this important juncture. The Jacobites had been fed with hopes of seeing the succession altered by the earl of Oxford. These hopes he had conveyed to them in a distant, undeterminate, and mysterious manner, without any other view than that of preventing them from taking violent measures to embarrass his administration. At least, if he actually entertained at one time any other design, he had, long before his disgrace, layed it wholly aside, probably from an apprehension of the danger with which it must have been attended; and seemed bent upon making a merit of his zeal for the house of Hanover: but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he

A. C. 1714.
State of parties in Great-Britain.

A. C. 1714. chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author. It was either the production of some lunatic, or a weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body.

The parliament having assembled, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the lord-chancellor, on the fifth day of August, made a speech to both houses in the name of the regency. He told them, that the privy-council, appointed by the elector of Brunswick, had proclaimed that prince under the name of king George, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms; and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the public peace. He observed, that the several branches of the public revenue were expired by the demise of her late majesty; and recommended to the commons the making such provision in that respect as might be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown. He likewise expressed his hope, that they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit. Both houses immediately agreed to addresses, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the parliament of Great-Britain. In the mean time, the lower house prepared and passed a bill, granting to his majesty the same civil-list which the queen had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover which had been in the service of Great-Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds, to be payed by the treasury to any person who should apprehend the pretender in landing, or in attempting to land in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Craggs, who had been dispatched to
Hanover

The civil-list granted to his majesty.

Hanover before the queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of August, with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the house of peers; and the chancellor, in another speech to both houses, inimated his majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The commons finished the bill for the civil-list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state lottery, which received the royal assent from the lords-justices. Then the parliament was prorogued.

Mr. Prior having notified the queen's death to the court of Versailles, Lewis declared, that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover. The earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the states of Holland; and the resident of Hanover having presented them with a letter, in which his master claimed the performance of their guaranty, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness on his accession to the throne of Great-Britain. They invited him to pass through their dominions; and assured him that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand, that the king of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the king had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the regency to prepare a patent for creat-
ing

A. C. 1714. consequence were concerted by a cabinet-council or junto, composed of the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lords Hallifax, Townshend, Somers, and general Stanhope. The regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps and the archbishop of Armagh from the office of lords justices in Ireland, and filled their places in the regency of that kingdom with the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Kildare. Allan Broderick was appointed chancellor; another privy-council was formed, and the duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission; all the governments were changed; and, in a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. At the same time, the prince royal was declared prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The king was congratulated on his accession in addresses from the two universities, and all the cities and corporations of the kingdom. He expressed particular satisfaction at these expressions of loyalty and affection. He declared in council, his firm purpose to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law established. This he was of opinion might be effectually done without impairing the toleration allowed by law to protestant dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: and he moreover assured them, he would earnestly endeavour to render property secure; the good effects of which were no where so clearly seen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created some new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles*. On the twentieth day
of

* James lord Chandos was created earl of Caernarvon; Lewis lord Rockingham, earl of that name;

Charles lord Ossulton, earl of Tankerville; Charles lord Hallifax, earl of Hallifax; Heneage lord Guernsey, earl



JOHN Earl of *STAIR*.

of October he was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnity, at which the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke assisted †. On that very day, the university of Oxford, in full convocation, unanimously conferred the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and esteem. As the French king was said to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. The answer which he received being deemed equivocal, this minister was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. About the same time, general Cadogan was sent as plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to assist at the barrier-treaty, there negotiated between the emperor and the states-general.

Mean while, the number of the malcontents in England was considerably increased by the king's attachment to the Whig faction. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived; jealousies were excited, seditious libels dispersed; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading, were filled with licentious riot. The party cry was, "Down with the Whigs. Sacheverel for ever." Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abused; magistrates in towns, and justices in the country, were reviled and insulted

earl of Aylesford; John lord Hervey, earl of Bristol; Thomas lord Pelham, earl of Clare; and Henry earl of Thomond, in Ireland, viscount Tadcaster; James viscount Castleton in Ireland, baron Sanderson; Bennet lord Sherard in Ireland, baron of Harborough; Gervase lord Pierrepoint, in Ireland; baron Pierre-

point, in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, baron of Cawston, in the county of York; Sir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham; Henry lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge,

† In the month of October, the princess of Wales arrived in England, with her two eldest daughters the princesses Anne and Amelia.

A. C. 1714.

Pretender's
manifesto.

by the populace in the execution of their office. The pretender took this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto, to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration, he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which were prevented by her deplorable death. He observed, that his people, instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate. These papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an audience to the marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The marquis having communicated this circumstance to the duke, that prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by the directions of the French king, whom the duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the marquis was given to understand, that he could not be admitted to an audience, until the pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master; he therefore quitted the kingdom without further hesitation. Religion was still mingled in all political disputes. The high-churchmen complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground, from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence, of the Whig prelates. The lower house of convocation had, before the queen's death, declared that a book published by doctor Samuel Clarke, under the title of "The scripture-doctrine of the Tri-

" nity,"

“nity,” contained assertions contrary to the catholic faith. They sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops; and the doctor wrote an answer to their objections. He was prevailed upon to write an apology, which he presented to the upper house; but apprehending it might be published separately, and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the bishops; but the lower house resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about the Trinity increasing, the archbishops and bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the christian faith concerning the holy Trinity; and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the state. By these every preacher was restricted from delivering any other doctrine than what is contained in the holy scriptures with respect to the Trinity; and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or government. The like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute, on the same subjects.

The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He mentioned the perplexity of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation. He expressed his hope that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and that, in the elections, they would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It does not appear that the protestant succession

New parliament,

A. C. 1714. was ever in danger. How then was this declaration to be interpreted? People in general construed it into a design to maintain party-distinctions, and encourage the Whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the elections; into a renunciation of the Tories, and the first flash of that vengeance which afterwards was seen to burst upon the heads of the late ministry. When the earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's administration. Uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides in the elections; but, by dint of the monied-interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenance of the ministry, which will always have weight with needy and venal electors, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

When this new parliament assembled on the seventeenth day of March at Westminster, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen speaker of the commons. On the twenty-first day of the month, the king appeared in the house of lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both houses. His majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness they had shewn in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it. He told them, that some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and trade of Great-Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guaranty the present treaties. He observed, that the
pre-

Substance of
the king's
first speech.

pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointments : that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable : that the public debts were surprisingly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms. He gave the commons to understand, that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government, were so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown : that as it was his and their happiness to see a prince of Wales who might in due time succeed him on the throne ; and to see him blessed with many children ; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expence to which the nation had not been for many years accustomed ; and therefore he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason to hope from his commons. He desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interests of their country. He declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government ; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people, should be the chief care of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence, that, with their assistance, he should disappoint the designs of those who would deprive him of that blessing which he most valued, the affection of his people.

Speeches, suggested by a vindictive ministry, better became the leader of an incensed party, than the father and sovereign of a divided people. This portended measures which it was the interest of the crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both houses, which breathed nothing but

A. C. 1714. destruction to their political adversaries. The lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his majesty, assisted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions, was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. The Tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very juncture. The commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious. They declared their resolution to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out those measures whereon the pretender placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition. In the house of lords, the dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the earl of Anglesey, the archbishop of York, and other peers both secular and ecclesiastical, observed, that their address was injurious to the late queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom. In the lower house, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, general Rois, Sir William Whitelock, and other members, took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address which the commons had prepared. They were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. secretary Stanhope, who took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office; yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the

the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm : that those matters would soon be layed before the house, when it would appear, that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from marechal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, with great serenity, and spoke in the house of lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his justification. In this paper he declared he had received certain and repeated informations that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold : that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard, by the two houses of parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned. He said, if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favourable interpretation would be put upon it. He affirmed that he had served her majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war ; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

Lord Bolingbroke withdraws to France.

Boyer.
Torcy.
Tindal.
Bolingbroke.
Voltaire.

In the midst of all this violence against the late A. C. 1713. ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition ; and even in some addresses to the king, their conduct was justified.

A. C. 1715. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the house of commons, to consider the king's proclamation for calling a new parliament, Sir William Wyndham, member for the university of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless, Sir William rising up, said the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge, he observed, that every member was free to speak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower, the Tower." A warm debate ensued: Sir William being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and, those who remained in the house resolved, That he should be reprimanded by the speaker. He was accordingly rebuked for having presumed to reflect on his majesty's proclamation; and made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty. Sir William said, he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege: that he acquiesced in the determination of the house; but had no thanks to give to those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure.

Sir William
reprimanded
by the
speaker,

Committee
of secrecy,

On the ninth day of April general Stanhope delivered to the house of commons fourteen volumes, consisting of all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms; and moved, that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to the house. One more was added to the
number



S^r WILLIAM WYNDHAM Bart.

number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot; and met that same evening. Robert Walpole, original chairman, being taken ill, was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three committees; to each a certain number of books was allotted; and they carried on the enquiry with great eagerness and expedition. Before this measure was taken Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum, died of a pleuritic fever, in the seventy-second year of his age; and immediately after the committee had begun to act, the Whig party lost one of their warmest champions, by the death of the marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not prevent him from employing with surprising vigour and application. The committee of the lower house taking the civil list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue. The Tories observed, that from the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to king William, the sum of fifty thousand pounds was allotted to the late queen when princess of Denmark; twenty thousand pounds to the duke of Gloucester; and twice that sum as a dowry to James's queen: that near two hundred thousand pounds had been yearly deducted from the revenue of the late queen's civil list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honourably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed, that the late ministry had used the Whigs, and, indeed, the whole nation, in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed a hardship. At length, the house agreed, that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds clear should
be

A. C. 1715. be granted for the civil list during his majesty's life. A motion being made for an address against pensions, it was opposed by Mr. Walpole, and over-ruled by the majority: and the lords passed the bill for regulating the land-forces, with some amendments.

Sir John
Norris sent
with a fleet
to the
Baltic.

On the eighteenth day of May Sir John Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the king of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies for the security of the empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and the states-general had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swedish general Steenbock and his army were made prisoners, count Wellen concluded a treaty with the administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wismar were sequestered into the hands of the king of Prussia; and the administrator engaged to secure them and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania from the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the governor of Pomerania refused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stetin to surrender. Then the governor consented to the sequestration, and payed to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rix-dollars, to indemnify them for the expence of the siege. The king of Sweden returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money. As this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friends; king
George,

George, for the security of his German dominions, A. C. 1715. concluded a treaty with the king of Denmark; by which the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swede in his absence, were made over to his Britannick majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly, he took possession of the dutchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops, with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen; but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlescroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed Discontent of the nation. to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malcontents in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the king's birth-day with the usual marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the populace; but, next day, which was the anniversary of the restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life-guards who patrolled through the streets, to join in the cry of "High church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned a picture of king William.

A. C. 1715. liam. Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bournois, a school-master, who affirmed that king George had no right to the crown, was tried and scourged through the city, with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the king's and duke of Marlborough's gardens. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts." The court being informed of this clamour, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of a suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of speculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person that would discover one captain Wight, who, by an intercepted letter, appeared to be disaffected to king George; and Mr. George Jeffries was seized at Dublin with a packet directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable papers being found in this packet, were transmitted to England: Jeffries was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond.

The house of lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against their sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition presented to them, in behalf of Blackburn, Cassils, Bernarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners, for having conspired against the life of king William. On the

the ninth day of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman A. C. 1715. of the secret committee, declared to the house of commons, that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved, That a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report, ranged under these different heads: The clandestine negotiation with monsieur Menager: the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers: the negotiation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy: the fatal suspension of arms: the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favour the French: the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general: the lord Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace: Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewsbury's negotiations in France: the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being recited, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day: and, that in the mean time the report should be presented for the perusal of the members: he was seconded by the Tories; a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

Report of
the secret
committee.

This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry lord viscount Bolingbroke of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high-treason; and general Ross expressed the same sentiment. Then lord Coningsby standing up, "The worthy chairman" (said he) has impeached the hand, but I impeach

Resolutions
to impeach
lord Boling-
broke, the
earl of Ox-
ford, the
duke of Or-
mond, and
the earl of
Stratford.

" the

A. C. 1715. “ the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I;
 “ the justice: he has impeached the scholar, and
 “ I, the master. I impeach Robert earl of Ox-
 “ ford and earl Mortimer, of high-treason, and
 “ other crimes and misdemeanours.” Mr. Audi-
 tor Harley, the earl’s brother, spoke in vindication
 of that minister. He affirmed he had done no-
 thing but by the immediate command of his sove-
 reign: that the peace was a good peace, and ap-
 proved as such by two parliaments: and that the
 facts charged to him in the report amounted only
 to misdemeanours. Mr. Auditor Foley, the earl’s
 brother-in-law, made a speech to the same purpose:
 Sir Joseph Jekyll, a staunch Whig, and member
 of the secret committee, expressed his doubt,
 whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to
 impeach the earl of high-treason. Nevertheless,
 the house resolved to impeach him, without a
 division. When he appeared in the house of lords
 next day, he found himself avoided by his brother
 peers, as infectious: and retired with signs of con-
 fusion. Prior and Harley having been examined
 by such of the committee as were justices of the
 peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole informed the
 house, that matters of such importance appeared
 in Prior’s examination, that he was directed to
 move them for that member’s being closely con-
 fined. He was accordingly cut off from all com-
 munication. On the twenty-first day of June Mr.
 secretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Or-
 mond of high-treason, and other high crimes
 and misdemeanours. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson,
 one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favour
 of the duke. He expatiated on his noble birth
 and qualifications: he enumerated the great services
 performed to the crown and nation by his grace
 and his ancestors: he observed, that in the whole
 course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the
 queen’s





S^r. JOSEPH JEKYLL Kn^t.

queen's commands: and affirmed, that all the allegations against him, could not, in the rigour of the law, be construed into high-treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by general Lumley, who urged that the duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage: that he had generously expended the best part of his estate by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his country. Sir Joseph Jekyll said, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country: that, as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the duke in this emergency; but all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered; and the question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety by withdrawing himself from the kingdom. On the twenty-second day of June the earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Aislaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges; and for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and

A. C. 1715. contempt. He was also defended by his friends; but overpowered by his enemies.

When the articles against the earl of Oxford were read in the house, a warm debate arose upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the states-general. The question being put, Whether this article amounted to high-treason? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham and the Tories, but also by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who said, it was ever his principle to do justice to every body from the highest to the lowest; and, that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by a spirit of party: that he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and would not scruple to declare, that in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high-treason. Mr. Walpole answered with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty; and who were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws, yet were satisfied, that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the earl of Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, demanding, at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. A motion was made, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a short debate the articles were read: then the Tory lords moved, that the judges might be consulted. This motion being rejected, another

other was made, that the earl should be committed to safe custody: this occasioned another debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose: That the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiations and conclusion of the peace: that the nation wanted a peace, he said, no body would deny: that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctancy which some of the allies shewed to come into the queen's measures: that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments: that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who had thought fit to step aside: that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law; and being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man: that, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly: that he did not doubt their lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing: and that, in the prosecution of the inquiry it would appear, he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favour of this government. "My lords (said he) I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done." The duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the house, that the earl was very

A. C. 1715. much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the black rod: in his way thither he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, "High church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger; it was carried, on a division, that he should be conveyed thither on the sixteenth day of July. During the debate the earl of Anglesey observed, that these impeachments were disagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared, such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This expression threw the whole house in a flame. Some members cried, "To the Tower." Some, "To order." The earl of Sutherland declared, that if these words had been spoken in another place, he would have called the person that spoke them to an account; in the mean time he moved, that he should explain himself. Anglesey, dreading the resentment of the house, was glad to make an apology; which was accepted. The earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire and other parts of the kingdom, against the Whig party, which had depressed the friends of the church and embroiled the nation. The house of commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing, that if any persons to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse, by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation

Earl of Oxford sent to the Tower.

Proclamation-act.

clamation

clamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of the clergy. A. C. 1715.

When the king went to the house of peers on the twentieth day of July, to give the royal assent to this and some other bills, he told both houses, that a rebellion was actually begun at home; and, that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He therefore expected, that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual stile were immediately presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common-council, and lieutenancy of London, and the two universities, though that of Oxford was received in the most contemptuous manner, the deputies being charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the scholars of the university. The addresses from the kirk of Scotland, and the dissenting ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The parliament forthwith passed an act, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas-corpus act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money-bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the pretender dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: general Erle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-park: lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who, with lord Windfor, the generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained-bands were kept in

The king declares to the parliament that a rebellion is begun.

A. C. 1715. readiness to suppress tumults. In the midst of these transactions the commons added six articles to those exhibited against the earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the house of lords by Mr. Walpole: bills being brought in to summon him and the duke of Ormond, to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, or in default thereof, to attain them of high-treason; they passed both houses, and received the royal assent. On the last day of August the commons agreed to the articles against the earl of Strafford, which being presented to the house of lords, the earl made a speech in his own vindication. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said, if he had in his letters, or discourse, dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honour to represent the crown of Great-Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British house of peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been layed before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of the government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the earl of Hay represented, that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification: and, that the house of peers of Great-Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression upon the house, which resolved, that the earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

On the third day of September Oxford's answer was delivered to the house of lords, who transmitted it to the commons. Mr. Walpole having heard it read, said, it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry: that it was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his royal mistress the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honour, and the good of his country: that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate the house resolved, That the answer of Robert earl of Oxford should be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached lords: and, That the committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the lords. Then the committee reported, That Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond and the lord viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited, the house of lords ordered the earl-marshal to raze out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the duke's achievement, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor. A man of candour cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the command of his sovereign. About this period the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging

A. C. 1715.

Duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke attainted.

A. C. 1715.

raging loyalty in Scotland. By this law, the tenant who continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented; and, on the other hand it was decreed, That the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason, should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority: and, That all intails and settlements of estates since the first day of August, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons, to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause, all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh; and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

Intrigues of
the Jacobites.

By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the queen's death, addressees were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, which was deemed a national grievance: and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the Revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in parliament, they did not lay aside their design of attempting something of consequence in favour of the pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, into a system of politics which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature,
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and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction A. C. 1715. which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the pretender, that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and indeed, the clamours, tumults, and conversation of the people in general, countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without further delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories should join them at his first landing in Great-Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring, that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the French king, who had always been the refuge of his family. Lewis favoured him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great-Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of *Depine D'Anicaut*: and without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The duke of Ormond and the lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London

A. C. 1715. by the earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honour and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigour, vigilance, and address. He detected the chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it, as enabled the king of Great-Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the pretender's interest in France expired with Lewis XIV. that ostentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the king of Great-Britain. Instead of assisting the pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great-Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause; and depended upon him for succour. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

Death of
Lewis XIV.

The partisans of the pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and therefore resolved to try their fortune in the field. The earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the marquisses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Marischal and Southesk,
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the generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Braemar on the sixth day of September. By this time the earls of Home, Wigton, and Kinnoul, the lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and major-general Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom, to secure the bridge of Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar, that the pretender would soon be with him in person. The death of Lewis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they layed their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the mean time, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign; and this was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprize the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The duke of Argyrie set out for Scotland as commander in chief of the forces in North-Britain: the earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queenborough ship of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of the government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country,

A. C. 1715.

The earl of Mar sets up the pretender's standard in Scotland.

A. C. 1715. country, in order to signalize their loyalty to king George.

Several members of the lower house taken into custody.

In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gate-house, for enlisting men in the service of the pretender. The titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: the lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey. The king desired the consent of the lower house to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Foster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the house, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Foster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the council, was dismissed for want of evidence. Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law the duke of Somerset offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the king thought proper to remove him from the office of master of the horse. On the twenty-first day of September the king went to the house of lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then the chancellor read his majesty's speech,

speech, expressing his acknowledgment and satisfaction for the uncommon marks of their affection he had received; and the parliament adjourned to the sixth day of October. A. C. 1715.

The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol; but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the government; which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The university of Oxford felt the rod of power on this occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffee-man; and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered at Oxford, to overawe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. Their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends: but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while general Carpenter having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring

The earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster proclaim the pretender.

A. C. 1715. tiring northward to Wooler, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the lord viscount Kenmuir, and the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced, advanced to Kelfo, having received advice that there they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

Mackintosh crosses the frith of Forth into Lothian, and joins the English insurgents ;

By this time the earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders of England. Boats were assembled for this purpose; and, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the king's ships in the frith, to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats that passed through the midst of the king's cruisers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct or courage, than was this hazardous enterprize. They amused the king's ships with marches and countermarches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark. The earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge: but his real design was to divert the duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far
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the scheme succeeded. The duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. He had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seatoun-house, near Preston-pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the frith from the earl of Mar, to join lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelfo, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

The lord Kenmuir, with the earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath; the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland, and join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders in Argyleshire. The English insisted upon crossing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the earl of Wintoun. Means however were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender. They continued

A. C. 1715. continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by the lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Wills marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricades, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the twelfth day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places: but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day general Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were over-ruled. Forster sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Wills, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand, that the general would not treat with rebels; but, in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this Highlander declared, he could not promise that the Scots would

surrender

who are at-
tacked at
Preston,

surrender in that manner. The general desired A. C. 1745. him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut in pieces. The Scottish noblemen did not chuse to run that risque; and persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All and surren-
der at dis-
cretion. the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and ensign Erskine, were tried by a court martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athole, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool: the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets, pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

The very day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston, was remarkable for the battle of Battle at
Dumblaine. Dumblaine, fought between the duke of Argyle and the earl of Mar, who commanded the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans under the earl of Seaforth, and those of the west commanded by general Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he marched to Auchterardere, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh day of November. The duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine. On
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A. C. 1715. the twelfth day of the month he passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriffmoor. The earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the duke understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblaine: but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the center and right wing of the enemy, with Clanronald and Glengary at their head, charged the left of the king's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and general Whetham who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan: though in that space they wheeled about and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The duke of Argyle returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about and taken possession of some inclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted

ted each other till the evening, when the duke A. C. 1715. drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day, the duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable body of vassals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army, in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to king George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the pretender: the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army to cover his own country; and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the states general by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: general Cadogan set out for the same place, together with brigadier Petit and six other engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the duke of Argyle resolving to drive the earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The pretender

A. C. 1715. having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf ; and the duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter ; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Brittany he posted through part of France, in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the twenty-second day of December at Peterhead, with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tintmouth, son to the duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incognito to Fetteroffe, where he was met by the earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed ; his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighbourhood ; and here he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the fifth day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee ; and on the seventh arrived at Scoon, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council ; and published proclamations for a general thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival ; enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches ; establishing the currency of foreign coins ; summoning the meeting of the convention of estates ; ordering all sensible men to repair to his standard, and

The pretender arrives in Scotland.

and fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. Here they determined to abandon the enterprize, as the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision: for the duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burntisland, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile county.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow which rendered the roads almost impassable, the duke, on the twenty-ninth day of January, began his march to Dumblain, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in pursuit of the enemy. The chevalier de St. George being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board of a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose. He was accompanied by the earls of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, lieutenant-general Bulkely, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Gravelin. General Gordon, whom the pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, with the assistance of the earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and

He retires to
France.

A. C. 1715. Strathdown, to the hills of Badenoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partizans of the pretender to hazard a revolt.

Proceedings
of the Irish
Parliament.

The parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth day of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England, for the present administration. They passed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the pretender's head; and for attainting the duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those who had addressed the late queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then lord chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees, and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They desired the lords justices would issue a proclamation against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitulation signed by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other papists. They engaged in an association against the pretender and all his abettors. They voted the earl of Anglesey an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he had advised the queen to break the army and prorogue the late parliament; and they addressed the king to remove him from his council and service. The lords-justices granted orders for apprehending the earls
of

of Antrim and Westmeath, the lords Natterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the two houses.

The king, in his speech to the English parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reason to believe the pretender was landed in Scotland: he congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the rebellion: on the conclusion of the barrier-treaty between the emperor and the states-general, under his guaranty: on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom, from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected in consequence of the late treaties. He likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great-Britain and the states-general, was almost concluded; and he assured the commons he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expence incurred on this occasion. The commons, in their address of thanks, declared that they would prosecute, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of those destructive counsels which had drawn down such miseries upon the nation. Their resolutions were speedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forster from the house. They forthwith impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. These noblemen being brought to the bar of the house of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their answers on the sixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the lower-house ordered a bill to be brought in for

The re'el
of lords as im-
peached,

A. C. 1715. continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus-act; then they prepared another to attain the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and lord John Drummond. On the twenty-first day of January, the king gave the royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus-act. He told the parliament that the pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and assuming the stile and title of king of these realms: he demanded of the commons such supply as might discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels. On Thursday the nineteenth day of January, all the impeached lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time, on various pretences. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth day of February, in the court erected in Westminster-hall, where the lord chancellor Cowper presided as lord high-steward on that occasion. The countess of Nithsdale and lady Nairn threw themselves at the king's feet as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands: but their tears and intreaties produced no effect. The council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and orders were given for that purpose to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

and plead
guilty.

The countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the dutchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans, into the king's bedchamber, where she invoked his majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the house of peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above
twenty

twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the house: but no regard was payed to their petition. Next day, they petitioned both houses of parliament. The commons rejected their suit. In the upper house, the duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, at the same time declaring, that he himself should oppose his sollicitation. The earl of Derby expressed some compassion for the numerous family of lord Nairn. Petitions from the rest were presented by other lords, moved with pity and humanity. Lord Townshend and others vehemently opposed their being read. The earl of Nottingham thought this indulgence might be granted: the house assented to his opinion; and agreed to an address, praying his majesty would relieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his mercy. To this petition the king answered, That on this and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, president of the council; his brother the earl of Aylesbury, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster; his son lord Finch, one of the lords of the treasury; his kinsman lord Guernsey, master of the jewel-office, were altogether dismissed from his majesty's service. Orders were dispatched for executing the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the viscount of Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited to the seventh day of March. Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his mother. On the twenty-fourth day of February, Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill. The former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the

The earl of Derwentwater and Kenmuir are beheaded.

A. C. 1715. country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate: the poor, the widow, and the orphan, rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman; calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the English church: but the other died in the faith of Rome: both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, Wintoun was brought to his trial, and being convicted, received sentence of death.

Annals.

Boling-
broke.

Patten.

Deb. in Parl.

Tindal.

State Trials.

A. C. 1716.

When the king passed the land-tax bill, which was ushered in with a very extraordinary preamble, he informed both houses of the pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills of high-treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded Not guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have doubled the vigilance of the jailors, brigadier Mackintosh, and several other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained; a great number was found guilty; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn; and among these William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his last speech, pro-

Trials of
the rebels.

professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of the revolution schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned the king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay-deprivations authorised by the prince of Orange. A. C. 1716*

Though the rebellion was extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction still continued to rage: the severities exercised against the rebels increased the general discontent: for now the danger was blown over, their humane passions began to prevail. The courage and fortitude with which the condemned persons encountered the pains of death in its most dreadful form, prepossessed many spectators in favour of the cause by which those unhappy victims were animated. In a word, persecution, as usual, extended the heresy. The ministry perceiving this universal disaffection, and dreading the revolution of a new parliament, which might wrest the power from their faction, and retort upon them the violence of their own measures, formed a resolution equally odious and effectual, to establish their administration. This was no other than a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliaments to seven years. On the tenth day of April, the duke of Devonshire represented, in the house of lords, that triennial elections served to keep up party-divisions; to raise and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expences, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes: that it became the wisdom of such an august assembly to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation, as the spirit of rebellion still remained unconquered. He therefore proposed a bill for enlarging the continuance of parliaments. He was seconded by

Acts for triennial parliaments.

A. C. 1716. the earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the duke of Argyle, the lord Townshend, and the other chiefs of that party. The motion was opposed by the earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Powlet. They observed, that frequent parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages; that the members of the lower house were chosen by the people for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the parliament's protracting its own authority, would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those, who, through ignorance or corruption, betrayed the trust reposed in them: that the reasons in favour of such a bill were weak and frivolous: that, with respect to foreign alliances, no prince or state could reasonably depend upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own: nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported. On the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great-Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the popish faction was so dangerous as to threaten destruction to the government: they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety: that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted: and, that the good affections of the people were restrained within the limits of the house of commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expence of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every practice of corruption; for, the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a parliament; and the purchase would

would rise accordingly. That a long parliament A. C. 1716. would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity to a vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the parliaments were short and frequent: that the same reasons urged for passing the bill to continue this parliament for seven years, would be at least as strong, and by the conduct of the ministry, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating their legislative power, to the absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm. These arguments served only to form a decent debate; after which the bill for septennial parliaments passed by a great majority, though twenty peers entered a protest. It met with the same fate in the lower house, where many strong objections were started to no purpose. They were represented as the effects of party-spleen; and, indeed, this was the great spring of action on both sides. The question for the bill was carried in the affirmative; and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the suspected persons of consequence detained in safe custody, the king resolved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the elector of Hanover for having entered into the confederacy against him in his absence, particularly for his having purchased the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions; and he breathed nothing but revenge against the king of Great-Britain. It was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare against it, that the king now determined upon a voyage to the continent. But as he was restricted from leaving his British dominions, by the act for the further limitation of the crown, this

A. C. 1716. clause was repealed in a new bill that passed through both houses without the least difficulty. On the twenty-sixth day of June the king closed the session with a speech upon the usual topics, in which, however, he observed, that the numerous instances of mercy he had shewn, served only to encourage the faction of the pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world, that they were not to be reclaimed by gentle methods. He intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period general Macartney, who had returned to England at the accession of king George, presented himself to trial for the murder of the duke of Hamilton. The deposition of colonel Hamilton was contradicted by two park-keepers: the general was acquitted of the charge, restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment. The king's brother, prince Ernest bishop of Osnaberg, was created duke of York and Albany, and earl of Ulster. The duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay, to whom his majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employments. General Carpenter succeeded the duke in the chief command of the forces in Scotland, and in the government of Port-Mahon; and the duke of Montrose was appointed lord-register of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Ilay.

Duke of
Argyle dis-
graced.

On the seventh day of July the king embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he passed incognito to Hanover; and from thence set out for Pymont. His aim was, to secure his German dominions from the
Swede,

Swede, and Great-Britain from the pretender. A. C. 1716.
 These two princes had already begun to form a design, in conjunction, of invading his kingdom. He knew the duke of Orleans resolved to ascend the throne of France, in case the young king, who was a sickly child, should die without male issue. The regent was not ignorant, that Philip of Spain would powerfully contest that succession, notwithstanding his renunciation; and he was glad of an opportunity to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland. The king of England sounded him on this subject, and found him eager to engage in such an association. The negotiation was carried on by general Cadogan for England, the abbe du Bois for France, and the pensionary Heinfius for the states-general. The regent readily complied with all their demands. He engaged, that the pretender should immediately depart from Avignon to the other side of the Alps, and never return to Lorrain or France on any pretence whatsoever: that no rebellious subjects of Great-Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom: and, that the treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed to the satisfaction of his Britannic majesty. The treaty contained a mutual guaranty of all the places possessed by the contracting powers; of the protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as of that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be disturbed at home or invaded from abroad. The English people murmured at this treaty. They said, an unnecessary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connexions; and that, on pretence of an

Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland.

A. C. 1716. an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom.

His majesty was not so successful in his endeavours to appease the king of Sweden, who refused to listen to any overtures until Bremen and Verden should be restored. These the elector of Hanover resolved to keep as a fair purchase; and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of Charles, for the maintenance of this acquisition. Mean while his rupture with Sweden was extremely prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh intailed upon the kingdom another invasion, much more formidable than that which had so lately miscarried. The ministers of Sweden resident at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great-Britain. A scheme was formed for the Swedish king's landing on this island with a considerable body of forces, where he should be joined by the malcontents of the united kingdom. Charles relished the enterprize, which flattered his ambition and revenge: nor was it disagreeable to the czar of Muscovy, who resented the elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George having received intimation of these intrigues, returned to England towards the end of January; and ordered a detachment of foot-guards to secure count Gyllenburg the Swedish minister, with all his papers. At the same time Sir Jacob Bancks and Mr. Charles Cæsar, were apprehended. The other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry upon this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two secretaries Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them, that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced the king to take such an extraordinary step.

Count Gyllenburg the Swedish minister arrested.

step. They were generally satisfied with this intimation; but the marquis de Monte Leone, ambassador from Spain, expressed his concern, that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom, without arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing all his papers which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets: he observed, that in whatever manner these two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim, at the desire of king George, communicated to the states by Mr. Leathes his minister at the Hague. The baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that was justified by the conduct of king George, who had assisted the princes in confederacy against the king of Sweden, without having received the least provocation; who assisted the king of Denmark in subduing the dutchies of Bremen and Verden; and then purchased them of the usurper; and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

When the parliament of Great-Britain met on the twentieth day of February, the king informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland. He mentioned the projected invasion; told them he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters which had passed between the Swedish ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom. By those papers it appeared, that the scheme projected by baron Gortz was very plausible, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced,

A. C. 1716. reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country. The letters being read in parliament, both houses presented addressees, in which they extolled the king's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates, as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonourable peace: and, they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country. He likewise received an address of the same kind from the convocation; another from the dissenting ministers; a third from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so lavish of her compliments. At a meeting of the vice-chancellor and heads of that university, a motion was made for an address to the king, on the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion; his majesty's safe return; and the favour lately shewn to the university, in omitting, at their request, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the pope, the pretender, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Mar, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession. Dr. Smalridge bishop of Bristol, observed, that the rebellion had been long suppressed: that there would be no end of addressees, should one be presented every time that his majesty returned from his German dominions: that the late favour they had received was overbalanced by a whole regiment now quartered upon them: and, that there was no precedent for addressing a king upon his return from his German dominions. The university thought they had reason to complain of the little regard payed to their remonstrance, touching a riot raised in that city by the soldiers there quartered, on pretence, that the anniversary of the prince's birth-day had not been celebrated with the usual rejoicings. Affidavits had been sent up

to the council, which seemed to favour the officers of the regiment. When the house of lords deliberated upon the mutiny-bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrest for debts, complaint was made of their licentious behaviour at Oxford; with a motion, that they should inquire into the riot. They presented an address, desiring, that the papers relating to that affair might be layed before the house. These being perused, were found to be recriminations between the Oxonians and the officers of the regiment. A warm debate ensued, during which, the earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the vice-chancellor of the university, the mayor, and magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard. One of the court-members observing, that it would be irregular to receive a petition while the house was in a grand committee, a motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair: but, this being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and the majority agreed to the following resolutions: That the heads of the university, and mayor of the city, neglected to make public rejoicings on the prince's birth-day: That the officers having met to celebrate that day, the house in which they were was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble: That this assault was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued: That the conduct of the major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part: That the printing and publishing the depositions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford, were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committee of the council, and before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his royal highness, and tending to sedition. An inquiry of this nature so managed,

A. C. 1715.
Account of
the Oxford
riot.

Annals
State Trials
Deb in Parl.
Tndal.
Volta re.

A. C. 1715. managed, did not much redound to the honour of such an august assembly.

The commons passed a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. They voted ten thousand seamen for the ensuing year, granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion. The house likewise voted four and twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munster and two of Saxegotha, which the king had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the states-general to the assistance of England. This vote, however, was not carried without a violent debate. The demand was inveighed against as an imposition, seeing no such troops had ever served. A motion was made for an address, desiring, that the instructions of those who concluded the treaties, might be layed before the house; but this was over-ruled by the majority*. The supplies were raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt-tax.

A. C. 1717. What the commons had given was not thought sufficient for the expence of the year; therefore Mr. secretary Stanhope brought a message from his majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdoms against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved, that a

The king demands an extraordinary supply.

* This year was rendered famous by a complete victory which prince Eugene obtained over the Turks at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of August. The Imperial army did not exceed sixty thousand men: that of the infidels amounted to one hun-

dred and fifty thousand, commanded by the grand vizir, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The infidels were totally defeated, with the loss of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; so that the victors obtained an immense booty.

supply

supply should be granted to his majesty for this purpose. Mr. Shippen said, it was a great misfortune that the king was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country: that the message was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he had been often told, that his majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade: that the supply demanded seemed to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his majesty had obtained for the people. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared, that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances; much less, that they should be purchased with money. He expressed his surprize, that a nation, so lately the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden. The motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and others; but some of the Whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The speaker and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, opposed this unparliamentary way of demanding the supply: the former proposed, that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After several successive debates, the resolution for a supply was carried by a majority of four voices.

The ministry was now divided within itself. Lord Townshend had been removed from the office of secretary of state by the intrigues of the earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise dismissed from the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his posts of first commis-

Division in
the mini-
stry.

A. C. 1717. sioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, and Mr. Methuen secretary of state. When the affair of the supply was resumed in the house of commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply as unparliamentary and unprecedented. He said, he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message: but he doubted not the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the house in vindication of the ministry, Mr. Smith answered every article of his speech: he affirmed, that if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry in relation to affairs abroad, was to be made from a comparison of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. “ Was it not a mistake, said
 “ he, not to preserve the peace at home, after the
 “ king had ascended the throne with the universal
 “ applause and joyful acclamations of all his sub-
 “ jects? Was it not a mistake, upon the breaking
 “ out of the rebellion, not to issue a proclamation,
 “ to offer pardon to such as should return home
 “ peaceably, according to the custom on former
 “ occasions of the same nature? Was it not a
 “ mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion,
 “ and the trial and execution of the principal au-
 “ thors of it, to keep up animosities, and drive
 “ people to despair by not passing an act of indem-
 “ nity; by keeping so many persons under hard
 “ and tedious confinement; and by granting par-
 “ dons to some, without leaving them any means

“ to subsist? It is not a mistake, not to trust to a ^{A. C. 1717.}
 “ vote of parliament for making good such en-
 “ gagements as his majesty shall think proper to
 “ enter into; and, instead of that, to insist on the
 “ granting this supply in such an extraordinary
 “ manner? Is it not a mistake, to take this op-
 “ portunity to create divisions, and render some of
 “ the king’s best friends suspected and obnoxious?
 “ Is it not a mistake, in short, to form parties and
 “ cabals, in order to bring in a bill to repeal the
 “ act of occasional conformity?” A great num-
 ber of members had agreed to this measure in pri-
 vate, though at this period it was not brought into
 the house of commons. After a long debate the
 sum was granted. These were the first fruits of
 Britain’s being wedded to the interests of the con-
 tinent. The elector of Hanover quarrelled with
 the king of Sweden; and England was not only
 deprived of a necessary branch of commerce, but
 even obliged to support him in the prosecution of
 the war. The ministry now underwent a new re-
 volution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Ad-
 dison were appointed secretaries of state; and Mr.
 Stanhope became first commissioner of the treasury,
 and chancellor of the exchequer.

On the sixth day of May the king going to the
 house of peers, gave the parliament to understand,
 that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had
 sailed to the Baltic to observe the motion of the
 Swedes, was safely arrived in the Sound. He said,
 he had given orders for the immediate reduction of
 ten thousand soldiers, as well as directions to pre-
 pare an act of indemnity. He desired they would
 take proper measures for reducing the public debts
 with a just regard to parliamentary credit; and,
 that they would go through the public business
 with all possible dispatch and unanimity. Some
 progress had already been made in deliberations

A. C. 1717. upon the debt of the nation, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The first had been contracted with a redeemable interest; and these the public had a right to discharge: the others consisted of long and short annuities granted for a greater or less number of years, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of those debts, before he resigned his place in the exchequer. He proposed, in the house of commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. His plan was approved; but when he resigned his places, the ministers made some small alterations in it, which furnished him with a pretence for opposing the scheme. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between him and Mr. Stanhope, by which it appeared, they had made a practice of selling places and reversions. Mr. Hungerford standing up, said, he was sorry to see two such great men running foul of one another; that, however, they ought to be looked upon as patriots and fathers of their country; and, since they had by mischance discovered their nakedness, the other members ought, according to the custom of the East, to turn their backs upon them, that they might not be seen in such a shameful condition. Mr. Boscawen moved, That the house would lay their commands upon them, that no further notice should be taken of what had passed. He was seconded by Mr. Methuen: the house approved of the motion; and the speaker took their word and honour, that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the house

came

came to certain resolutions, on which were found-
 ed the three bills that passed into laws, under the
 names of "The South-sea act, the Bank-act, and
 "the General-fund act." The original stock of
 the South-sea company did not exceed nine mil-
 lions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three
 hundred and twenty-five pounds; but the funds
 granted being sufficient to answer the interest of
 ten millions at six per cent. the company made up
 that sum to the government, for which they receiv-
 ed six hundred thousand pounds yearly, and eight
 thousand pounds a year for management. By this
 act they declared themselves willing to receive five
 hundred thousand pounds, and the eight thousand
 for management. It was enacted, That the com-
 pany should continue a corporation, until the re-
 demption of their annuity, towards which not less
 than a million should be payed at a time. They
 were likewise required to advance a sum not ex-
 ceeding two millions, towards discharging the prin-
 cipal and interest, due on the four lottery funds of
 the ninth and tenth years of queen Anne. By the
 bank-act the governors and company declared
 themselves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-
 eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-one pounds,
 seven shillings, and ten-pence half-penny, or the
 principal of one million seven hundred and seventy-
 five thousand twenty-seven pounds, seventeen shil-
 lings, and ten-pence half-penny, in lieu of the
 present annuity, amounting to one hundred and
 six thousand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen
 shillings, and five pence. They likewise declared
 themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to
 be cancelled, as many exchequer bills as amounted
 to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of
 one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate
 of five per cent. redeemable after one year's no-
 tice; to circulate the remaining exchequer bills at

A. C. 1717.

The com-
 mons pass
 the South-
 sea act, the
 Bank-act,
 and the Ge-
 neral-fund
 act.

A. C. 1717. three per cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, that the former allowances should be continued to Christmas, and then the bank should have for circulating the two millions five hundred and sixty-one thousand and twenty-five pounds remaining exchequer-bills, an annuity of seventy-six thousand eight hundred and thirty pounds fifteen shillings, at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny a-day for interest. By the same act the bank was required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, towards discharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition, that they should have five pounds per cent. for as much as they might advance, redeemable by parliament. The general-fund act recited the several acts of parliament, for establishing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the late queen, and stated the annual produce of the several funds, amounting in all to seven hundred twenty-four thousand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, six shillings, and ten-pence one fifth. This was the general fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was enacted, That all the duties and revenues mentioned therein, should continue for ever, with the proviso, however, That the revenues rendered by this act perpetual, should be subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the sinking fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties
and

and revenues, by this act appropriated, to make good the general fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debts as were incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceding year, in such manner as should be directed or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

The earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the house of lords, praying, that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. Some of the Tory lords affirmed, that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of parliament, which superseded the whole proceedings; but the contrary was voted by a considerable majority. The thirteenth day of June was fixed for the trial; and the house of commons made acquainted with this determination. The commons appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the lords, demanding longer time to prepare for the trial. Accordingly the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June; and the commons appointed the committee, with four other members, to be the managers for making good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as lord-steward. The commons were assembled as a committee of the whole house: the king, the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity: the earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower: the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the replication of the commons. Sir Joseph Jekyll standing up to make good the first article,

lord

A. C. 1717. lord Harcourt signified to their lordships, that he had a motion to make, and they adjourned to their own house. There he represented, that a great deal of time would be unnecessarily consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment; that if the commons would make good the two articles for high-treason, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter: whereas, to proceed on the method proposed by the commons, would draw the trial on to a prodigious length. He therefore moved, that the commons might not be admitted to proceed, until judgment should be first given upon the articles for high-treason. He was supported by the earls of Anglesey and Nottingham, the lord Trevor, and a considerable number of both parties; and though opposed by the earl of Sunderland, the lords Coningsby, and Parker, the motion was carried in the affirmative. It produced a dispute between the two houses. The commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for treason, or for high crimes and misdemeanours; or should they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation. The house of lords insisted on their former resolution; and, in another conference, delivered a paper, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every court of justice, to order and direct such methods of proceeding as it should think fit to be observed in all causes that fall under its cognizance. The commons demanded a free conference, which was refused. The dispute grew more and more warm. The lords sent a message to the lower house, importing, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the earl of Oxford. The commons payed no regard to this intimation; but adjourned to the third day of July. The lords repairing to
West-

Westminster-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own house, where after some debate, the earl was acquitted upon a division: then returning to the hall, they voted, That he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissensions among the ministers, and to the late change in the administration, in consequence of which he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole; and numbered among his friends the dukes of Devonshire and Argyle, the earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and the lord Townshend. The commons, in order to express their sense of his demerit, presented an address to the king, desiring he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace. The king promised to comply with their request; and in the mean time forbade the earl to appear at court. On the fifteenth day of July the earl of Sunderland delivered in the house of peers the act of grace, which passed through both houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moor, Crisp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmayne the printer, and Thompson, the assassins in Newgate, and the clan of Macgregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwath, the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately discharged; together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom. The act of grace being prepared for the royal assent, the king went to the house of peers on the fifteenth day of July, and having given his sanction to all the bills that were

A. C. 1717.
Trial of the
earl of Ox-
ford.

Act of in-
demnity.

A. C. 1717. ready, closed the session with a speech on the usual topics.

Proceedings
in the con-
vocation
with regard
to Dr. Hoad-
ley bishop of
Bangor.

The proceedings in the convocation turned chiefly upon two performances of Dr. Hoadley bishop of Bangor. One was intituled, "A per-
" fervative against the principles and practices of
" the Nonjurors:" the other was a sermon preach-
ed before the king, under the title of, "The na-
" ture of the kingdom of Christ." An answer to
this discourse was published by Dr. Snape master of
Eton College, and the convocation appointed a
committee to examine the bishop's two performan-
ces. They drew up a representation, in which
the Preservative and the sermon were censured,
as tending to subvert all government and discipline
in the church of Christ; to reduce his kingdom to
a state of anarchy and confusion; to impugn and
impeach the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical,
and the authority of the legislature to enforce obe-
dience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. The
government thought proper to put a stop to these
proceedings by a prorogation; which, however,
inflamed the controversy. A great number of pens
were drawn against the bishop; but, his chief
antagonists were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock,
whom the king removed from the office of his
chaplains; and the convocation has not been per-
mitted to sit and do business since that period.

Difference
between
king George
and the czar
of Muscovy.

During these transactions, the negotiations of
the North were continued against the king of
Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and
advanced towards Christianstadt the capital of that
kingdom. The czar had sent five and twenty
thousand Russians to assist the allies in the reduction
of Wismar, which he intended to bestow upon
his niece, lately married to the duke of Mecklen-
burgh Swerin: but before his troops arrived, the
place

place had surrendered, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison; a circumstance which increased the misunderstanding between him and the king of Great-Britain. Nevertheless, he consented to a project for making a descent upon Schonen, and actually took upon him the command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleased to see Sir John Norris in the Baltic, because he had formed designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect. He suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the king of Denmark published a manifesto remonstrating against his conduct on this occasion. By this time baron Gortz had planned a pacification between his master and the czar, who was discontented with all his German allies, because they opposed his having any footing in the empire. This monarch arrived at Amsterdam in December, whither he was followed by the czarina; and he actually resided at the Hague when king George passed through it, in return to his British dominions: but he declined an interview with the king of England. When Gyllenburg's letters were published in London, some passages seemed to favour the supposition of the czar's being privy to the conspiracy. His minister at the English court presented a long memorial, complaining that the king had caused to be printed, the malicious insinuations of his enemies. He denied his having the least concern in the design of the Swedish king. He charged the court of England with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheless, he expressed an inclination to re-establish the ancient good understanding, and

A. C. 1717. to engage in vigorous measures for prosecuting the war against the common enemy. The memorial was answered by the king of Great-Britain, who assured the czar he should have reason to be fully satisfied, if he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding; in other words, withdraw the Russian troops from the empire. Notwithstanding these professions, the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled.

The czar made an excursion to the court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the regent, at whose earnest desire he promised to recal his troops from Mecklenburg. At his return to Amsterdam, he had a private interview with Gortz, who, as well as Gyllenburg, had been set at liberty. That minister undertook to adjust all differences between the czar and the king of Sweden within three months; and Peter engaged to suspend all operations against Sweden, until that term should be expired. A congress was opened at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Aland. By this convention, the czar obliged himself to assist Charles in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the king of Great-Britain, should he presume to interpose. Both were incensed against that prince; and one part of their design was to raise the pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gortz set out from Aland for Frederickstadt in Norway, with the plan of peace; but before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he visited the trenches, on the thirtieth of November. Baron Gortz was immediately arrested, and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred by his insolence of behaviour. The death of Charles was fortunate for king George.

Sweden

The king of Sweden is killed at Frederickstadt.

Sweden was now obliged to submit: while the A. C. 1717. czar, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war.

Thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the house of Hanover: an acquisition towards which the English nation contributed by her money, as well as by her arms: an acquisition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when king William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl: an acquisition that may be considered as the first link of a political chain by which the English nation was dragged back into expensive connections with the continent. The king had not yet received the investiture of these dutchies; and, until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interests of the emperor. This was another source of misunderstanding between Great-Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained another complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to him after the battle. The emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked and driven from the Morea. The pope considered it as a religious war against the infidels; and obtained repeated assurances from the king of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing against the emperor, while he was engaged in such a laudable quarrel. Philip had even sent a squadron of ships and galleys to the assistance of the Venetians. In the course of this year, however, he equipped a strong armament, the command of which he bestowed on the marquis de Lede, who sailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the emperor, made a conquest of the whole island. At the same time, the king of Spain endeavoured to justify these

A. C. 1717. these proceedings by a manifesto, in which he alledged that the archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples and other places; and that the great inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with a passport from his holiness. He promised, however, to proceed no farther, and suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy: nay, he consented that this important affair should be left to the arbitration of king George and the states-general. These powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the emperor, France, England, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance. In this treaty it was stipulated, That the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily, with the duke of Savoy: That the succession to the dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as princess of the house of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male-issue. Philip, dissatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. The king of England and the regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose. At length his Britannic majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition †.

Negotiation
for the qua-
druple alli-
ance.

On † The pretender, who resided at Urbino, having received intelligence from Paris, that there was a design formed against his life, pope Clement XI. gave directions that all foreigners in that neighbourhood, especially

On the third day of November the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was productive of a difference between the grandfather and father. The prince of Wales intended that his uncle the duke of York should stand godfather. The king ordered the duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The king ordered the prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and afterwards signified his pleasure, that he should quit the palace of St. James's. He retired with the princess to a house belonging to the earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. All peers and peeresses, and all privy-counsellors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the prince and princess, they should have no access to his majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed posts and places under both king and prince, were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the parliament met on the twenty-first day of November, the king, in his speech, told both houses, that he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those

cially English, should be arrested. The earl of Peterborough arriving at Bologna with a few armed followers, was seized, with all his papers. Being interrogated, he said he came to pass some time in Italy, for the benefit of the air. He was close confined for a whole month in Fort Urbino, and his attendants were sent to prison. Nothing appearing to justify the suspicion, he was dismissed with uncommon civility. The king demanding reparation for this insult, the pope wrote with his own hand a letter to

an ally of Great-Britain, declaring, that the legate of Bologna had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of his holiness, caused the earl of Peterborough to be seized upon suspicions which proved to be ill grounded. The cardinal-legate sent a declaration to the English admiral in the Mediterranean, that he had asked forgiveness of his holiness, and now begged pardon of his Britannic majesty, for having unadvisedly arrested a peer of Great-Britain on his travels.

A. C. 1717. who were friends to the present happy establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the protestant interest, of which, as the church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all protestants. After the addresses of thanks, which were couched in the usual stile, the commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thousand men were voted for the sea-service. When the supply for the army fell under deliberation, a very warm debate ensued upon the number of troops necessary to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, in a long elaborate harangue, insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. They were answered by Mr. Craggs, secretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr. Shippen, in the course of the debate, said the second paragraph of the king's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great-Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a scandalous invective against the king's person and government; and moved that he should be sent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen refusing to retract or excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of standing forces was fixed at sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men.

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

On account of the great scarcity of silver coin, occasioned by the exportation of silver and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a stop to this growing evil, by lowering the value of
gold

gold species. The commons examined a representation which had been made to the treasury by Sir Isaac Newton master of the mint, on this subject. Mr. Catwel explained the nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburghers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the silver coin and importing gold, which being coined at the mint, yielded a profit of fifteen pence upon every guinea. The house, in an address to the king, desired that a proclamation might be issued, forbidding all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty shillings each. His majesty complied with their request: but people hoarding up their silver, in hope that the price of it would be raised; or in apprehension that the gold would be lowered still farther, the two houses resolved that the standard of the gold and silver coins of the kingdom should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the silver coin. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coachmaker, and an enthusiast in Jacobitism, sent a letter to a nonjuring clergyman, proposing a scheme for assassinating king George. He was immediately apprehended, owned the design, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. This was likewise the fate of the marquis de Palleroiti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the dutchess of Shrewsbury. He had, in a transport of passion, killed his own servant; and seemed indeed to be disordered in his brain. After he had received sentence of death, the king's pardon was earnestly solicited by his sister the dutchess, and many other persons of the first distinction: but the common people became so clamorous, that it was thought dangerous to rescue him from the penalties of the

A. C. 1717

James Shepherd executed for a design against the king's life,

A. C. 1717. law, which he accordingly underwent in the most ignominious manner. No subject produced so much heat and altercation in parliament during this session, as did the bill for regulating the land-forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion: a bill which was looked upon as an incroachment upon the liberties and constitution of England, inasmuch as it established martial law, which wrested from the civil magistrate the cognizance of crimes and misdemeanours committed by the soldiers and officers of the army: a jurisdiction inconsistent with the genius and disposition of the people. The dangers that might accrue from such a power were explained in the lower house by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which last, however, voted afterwards for the bill. In the house of lords, it was strenuously opposed by the earls of Oxford, Strafford, and lord Harcourt. Their objections were answered by lord Carteret. The bill passed by a great majority; but divers lords entered a protest. This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the respective exchequers, the rents and profits of the estates till sold. The time of claiming was prolonged: the sum of twenty thousand pounds was reserved out of the sale of the estates in Scotland, for erecting schools; and eight thousand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom. The king having signified, by a message to the house of commons, that he had lately received such information from abroad, as gave reason to believe that a naval force, employed where it should be necessary, would give weight to his endeavours: he therefore thought fit to acquaint the house with this circumstance,

Oldmixon.

Annals.

Lamberti.

Burchet.

Hist. Reg.

Tindal.

State Trials.

Deb. in Parl.

Eoling-
broke.Lives of the
Admirals.

stance, not doubting but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house would provide for such exceeding. The commons immediately drew up and presented an address, assuring his majesty that they would make good such exceedings of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquility of Europe. On the twenty-first day of March the king went to the house of peers, and having passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the parliament to be prorogued *. A. C. 1717. The parliament prorogued.

The king of Spain, by the care and indefatigable diligence of his prime minister cardinal Alberoni, equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, set sail from Barcelona towards Italy; but the destination of it was not known. A strong squadron having been fitted out in England, the marquis de Monteleone ambassador from Spain, presented a memorial to the British ministry, importing, that so powerful an armament in time of peace could not but give umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good intelligence that subsisted between the two crowns. In answer to this representation, the ministers declared, that the king intended to send admiral Byng with a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the neutrality in Italy. Mean while, the negotiations between the English and French ministers produced the quadruple alliance, by which king George and the regent prescribed a peace between the emperor, the king of Spain, and the A. C. 1718. Nature of the quadruple alliance.

* Earl Cowper lord chancellor resigned the great seal, which at first was put in commission; but afterwards given to lord Parker as high chancellor. The earl of Sunderland was made president of the council, and first commis-

sioner of the treasury. The lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed secretaries of state. Lord Stanhope and lord Cadogan were afterwards created earls.

A. C. 1718. king of Sicily, and undertook to compel Philip and the Savoyard to submit to such conditions as they had concerted with the emperor. These powers were allowed only three months to consider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or acquiesce in the partition. Nothing could be more contradictory to the true interest of Great-Britain than this treaty, which destroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing such an accession of power into the hands of the house of Austria; interrupted the commerce with Spain; involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy; and gave rise to all the quarrels and disputes which have arisen between England and Spain in the sequel. The states general did not approve of such violent measures, and for some time kept aloof; but at length they acceded to the quadruple alliance, which indeed was no other than a very expensive compliment to the emperor, who was desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions.

The king of England had used some endeavours to compromise the difference between his Imperial majesty and the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon. Lord Stanhope had been sent to Madrid with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip, as partial and iniquitous, the king determined to support his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the fourth day of June, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, when he dispatched his secretary to Cadiz with a letter to colonel Stanhope the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his most catholic majesty of the admiral's arrival in those parts, and lay before him this article of his instructions: "You are to make instances with
" both

Admiral
Byng sails
to the Medi-
terranean.





BYNG Lord *TORRINGTON.*

“ both parties to cease from using any further acts
 “ of hostility: but in case the Spaniards do still
 “ insist, with their ships of war and forces, to at-
 “ tack the kingdom of Naples, or other the ter-
 “ ritories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in
 “ any part of Italy, which can only be with a de-
 “ sign to invade the emperor’s dominions, against
 “ whom only they have declared war by invading
 “ Sardinia; or if they should endeavour to make
 “ themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily,
 “ which must be with a design to invade the king-
 “ dom of Naples; in which case you are, with all
 “ your power, to hinder and obstruct the same.
 “ If it should so happen, that at your arrival,
 “ with our fleet under your command, in the
 “ Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already
 “ have landed any troops in Italy, in order to in-
 “ vade the emperor’s territories, you shall endea-
 “ vour amicably to dissuade them from persevering
 “ in such an attempt, and offer them your assis-
 “ tance to help them to withdraw their troops,
 “ and put an end to all further acts of hostility.
 “ But, in case these your friendly endeavours should
 “ prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping com-
 “ pany with, or intercepting their ships or convoy;
 “ or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them,
 “ defend the emperor’s territories from any further
 “ attempt.” When cardinal Alberoni perused these
 instructions, he told colonel Stanhope with some
 warmth, that his master would run all hazards,
 and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain,
 rather than recal his troops, or consent to a suspen-
 sion of arms. He said the Spaniards were not to
 be frightened; and he was so well convinced that
 the fleet would do their duty, that in case of their
 being attacked by admiral Byng, he should be in
 no pain for the success. Mr. Stanhope presenting

A. C. 1718. him with a list of the British Squadron, he threw it upon the ground with great emotion. He promised, however, to lay the admiral's letters before the king, and to let the envoy know his majesty's resolution. Such an interposition could not but be very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had laid his account with the conquest of Sicily, and for that purpose prepared an armament which was altogether surprising, considering the late shattered condition of the Spanish affairs. He seems to have put too much confidence in the strength of the Spanish fleet. In a few days he sent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his master.

The admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by vice-admiral Cornwall with two ships. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garrison of Portmahon. Then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer: for the Neapolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the viceroy count Daun, who treated him with the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish army amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city: that the Piedmontese garrison would be obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved: that an alliance was upon the carpet between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which last had desired the assistance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Messina. The admiral immediately resolved

solved to sail thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of two thousand Germans for the citadel, under the command of general Wetzell. He forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the ninth day of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. He dispatched his own captain with a polite message to the marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, in pursuance of his instructions, use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish general answered, that he had no powers to treat, consequently could not agree to an armistice, but should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the king of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. Admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel. But, in doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying to in order of battle. The admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war. Then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to seven and twenty sail large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven galleys. They were commanded in chief by don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four rear admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At sight of the English
squa-

A. C. 1718. Squadron they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, the rear-admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the gallies, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English admiral detached captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their counsels, and acted in confusion. They made a running fight, and the admirals behaved with courage and activity, in spite of which they were all taken but Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of war and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off cape Passaro, captain Haddock of the Grafton signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the eighteenth the admiral received a letter from captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a bomb-vessel*. Had the Spaniards followed the advice of rear-admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory. That officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English admiral would have found it a very difficult task to attack them: for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; whereas far-

He destroys
the Spanish
fleet off cape
Passaro.

* This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style.

“ Sir, We have taken and destroyed
“ all the Spanish ships and vessels which

“ were upon the coast, the number
“ as per margin. I am, &c.

G. Walton.”

ther out the currents are so various and rapid, that the English squadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in order of battle: besides, the Spaniards might have been reinforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. Before king George had received an account of this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldest son arrived in England, with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy, as he should see occasion. The son likewise carried the king's royal grant to the officers and seamen, of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the duke; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily: but until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the Imperialists in Sicily, during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions. He acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial generals, about the operations of the ensuing campaign,

A. C. 1718. paign, and count Hamilton was dispatched to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the result of their deliberations: then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where his ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

Remon-
strances of
the Spanish
ministry.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjecture of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous. The marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. secretary Craggs, in which he expostulated with him upon such an unprecedented outrage. Cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that minister, inveighed against it as a base unworthy action. He said the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, since every body knew that neutrality had long been at an end; and that the princes guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht were intirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but also because the guaranty was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France. He taxed the British ministry with having revived and supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that the conduct of England on this occasion was irregular, partial, and precipitate.

The parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the king, in his speech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of the British commerce.

To

To vindicate therefore the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress: that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the West-Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded that a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment: and he assured them that his good brother the regent of France was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both houses to the motion for an address of thanks and congratulation proposed by lord Carteret. Several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve a sea-fight which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures, which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations, or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great-Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair wherein the honour, as well as the interest of the nation were so highly concerned. Lord

Disputes in parliament touching admiral Byng's attacking the Spanish fleet.

A.C. 1718. and settling the public peace, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed, that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith, in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom: that they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of his own journey to Spain, and his negotiations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards. After a long debate, the motion was carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the house of commons, where the lord Hinchinbroke moved, that, in their address of thanks, they should declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquility in Europe. The members in the opposition urged, that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of the session, to enter upon particulars: that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that, before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reason on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the parliament's war. He observed, that instead of an intire satisfaction, they ought to express their intire dissatisfaction with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach
of

of the most solemn treaties. Mr. secretary Craggs, in a long speech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by lord Hinchinbroke, was at length carried, and presented to his majesty. Then the commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred thirty-five men for the land-service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery.

On the thirteenth day of December, earl Stanhope declared, in the house of lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of "An act for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts against occasional conformity, the growth of schism, and some clauses in the corporation and test-acts. This had been concerted by the ministry, in private meetings with the most eminent dissenters. The Tory lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they were strenuous in their opposition. They alledged that the bill, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the church of England, by plucking off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly possessed. Earl Cowper declared himself against that part of the bill by which some clauses of the test and corporation acts were repealed; because he looked upon those acts as the

Act for
strengthen-
ing the pro-
testant inter-
est.

A. C. 1718. main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state, which ought to be inviolably preserved. The earl of Ilay opposed the bill, because, in his opinion, it infringed the *pacta conventa* of the treaty of union, by which the bounds both of the church of England and of the church of Scotland were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles of the union were broke with respect to one church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other. The archbishop of Canterbury said, the acts which by this bill would be repealed, were the main bulwark and supporters of the English church: he expressed all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning conscientious dissenters; but he could not forbear saying, some among that sect made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence shewn to them at the revolution, though they had the least share in that happy event; it was therefore thought necessary for the legislature to interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional conformity. He added, that it would be needless to repeal the act against schism, since no advantage had been taken of it, to the prejudice of the dissenters. Dr. Hoadley bishop of Bangor endeavoured to prove that the occasional and schism acts were in effect persecuting laws; and that by admitting the principle of self-defence and self-preservation, in matters of religion, all the persecutions maintained by the heathens against the professors of Christianity, and even the popish inquisition, might be justified. With respect to the power of which many clergymen appeared so fond and so zealous, he owned the desire of power and riches was natural to all men; but that he had learned both from reason and from the gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights
and

and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen. After a long debate, the house agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the test and corporation-acts: then the bill was committed, and afterwards passed. In the lower house it met with violent opposition, in spite of which it was carried by the majority. A. C. 1713.

The king, on the seventeenth day of December, sent a message to the commons, importing, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain, having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the king they would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and some other members said, they did not see the necessity of involving the nation in a war on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained, as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the house, that he had presented five and twenty memorials to the ministry of Spain on that subject, without success. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceedings of the Spanish court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was suggested, that the ministry payed very little regard to the trade and interest of the nation; inasmuch as it appeared by the answer from a secretary of state to the letter of the marquis de Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance: that his majesty the king of Great-Britain did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquility of Europe. A

A. C. 1713. member observed, that no body could tell how far that sacrifice would have extended; but, certainly it was a very uncommon stretch of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Portmahon, which the regent of France had offered to the king of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horatia Walpole observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favour of the emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address; and such another was carried in the upper house without a division. The declaration of war against Spain was published with the usual solemnities; but this war was not a favourite of the people, and therefore did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions.

War declared
against
Spain

Conspiracy
against the
regent of
France.

Mean while cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, for the gratification of his revenge. He caused new ships to be built, the sea-ports to be put in a posture of defence, succours to be sent to Sicily, and the proper measures to be taken for the security of Sardinia. He, by means of the prince de Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, caballed with the malcontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the regent, and securing the person of the king. The duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of this plot to king George, who gave him to understand, that a conspiracy was formed against his person and government. The regent immediately took measures for watching the conduct of all suspected persons; but the whole intrigue was discovered by accident. The prince de Cellamare intrusted his dispatches to the abbe Portocarrero, and to a son
of

of the marquis de Monteleone. They set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were overturned. The postilion overheard Portocarrero say, he would not have lost his portmanteau for an hundred thousand pistoles. The man, at his return to Paris, gave notice to the government of what he had observed. The Spaniards being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers; the duke of Maine, the marquis de Pompadour, the cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons. The regent declared war against Spain on the twenty-ninth day of December; and an army of six and thirty thousand men began its march towards that kingdom in January, under the command of the duke of Berwick.

Cardinal Alberoni had likewise formed a scheme in favour of the pretender. The duke of Ormond repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his eminence; and measures were concerted for exciting another insurrection in Great-Britain. The chevalier de St. George quitted Urbino by stealth; and embarking at Netuno, landed at Cagliari in March. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality, and treated as king of Great-Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was bestowed on the duke of Ormond, with the title of captain-general of his most catholic majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent

Intended invasion by the duke of Ormond.

A. C. 1718. part of his land and sea-forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to king James. King George, having received from the regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamation, rewards to those that should apprehend the duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition. Troops were ordered to assemble in the North and West of England: two thousand men were demanded of the states-general: a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament; and the duke of Orleans made a proffer to king George of twenty battalions for his service.

His majesty having communicated to both houses of parliament the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support him against all his enemies. They desired he would augment his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expence. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, arrived in Scotland, with the earls Marischal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, some field-officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They were joined by a small body of Highlanders, and possessed themselves of Donan-castle. Against these adventurers general Wightman marched with a body of regular troops from Inverness. They had taken possession of the pass of Glenshiel; but, at the approach of the king's forces, retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the High-

Three hundred Spaniards land and are taken in Scotland.

Highlanders dispersed; and next day the Spaniards A. C. 1718. surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some officers, retired to one of the western isles, in order to wait for an opportunity of being conveyed to the continent.

On the last day of February the duke of Somerset represented, in the house of lords, that the number of peers being very much increased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to take effectual measures for preventing the inconveniencies that might attend the creation of a great number of peers, to serve a present purpose; an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign. He therefore moved, that a bill should be brought in to settle and limit the peerage, in such a manner, that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations: that instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and, that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish peerage. This bill was intended as a restraint upon the prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the duke of Argyle, now lord-steward of the household, the earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. It was opposed by the earl of Oxford, who said, that although he expected nothing from the crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the king to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned to the second day of March, when earl Stanhope

*Account of
the peerage-
bill.*

A. C. 1718. delivered a message from the king, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions. The question here, as in almost every other dispute, was not, Whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, Whether the Tory or the Whig interest should predominate in parliament? Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice, as it would deprive persons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence or forfeiture on their part. He observed, that the Scottish peers excluded from the number of the twenty five, would be in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor represented. These objections were overruled: several resolutions were taken agreeable to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. This measure alarmed the generality of the Scottish peers, as well as many English commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as an incroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Treatises were writ and published on both sides of the question; and a national clamour began to arise, when earl Stanhope observed, in the house, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it adviseable to postpone the
 further

Annals.
 Corbet.
 Tindal.
 Hist R-g.
 Deb. in
 Parl.
 Lives of the
 Admirals.

further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued to the eighteenth day of April, on which occasion his majesty told both houses, that the Spanish king had acknowledged the pretender. A. C. 1718.

The king having appointed lords-justices to rule the kingdom in his absence, embarked in May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica the new queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral house of Brunswick, the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: king George obliged himself to pay a million of rixdollars to the queen of Sweden; and to renew, as king of Great-Britain and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and that kingdom. He likewise mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies the Danes, the Prussians, and the Poles. The czar, however, refused to give up his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where his troops landing to the number of fifteen thousand, committed dreadful outrages; but, Sir John Norris, who commanded an English squadron in those seas, having orders to support the negotiations, and oppose any hostilities that might be committed, the czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, thought proper to recal his fleet. In the Mediterranean admiral Byng acted with unwearied vigour in assisting the Imperialists to finish the conquest of Sicily. The court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that island; and the command in this expedition was bestowed upon the count de Merci, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples. This admiral supplied them with ammunition and artillery

A. C. 1719.

Count
Merci as-
sumes the
command
of the Im-
perial army
in Sicily.

from the Spanish prizes. He took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and saw them safely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of three thousand five hundred horse, and ten thousand infantry. Count Merci thinking himself more than a match for the Spanish forces commanded by the marquis de Lede, attacked him in a strong camp at Franca-villa; and was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, himself being dangerously wounded in the action. Here his army must have perished for want of provision, had not they been supplied by the English navy.

Activity of
an admiral
Byng.

Admiral Byng no sooner learned the bad success of the attack at Franca-villa, than he embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about a thousand recruits, whom he sent under a convoy through the Faro to Scheso-bay, in order to reinforce the Imperial army. He afterwards assisted at a council of war with the German generals, who, in consequence of his advice, undertook the siege of Messina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he proposed to count Gallas, the new viceroy, that the troops destined for the conquest of Sardinia should be first landed in Sicily, and cooperate towards the conquest of that island. The proposal was immediately dispatched to the court of Vienna. In the mean time the admiral returned to Sicily, and assisted in the siege of Messina. The town surrendered, the garrison retired into the citadel, and the remains of the Spanish navy which had escaped at Passaro, were now destroyed in the Mole. The emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating, that he had dispatched orders to the governor of Milan, to detach the troops designed for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy. The admiral charged himself with the performance of this service,

vice. Having furnished the Imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties started by the jealousy of count Bonneval, who was unwilling to see his troops destined for Sardinia now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and conveyed them to Messina, the citadel of which surrendered in a few days after their arrival. By this time the marquis de Lede had fortified a strong post at Castro-Giovanne, in the centre of the island; and cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea. The Imperialists could not pretend to attack him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Messina, on account of the scarcity of provisions. They would therefore have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not the admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterprize, but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvests of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second day of March before the last embarkation of the Imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

The marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he sent his marshal de camp to count Merci and the English admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. The proposals were not disagreeable to the Germans; but, Sir George Byng declared, that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued, as he foresaw that these troops would be employed against France or England. He agreed, however, with count Merci, in proposing, that if the marquis would surrender Palermo, and retire into the middle

A. C. 1719. middle part of the island, they would consent to an armistice for six weeks, until the sentiments of their different courts should be known. The marquis offered to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months; but, while this negotiation was depending, he received advices from Madrid, that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheless, he broke off the treaty, in obedience to a secret order for that purpose. The king of Spain hoped to obtain the restitution of St. Sebastian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the course of the war, in exchange for the evacuation of Sicily. Hostilities were continued until the admiral received advice from the earl of Stair at Paris, that the Spanish ambassador at the Hague had signed the quadruple alliance. By the same courier packets were delivered to the count de Merci and the marquis de Lede, which last gave the admiral, and Imperial general to understand, that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and was ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities. They insisted upon his delivering up Palermo; while he urged, that as their masters were in treaty for settling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himself authorised to agree to a cessation, except on condition, that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their principals. After a fruitless interview, between the three chiefs at the Cassine de Rossignola, the Imperial general resolved to undertake the siege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth day of April, and followed the marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took possession of the advantageous posts that commanded the passes into the plain of Palermo; but count Merci with indefatigable diligence marched over the mountains, while the admiral coasted

coasted along-shore, attending the motions of the army. The Spanish general perceiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retired under the cannon of Palermo; and fortified his camp with strong intrenchments. On the second day of May the Germans took one of the enemy's redoubts by surprize, and the marquis de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies were on the point of engaging when a courier arrived in a felucca with a packet for the marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the island, and the transportation of the army to Spain. He forthwith drew off his army; and sent a trumpet to the general and admiral, with letters, informing them of the orders he had received. Commissioners were appointed on each side, the negotiations begun, and the conventions signed in a very few days. The Germans were put in possession of Palermo; and the Spanish army marched to Termini, from whence they were transported to Barcelona.

The Spanish troops evacuate Sicily.

The admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master. In a word, admiral Byng bore such a considerable share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct. When he waited on his majesty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The king told him he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honourable terms,

A. C. 1719. terms, with respect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from oppression. He was appointed treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great-Britain: in a little time the king ennobled him by the title of viscount Torrington; he was declared a privy-counsellor; and afterwards made a knight of the Bath, at the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort Passage, and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks: then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio in the bottom of the Bay of Biscay. In this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The king of England, with a view to indemnify himself for the expence of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South America. Four thousand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by admiral Mighels. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty; and Pont-a-Vedra submitted without resistance: here they found some brass artillery, small arms, and military stores, with which they returned to England. In the mean time captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeo to the eastward of Cape Ortegaz; so that the naval power of Spain was totally ruined. The expedition to the West-Indies was prevented by the peace.

peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification. He now perceived the madness of Alberoni's ambitious projects. That minister was personally disagreeable to the emperor, the king of England, and the regent of France, who had declared they would hearken to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish monarch, therefore, divested him of his employment; and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks. The marquis de Berretti Landi, minister from the court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the states: but it was rejected by the allies; and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance.

Philip obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance.

On the fourteenth day of November king George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great-Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhorted the commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation; and concluded with a panegyric upon his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigour and deliberation, in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both houses were as warm as he could desire. They in particular extolled him for having interposed in the behalf of the protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the popish clergy; and presented to him memorials containing a detail of their grievances. He and all the other protestant powers warmly interceded in their favour; but the grievances were not redressed. The peerage-bill was now revived by the duke of Buckingham; and, in spite of all op-

A. C. 1719. position, passed through the house of lords. It had been projected by earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the earl of Sunderland; therefore Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the house of commons with extraordinary vehemence. Here too it was opposed by a considerable number of Whig members; and after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was a bill for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, which was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof: they likewise ordered them to be taken into custody of the usher of the black-rod: they transmitted a long representation to the king, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes; and the duke of Leeds, in the upper house, urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish peers. Notwithstanding these arguments, the house of lords in England resolved, That the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great-Britain. They addressed the king to confer on them some marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or re-

Bill for securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of - Great-Britain.

verse any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. In the house of commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, the lords Moleſworth and Tyrconnel; but was carried by the majority, and received the royal aſſent.

The king's having recommended to the commons the conſideration of proper means for leſſening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South-ſea act, which became productive of ſo much miſchief and infatuation. The ſcheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had ben bred a ſcrivener; and was poſſeſſed of all the cunning, plauſibility, and boldneſs, requiſite for ſuch an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aiflabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. He answered all their objections; and the project was adopted. They foreſaw their own private advantage in the execution of the deſign, which was imparted, in the name of the South-ſea company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the ſcheme, was to diſcharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The bank and South-ſea company outbid each other. The South-ſea company altered their original plan, and offered ſuch high terms to the government, that the propoſals of the bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the houſe of commons, formed on the plan preſented by the South-ſea company. While this

affair was in agitation, the ſtock of that company roſe from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred, in conſequence of the conduct of the commons, who had rejected a motion for a claufe in the bill, to fix what ſhare in the capital ſtock of the company ſhould be veſted in thoſe proprietors

South-ſea
act.

Annals.
Corbet.
Hiſt. Reg.
Tindal.
Lives of the
Admirals.

of

A. C. 1720. of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors. In the house of lords the bill was opposed by the lord North and Grey, the earl Cowper, the dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They affirmed, it was calculated for enriching a few and impoverishing a great number: that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry: that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in the public funds; and that they would be tempted to realize and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great-Britain would be drained of its gold and silver: that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South-sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of gain to part with the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches: that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such power to the South-sea company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation: for, by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most, if not all the elections of the members; and consequently over-rule the resolutions of the house of commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the persons in the administration ought to take care, that they shall be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South-sea company; for, should the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members



COWPER Lord CHANCELLOR.

members would gain above thirty millions, of ^{A C. 1720.} which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended, that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties; and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who, had bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project. The earl of Sunderland answered their objections. He declared, that those who countenanced the scheme of the South-sea company, had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation. He owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee that the stocks would have risen to such a height: that if they had continued as they were, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from the scheme; and, should they be kept up to the present high price, it was but reasonable, that the South-sea company should enjoy the profits procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bill passed without amendment or division; and on the seventh day of April received the royal assent. By this act the South-sea company was authorized to take in by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty-six thousand four hundred eighty-two pounds, seven shillings, one penny farthing, at such times as they should find convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as

A. C. 1720. should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. They were likewise authorized to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented, that their present, and to be increased annuity, should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the exchequer, as were specified for the use of the public, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts incurred before Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen. The sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half's purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were impowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities, payable out of the public duties. It was enacted, That out of the first monies arising from the sums payed by the
company

company into the exchequer, such public debts carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, founded upon any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, should be discharged in the first place: then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent. It was likewise provided, That after Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the company should not be payed off in any sums being less than one million at a time.

The heads of the royal-assurance and London-assurance companies, understanding that the civil list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry six hundred thousand pounds towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the king's charter, with a parliamentary sanction for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was embraced; and the king communicated it in a message to the house of commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately passed, enabling his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies. It soon obtained the royal assent; and on the eleventh day of June an end was put to the session. This was the age of interested projects inspired by a venal spirit of adventure; the natural consequence of that avarice, fraud, and profligacy, which the monied corporations had introduced. This, of all others, is the most unfavourable æra for an historian. A reader of sentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or interested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit of no

Charters granted to the royal and London assurance companies.

A. C. 1720. warmth, no colouring, no embellishment; a detail which serves only to exhibit an inanimated picture of tasteless vice and mean degeneracy.

Treaty of
alliance
with Swe-
den.

By this time an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded at Stockholm between king George and the queen of Sweden, by which his majesty engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic to act against the czar of Muscovy, in case that monarch should reject reasonable proposals of peace. Peter loudly complained of the insolent interposition of king George, alledging, that he had failed in his engagements, both as elector of Hanover and king of Great-Britain. His resident at London presented a long memorial on this subject, which was answered by the British and Hanoverian ministry. These recriminations served only to inflame the difference. The czar continued to prosecute the war; and at length concluded a peace without a mediator. At the instances, however, of king George and the regent of France, a treaty of peace was signed between the queen of Sweden and the king of Prussia, to whom that princess ceded the city of Steuin, the district between the rivers Oder and Pehnnæ, with the isles of Wollin and Usedom. On the other hand he engaged to join the king of Great-Britain in his endeavours to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition that the Danish king should restore to queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania which he had seized: he likewise promised to pay to that queen two millions of rixdollars, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Frederickstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the king of Great-Britain, who became guarantee for the Dane's keeping possession of Sleswick. He consented, however, to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, and what:

whatever he had taken from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound, and the two Belts; and paying to Denmark six hundred thousand rixdollars. A. C. 1720.

Sir John Norris had again failed to the Baltic with a strong squadron, to give weight to the king's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen he wrote a letter to prince Dolgorouki, the czar's ambassador at the court of Denmark, signifying, that he and the king's envoy at Stockholm were vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, in the way of mediation. The prince answered, that the czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and, in case his Britannic majesty had any proposals to make to that prince, he hoped the admiral would excuse him from receiving them, as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way. The English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrica queen of Sweden and sister to Charles XII. had married the prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. She wrote a separate letter to each of the four states, desiring they would confer upon him the sovereignty; and, after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually elected king of Sweden. He sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the czar, who congratulated him upon his accession to the throne; and this was the beginning of a negotiation which ended in peace, and established the tranquillity of the North. In the midst of these transactions king George set out from England for his Hanoverian

Prince of
Hesse elected
king of
Sweden.

A. C. 1720. dominions; but, before he departed from Great-Britain he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, through the endeavours of the duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who, with the earl Cowper, lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, was received into favour, and reunited with the ministry. The earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of dukes; the lord viscount Castleton was made an earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a baron, and viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop baron and viscount of Lymington.

Effects of
the South-
sea scheme.

While the king was involved at Hanover in a labyrinth of negotiations, the South-sea scheme produced a kind of national delirium in his English dominions. Blunt the projector had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi scheme formed by Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and intailed ruin upon many thousand families of that kingdom. In the scheme of Law there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; though the design was defeated by the frantic eagerness of the people. Law himself became the dupe of the regent, who transferred the burden of fifteen hundred millions of the king's debts to the shoulders of the subjects; while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of political iniquity. The South-sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blunt, with moderate talents, was able to impose upon the whole nation, and make tools of the other directors, to serve his own purposes, and those of a few associates. When this projector found, that the South sea stock did not rise according to his expectation, upon the bill's
being

being passed, he circulated a report, that Gibraltar and Portmahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South-sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion. In five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days this stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the scandalous arts that were practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe, that by the promise of prodigious dividends, and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to one thousand; and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree. All distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstance, were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project. Exchange-alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, Whigs and Tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even multitudes of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of Bubbles. New companies started up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility. The prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welch copper company: the duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-building company: the duke of Bridgewater

A. C. 1720. formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster. About an hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised, that in one month the particulars of his project should be disclosed. In the mean time he declared, that every person paying two guineas, should be intitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom. The king, before his departure, had issued a proclamation against these unlawful projects; the lords-justices afterwards dismissed all the petitions that had been presented for charters and patents; and the prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected governor. The South-sea scheme raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were swept along with it, even contrary to their own sense and inclination; but Blunt and his accomplices still directed the stream.

The bubble
breaks.

The infatuation prevailed till the eighth day of September, when the stock began to fall. Then did some of the adventurers awake from their delirium. The number of the sellers daily increased. On the twenty-ninth day of the month, the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty: several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums
upon

upon it, were obliged to stop payment and abscond. A. C. 1720.
The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down every thing in its way; and an infinite number of families was overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions: when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, they employed all their influence with the bank to support the credit of the South-sea company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South-sea company, valued at four hundred per cent. three millions five hundred thousand pounds, which the company was to repay to the bank on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. Books were opened at the bank to take in a subscription for the support of public credit; and considerable sums of money were brought in. By this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it seized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of goldsmiths and the sword-blade company, from the fall of South-sea stock, occasioned such a run upon the bank, that the money was payed away faster than it could be received from the subscription. Then the South-sea stock sunk again; and the directors of the bank finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increasing, expresses were dispatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the king to return. He accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived

A. C. 1720. rived in England on the eleventh day of November.

The parliament being assembled on the eighth day of December, his majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the public credit at home; and he earnestly desired the commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting establishment. The lower house was too much interested in the calamity to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an inquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, that a select committee might be appointed to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed, that such a method would protract the inquiry, while the public credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the house he had formed a scheme for restoring public credit; but, before he would communicate this plan, desired to know whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-sea company, should remain in the present state. After a warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, “ Unless altered
 “ for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a
 “ general court of the South-sea company, or set
 “ aside in due course of law.” Next day Walpole produced his scheme to ingraft nine millions of South-sea stock into the bank of England, and the like sum into the East-India company, on certain conditions. The house voted, that proposals should
 be

be received from the bank, and those two companies, on this subject; and these being delivered, the commons resolved, that an ingrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South-sea company, into the capital stock of the bank and East-India company, as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the restoring public credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants of the South-sea company, from quitting the kingdom, till the end of the next session of parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-sea act.

A secret committee appointed by the house of commons.

The lords were not less eager than the commons, to prosecute this inquiry; though divers members in both houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated to repair the public losses. He was seconded by lord Carteret, and even by the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely, without respect of persons. The sub and deputy governors, the directors and officers of the South-sea company, were examined at the bar of the house. Then a bill was brought in, disabling them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India com-

Inquiry carried on by both houses.

A. C. 1720.

company, or in the bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the South-company, who had been intrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued to apprehend him; and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. At this period, the secret committee informed the house of commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the house; in the mean while, they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal officers of the South-sea company, as well as to seize their papers. An order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of Sir George Caswel, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigsby, were taken into custody, Sir Theodore Janssen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles, were expelled the house and apprehended. Mr. Aislaby resigned his employments of chancellor of the exchequer and lord of the treasury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-sea company from the places they possessed under the government.

The lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South-sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and house of commons, for promoting the passage of the South-sea act. The house immediately resolved, that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption: that the directors of the South-sea company having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at a very high price,

price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock; and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stock to the company, such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust; and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit. Many other resolutions were taken against that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose about the manner in which he should be treated. The duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers: he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was seized with a transport of anger. He undertook to vindicate the ministry; and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent head-ach, which obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and seemed to recover; but next day, in the evening, became lethargic, and being seized with a suffocation, instantly expired. The king deeply regretted the death of this favourite minister, which was the more unfortunate as it happened at such a critical conjuncture; and he appointed the lord Townshend to fill his place of secretary. Earl Stanhope was survived but a few days by the other secretary Mr. Craggs, who died of the small-pox on the sixteenth day of February. Knight, the cashier of the South-sea company, being seized at Tirlmont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident

A. C. 1720.

Death of
earl Stan-
hope,and Mr.
Craggs.

sident

A. C. 1720. fident at Bruffels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application was made to the court of Vienna, that he should be delivered up to such persons as might be appointed to receive him : but he had found means to interest the states of Brabant in his behalf. They insisted upon their privilege granted by charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant, should be tried in any other country. The house of commons expressed their indignation at this frivolous pretence : instances were renewed to the emperor ; and in the mean time Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp.

The committee of secrecy found, that before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill. Great part of this was distributed among the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs senior, the dutchess of Kendal, the countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislacie chancellor of the exchequer. In consequence of the committee's report, the house came to several severe though just resolutions, against the directors and officers of the South-sea company ; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the treasury, charged, in the report, with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. His request was granted ; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. Fifty thousand pounds in stock had been taken by Knight for the use of the earl of Sunderland. Great part of the house entered eagerly into this inquiry ; and a violent dispute ensued. The whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence. The majority de-

declared him innocent: the nation in general was of another opinion. He resigned his place of first commissioner in the treasury, which was bestowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislabe, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of public credit. He was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs senior died of the lethargy before he underwent the censure of the house. Nevertheless, they resolved, that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December, in the preceding year, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-sea company. The directors, in obedience to the order of the house delivered inventories of their estates, which were confiscated by act of parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumstances.

The delinquents being thus punished by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the house converted their attention to means for repairing the mischiefs which the scheme had produced. This was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South-sea company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expence of others. Several wholesome resolutions were taken, and presented with an address to the king, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the parliament

The estates of the directors of the South-sea company are confiscated. Oldmixon. Annals. Hist. Reg. Polit. State. Deb. in Parl. Tindal.

A. C. 1721.

Proceedings of the commons with respect to the stock of the South-sea company.

A.C. 1721. was prorogued for two days only. Then his majesty going to the house of peers, declared, that he had called them together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of the state of public credit. The commons immediately prepared a bill upon the resolutions they had taken. The whole capital stock, at the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds; the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted, that seven millions should be payed to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right: it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and, upon remitting five millions of the seven to be payed to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed. Of which the parliament discharged all the debtors upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the parliament, in the sequel, revived that sum which had been annihilated.

annihilated. While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the house, crying for justice against the villainy of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily published on the same subject; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment. By the wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public; the ferment of the people subsided, and the credit of the nation was restored.

During the infatuation produced by this infamous scheme, luxury, vice, and profligacy, increased to a shocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties, and the most expensive wines that could be imported: they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though without taste or discernment: they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess: their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and the most ridiculous ostentation: they affected to scoff at religion and morality; and even to set heaven at defiance. The earl of Nottingham complained, in the house of lords, of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles seemingly calculated to restrain the liberty granted to nonconformists, by the laws of the last session: for that reason it met with violent opposition. It was supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Nottingham, the lords Bathurst and Trevor, the bishops of London, Winchester, Litchfield and Coventry. One of these said, he verily believed the present calamity, occasioned by the South-sea project, was a judgment

Bill against
atheism and
immorality.
postponed.

A. C. 1721. of God on the blasphemy and profaneness of the nation. Lord Onslow replied, "That noble peer must then be a great sinner, for he has lost considerably by the South-sea scheme." The duke of Wharton, who had rendered himself famous by his wit and profligacy, said he was not insensible of the common opinion of the town concerning himself; and gladly seized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or an enemy to religion. On the other hand, he could not but oppose the bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy scriptures. Then pulling an old family bible from his pocket, he quoted several passages from the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding that the bill might be thrown out. The earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion; and, should the house declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal; for he had rather sit in the conclave than with their lordships upon those terms. After a vehement debate, the bill was postponed to a long day, by a considerable majority.

The season was far advanced before the supplies were granted; and at length they were not voted with that cheerfulness and good humour which the majority had hitherto manifested on such occasions. On the sixteenth day of June, the king sent a message to the house of commons, importing, that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the crown of Sweden, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. The leaders of the opposition took fire at this intimation. They desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds, was to be payed to Sweden over and above the expence of maintaining

a strong squadron in the Baltic? Lord Moleſworth obſerved, that, by our late conduct, we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; for we were obliged to pay them well for their aſſiſtance. He affirmed, that the treaties which had been made with Sweden, at different times, were inconfiſtent and contradictory: that our late engagements with that crown were contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting with Denmark, and directly oppoſite to the meaſures formerly concerted with the czar of Muſcovy. He ſaid, that in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained in the courſe of the war, the king of Pruſſia ought to give up Stetin, and the elector of Hanover reſtore Bremen and Verden: that, after all, England had no buſineſs to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire: that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltic, but that of procuring naval ſtores: he owned that hemp was a very neceſſary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but he inſiſted, that if due encouragement were given to ſome of our plantations in America, we might be ſupplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the Swediſh ſupply was granted; and, in about three weeks, their complaiſance was put to another proof. They were given to underſtand, by a ſecond meſſage, that the debts of the civil liſt amounted to five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and his majeſty hoped they would empower him to raiſe that ſum upon the revenue, as he propoſed it ſhould be replaced to the civil liſt, and reimbursed by a deduction from the ſalaries and wages of all officers, and the penſions and other payments from the crown. A bill was prepared for this purpoſe, though not without warm oppoſition: and, at the ſame time, an act paſſed for a general pardon. On the tenth

A. C. 1721. day of August, the king closed the session with a
 Session speech, in which he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South-sea scheme. These professions were judged necessary to clear his own character, which had incurred the suspicion of some people, who whispered that he was not altogether free from connexions with the projectors of that design; that the emperor had, at his desire, refused to deliver up Knight; and that he favoured the directors and their accomplices.

Alliance between
 Great-Britain,
 France,
 and Spain.

The lords Townshend and Carteret were now appointed secretaries of state; and the earl of Ilay was vested with the office of lord privy-seal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. The contracting parties engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides. In particular, the king of England promised to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them, if they were sold. He likewise promised, in a secret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Italy; and the king of Spain made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Portmahon. At the same time, a defensive alliance was concluded between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congress at Cambray, where they hoped to consolidate a general peace by determining all differences between the emperor and his catholic majesty. In the mean time, the powers of Great Britain, France and Spain, engaged, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant to the duke of Parma a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity. It was also stipulated, that the states general should be invited

to accede to this alliance. The congress at Cambray was opened; but the demands on both sides were so high, that it proved ineffectual. In the mean time, the peace between Russia and Sweden was concluded, on condition that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, Estonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in consideration of his restoring part of Finland, and paying two millions of rixdollars to the king of Sweden. The personal animosity subsisting between king George and the czar seemed to increase. Basting, the Russian resident at London, having presented a memorial that contained some unguarded expressions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight. The czar published a declaration at Petersburg, complaining of this outrage, which, he said, ought naturally to have engaged him to use reprisals; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian interest, he was unwilling that the English nation should suffer for a piece of injustice in which they had no share. He therefore granted to them all manner of security, and free liberty to trade in all his dominions. To finish this strange tissue of negotiations, king George concluded a treaty with the Moors of Africa, against which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

In the course of this year pope Clement XI. died; and the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, baptized by the name of William-Augustus, now duke of Cumberland. A dreadful

Plague at
Marseilles.

plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England, from any part of France between the bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Other precautions were taken to guard against contagion. An act of parliament had passed

A.C. 1723. in the preceding session for the prevention of infection, by building pest-houses, to which all infected persons, and all persons of an infected family, should be conveyed; and, by drawing trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The king, in his speech at opening the session of parliament, on the nineteenth day of October, intimated the pacification of the North, by the conclusion of the treaty between Muscovy and Sweden. He desired the house of commons to consider of means for raising the duties upon the imported commodities used in the manufactures of the kingdom. He observed, that the nation might be supplied with naval stores from our own colonies in North America; and that their being employed in this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert them from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great-Britain. He expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad; and he earnestly recommended to their consideration, means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.

Debates in
the house of
lords about
Mr. Law
the pre-
jector.

One of the first objects that attracted the attention of the upper house, was Law the famous projector. The resentment of the people on account of his Mississippi scheme, had obliged him to leave France. He retired to Italy; was said to have visited the pretender at Rome, from whence he repaired to Hanover; and returned to England from the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir John Norris. The king favoured him with a private audience: he kept open house, and was visited by great numbers of persons of the first quality. Earl Coningsby represented, in the house of lords, that he could not but entertain some jealousy of a person

fen who had done fo much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom; who being immensely rich, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with thofe who were grown desperate, in confequence of being involved in the calamity occafioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. He obferved, that this perfon was the more dangerous, as he had renounced his natural affection to his country, his allegiance to his lawful fovereign, and his religion, by turning Roman catholic. Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but that having at laft received the benefit of the king's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his majesty's pardon. He faid there was no law to keep any Englifhman out of his country; and, as Mr. Law was a fubject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the king's power to hinder him from coming over. After fome difpute, the fubject was dropped, and this great projector pleaded his pardon at the king's bench, according to the ufual form.

The miniftry had by this time fecured fuch a majority in both houfes, as enabled them to carry any point without the leaft difficulty. Some chiefs of the oppofition they had brought over to their meafures, and among the reft lord Harcourt, who was created a vifcount, and gratified with a penfion of four thoufand pounds. Neverthelefs, they could not fhut the mouths of the minority, who ftill preferved the privilege of complaining. Great debates were occafioned by the navy-debt, which was increafed to one million feven hundred thoufand pounds. Some members in both houfes affirmed, that fuch extraordinary expence could not be for the immediate fervice of Great-Britain; but, in all

A. C. 1721. probability, for the preservation of foreign acquisitions. The ministers answered, that near two-thirds of the navy-debts were contracted in the late reign: and the parliament acquiesced in this declaration: though, in reality, the navy-debt had been unnecessarily increased by keeping seamen in pay during the winter, and sending fleets to the Mediterranean and Baltic, in order to support the interests of Germany. The duke of Wharton moved, that the treaty with Spain might be layed before the house. The earl of Sunderland said it contained a secret article, which the king of Spain desired might not be made public, until after the treaty of Cambray should be discussed. The question was put, and the duke's motion rejected. The earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage: that, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war; even while a British minister and a secretary of state were treating amicably at Madrid: that the war was neither just nor politic, since it interrupted one of the most valuable branches of the English commerce, at a time when the nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long expensive war. He therefore moved for an address to his majesty, desiring, that the instructions given to Sir George Byng, now lord Torrington, should be layed before the house. This motion being likewise, upon the question, rejected, a protest was entered. They voted an address, however, to know in what manner the king had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. Disputes arose also from the bill to prevent infection. Earl Cowper represented, that the removal of persons

Sentiments
of some
lords touch-
ing the war
with Spain.

sons to a Lazaret, or pest-house, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the British constitution, inconsistent with the lenity of a free government; such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; the more odious because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulsion. These obnoxious clauses were accordingly repealed, though not without great opposition. Indeed nothing can be more absurd than a constitution that will not admit of just and necessary laws and regulations to prevent the dire consequences of the worst of all calamities. Such restrictions, instead of favouring the lenity of a free government, would be the most cruel imposition that could be layed on a free people, as it would act in diametrical opposition to the great principle of society, which is the preservation of the individual.

The quakers having presented a petition to the house of commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting in their solemn affirmation, the words, "In the presence of Almighty God." The house complied with their request; but the bill gave rise to a warm debate among the peers. Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly christians. He was supported by the archbishop of York, the earl of Strafford, and the lord North and Grey. A petition was presented against the bill by the London clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescension made by a christian legislature, to a set of men who renounce
the

Petition of
the quakers.

A. C. 1721. the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated christians. The petition, though presented by the archbishop of York, was branded by the ministry as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority. Then, upon a motion by the earl of Sunderland, the house resolved, that such lords as might enter protestations with reasons, should do it before two o'clock on the next sitting day, and sign them before the house rises. The supplies being granted, and the business of the session dispatched, as the court was pleased to dictate, on the seventh day of March the parliament was prorogued. In a few days it was dissolved, and another convoked by proclamation. In the election of members for the new parliament, the ministry exerted itself with such success, as returned a great majority in the house of commons, extremely well adapted for all the purposes of an administration †.

The parliament dissolved.
Annals.
Hist. Reg.
Deb. in Parl.
Politic.
State.
Tindal.

A. C. 1722. In the beginning of May, the king is said to have received of the duke of Orleans, full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-general Maccartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops from that kingdom. Some suspected persons were

Rumours of a conspiracy.

† The earl of Sunderland died in April, after having incurred a great load of popular odium, from his supposed connexions with the directors of the South sea company. He was a minister of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and head-strong. His death was soon followed by that of his father-in-law the great duke of Marlborough, whose faculties had been for

some time greatly impaired. He was interred in Westminster abbey, with such profusion of funeral pomp, as evinced the pride and ostentation, much more than the taste and concern of those who directed his obsequies. He was succeeded as master of the ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, by the earl of Cadogan.

apprehended in Scotland: the states of Holland A. C. 1722. were desired to have their auxiliary or guaranty troops in readines to be embarked; and colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France with a private commission. The apprehension raised by this supposed plot, affected the public credit. South-sea stock began to fall; and crowds of people called in their money from the bank. The lord Townshend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the king's command, signifying his majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favour of a popish pretender; but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were nor would be supported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen; and the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The king had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled a regency, in which the prince of Wales was not included: but now this intended journey was laid aside: the court was removed to Kensington, and the prince retired to Richmond. The bishop of Rochester having been seized, with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high treason. The bishop of Rochester is committed to the Tower. The earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, Mr. Cochran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland, and Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the same place. Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingtonshire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe an Irish priest, and several persons, were taken into custody; and Mr. Shippen's house was searched. After bishop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir
Con-

A. C. 1722.

Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying, that, in consideration of the bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged: but this was over-ruled. The churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a bishop, which they said was an outrage upon the church of England, and the episcopal order. Far from concealing their sentiments on this subject, the clergy ventured to offer up public prayers for his health, in almost all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster. In the mean time, the king, attended by the prince of Wales, made a summer-progress through the western counties.

New parliament.

The new parliament being assembled on the ninth day of October, his majesty made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. He said the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for succours from foreign powers; but were disappointed in their expectations. Nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government. He said they had provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and, had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He expatiated upon the milaness and integrity of his own government; and inveighed against the ingratitude, the implacability, and madness of the disaffected; concluding with an assurance, that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in church and state, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions. Such
addresses

addresses were presented by both houses as the fears and attachment of the majority may be supposed to have dictated on such an occasion. A bill was brought into the house of lords, for suspending the habeas corpus act for a whole year: but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time. By this suspension, they, in effect, vested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people. A. C. 1722.

The opposition in the house of commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the bank and the exchequer, and then proclaim the pretender on the Royal Exchange. Their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the royal assent. The duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower on suspicion of high-treason. On the sixteenth day of November, the king sent to the house of peers the original, and printed copy, of a declaration signed by the pretender. It was dated at Lucca on the twentieth day of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great-Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and states. In this paper, the Chevalier de St. George having mentioned the late violations of the freedom of elections; conspiracies invented to give a colour to new oppressions; infamous informers; and the state of proscription, in which he supposed every honest man to be, very gravely proposed, that if king George would relinquish to him the throne of Great-Britain, he would, in return, bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it: he likewise promised to leave to king George his succession to
the

Declaration
of the pre-
tender.

A. C. 1722. the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place. The lords unanimously resolved, that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal-Exchange. The commons concurred in these resolutions. Both houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the pretender; and assuring his majesty, they were determined to support his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. The commons prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all papists, or persons educated in the popish religion, towards defraying the expences occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill, though strenuously opposed by some moderate members, as a species of persecution, was sent up to the house of lords, together with another obliging all persons, being papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great-Britain refusing and neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the upper house without amendments, and received the royal sanction.

Mr. Laver being brought to his trial at the king's bench, on the twenty-first day of November, was convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion; and received sentence of death. He was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the house of commons: but he either could not, or would not, discover the particulars of the conspiracy; so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the committee, reported to the house, that, from the examination of Laver and others,

others, a design had been formed by persons of A. C. 1722. figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender on the throne of these realms: that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose; at which time the Tower was to have been seized. That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances, that the late duke of Ormond, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, and the bishop of Rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy: that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled with him to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen; Neynoe the Irish priest, who by this time was drowned in the river Thames, in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

This pretended conspiracy, in all likelihood, extended no farther than the first rudiments of a design that was never digested into any regular form; otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy:
for

A. C. 1722. for they were charged with having made application to the regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the king of Great-Britain. The house of commons, however, resolved, that it was a detestable and horrid conspiracy, for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred majesty and the prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish pretender upon the throne: that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought in and passed, for inflicting pains and penalties against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by these acts to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great-Britain; and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death; to be inflicted upon them and their assistants. Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the same nature against the bishop of Rochester. This was immediately brought into the house, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsays. The bishop wrote a letter to the speaker, importing, that though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble that day, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Counsel being heard for the bill, it was committed to a grand committee on the sixth day of April, when the majority of the Tory members quitted the house. It was then moved, that the bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom for ever: Mr. Lawson and Mr. Oglethorp spoke in his favour.

Bill of pains
and penal-
ties against
the bishop
of Roche-
ster.

The bill being passed and sent up to the lords, A. C. 1722. the bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May. Himself and his counsel having been heard, the lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill; when they read it a third time, a motion was made to pass it, and then a long and warm debate ensued. Earl Powlet demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and proved the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that let the consequences be what they would, he hoped such a hellish stain would never fully the lustre and glory of that illustrious house, as to condemn a man without the least evidence. The lord Bathurst spoke against the bill with equal strength and eloquence. He said, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter might be made criminal. He observed, that cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of life at his pleasure. Turning to the bench of bishops, who had been generally unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he said, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some savage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was supported by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Seafield, and the lord

A. C. 1722. Lechmere, who was answered by earl Cowper. This nobleman observed, that the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill, was necessity; but that, for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify such unprecedented, and such dangerous proceedings, as the conspiracy had above twelve months before been happily discovered, and the effects of it prevented: that, besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the government, the hands of those at the helm had been still further fortified by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and the additional troops which had been raised. He said, the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birthright of every subject in the nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both houses of parliament, till altered by the legislature: that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office, was a very dangerous precedent. In former times it was thought very grievous, that in capital cases a man should be affected by similitude of hands; but here the case was much worse, since it was allowed, that the clerks of the post-office could carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. He applauded the bishop's noble deportment in declining to answer before the house of commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner, against a lord of parliament, was such an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British peers, for giving up their antient privileges. The other party were not so sollicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question; when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities; and rendered

dered incapable of enjoying any for the future : A. C. 1722. he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death, in case he should return, as were all persons that should correspond with him during his exile. Doctor Freind the celebrated physician, who was a member of the house, and had exerted himself strenuously in behalf of the bishop, was now taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices.

who is deprived and driven into perpetual exile.

The next object that excited the resentment of the commons, was the scheme of a lottery to be drawn at Harburgh in the king's German dominions. The house appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries, at that time on foot in London. The scheme was published, on pretence of raising a subscription for maintaining a trade between Great-Britain and the king's territories on the Elbe ; but it was a mysterious scene of iniquity, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully discover. They reported, however, that it was an infamous fraudulent undertaking, whereby many unwary persons had been drawn in, to their great loss : and, that the manner of carrying it on had been a manifest violation of the laws of the kingdom : that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for so doing, made use of his majesty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein. A bill was brought in to suppress this lottery ; and to oblige the managers of it to make restitution of the money they had received from the contributors. At the same time the house resolved, That John lord viscount Barrington had been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking ; for which offence he should be expelled the house. The court of

Proceedings against persons concerned in the Harburgh lottery.

A. C. 1722. Vienna having erected an East-India company at Ostend, upon a scheme formed by one Colebrook an English merchant, Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the house of commons, the great detriment which the English East-India company had already received, and was likely further to sustain by this Ostend company. The house immediately resolved, That for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East-India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanour: and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprize. By another act relating to the South-sea company, the two millions of stock which had been annihilated, were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law passed, for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark, called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyric, acknowledgment, and affection, to a parliament which had complied with all his majesty's wishes.

His majesty having ennobled the son of Mr. Robert Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church-promotions, admitted the imprisoned lords and gentlemen to bail, granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, and ordered the bishop of Rochester to be conveyed to the continent, set out himself for Hanover, leaving the administration of his kingdoms in the hands of a regency, lord Harcourt being one of the justices. The king was attended by the two secretaries, the lords Townshend and Carteret, who were counted able negotiators. The affairs of the
con-

continent had begun to take a new turn. The interests and connexions of the different princes were become perplexed and embarrassed; and king George resolved to unravel them by dint of negotiation. Understanding that a treaty was on the carpet between the czar and the king of Sweden, favourable to the duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, the possession of which the elector of Hanover had guaranteed to Denmark, his majesty began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden. The regent of France and the king of Spain had now compromised all differences; and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage between Philip's sons and the regent's daughters. The former proposed new treaties to England; but insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar and Portmahon, as well as upon the king's openly declaring against the Ostend company. His Britannic majesty was apprehensive, that should the emperor be hard pressed on that subject, he might join the czar and the king of Sweden, and promote their designs in favour of the duke of Holstein. On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed against the treaty of London. The pope had protested against any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right. Memorials to the same effect had been presented by the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. France and Spain were inclined to support them against the house of Austria. Europe seemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was intangled in such a variety of treaties and interests, that he knew not well how to extricate himself from the troublesome engagements he had contracted. By declaring for the emperor he must have countenanced the new establishment at Ostend, which was so prejudicial to his British subjects, and in-

A. C. 1722.

Affairs of
the conti-
nent.

A. C. 1722. curred the resentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy. In renouncing the interest of the emperor, he would have exposed his German dominions. In vain he exhorted the emperor to relax in his disputes with Spain, and give up the Ostend company, which was so detrimental and disagreeable to his faithful allies: the court of Vienna promised in general to observe the treaties which it had concluded; but, declined entering into any particular discussion; so that all his majesty's endeavours issued in contracting closer connexions with Prussia and Denmark. All those negotiations carried on, all those treaties concluded by king George, with almost every prince and state in Christendom, which succeeded one another so fast, and appear, at first view, so intricate and unaccountable, were founded upon two simple and natural principles, namely, the desire of ascertaining his acquisitions as elector of Hanover; and his resolution to secure himself against the disaffection of his British subjects, and the efforts of the pretender.

Clamour in Ireland on account of Wood's coinage.

Great Britain, at this period, enjoyed profound tranquillity. Ireland was a little ruffled by an incident which seems to have been misrepresented to the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furnishing Ireland with copper currency, in which it was deficient. A great clamour was raised against this coin. The parliament of that kingdom, which met in September, resolved, That it would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject: That the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation: That the halfpence wanted weight: That even, if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loss to the nation: That granting the power of coinage to a private person

person had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom; and would at all times be of dangerous consequence. Addresses from both houses were presented to the king on this subject. The affair was referred to the lords of the privy council of England. They justified the conduct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the mint, who had made the assay and trial of Wood's halfpence; and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared, that this currency exceeded in goodness, fineness, and value of metal, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of king Charles II. king James II. king William and queen Mary. The privy-council likewise demonstrated, that his majesty's predecessors had always exercised the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons: that none of these patents had been so beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner; but after a reference to the attorney and solicitor-general, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular: finally, they proved, by a great number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such money in Ireland. Notwithstanding this decision, the ferment of the Irish nation was industriously kept up by clamour, pamphlets, papers, and lampoons, written by Dean Swift, and other authors; so that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of one hundred thousand to that of forty thousand pounds. Thus the noise was silenced. The commons of Ireland passed an act for accepting the affirmation of the quakers instead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thousand pounds towards discharging the debt of

A. C. 1723. the nation, which amounted to about double that sum.

Death of the
duke of Or-
leans.

In the month of October England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the office of lord chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans regent of France, who, since the decease of Lewis XIV. had ruled that nation with the most absolute authority. He was a prince of taste and spirit, endowed with shining talents for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm constitution of the infant king, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly; but the young monarch's health began to be established, and all the duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the duke of Bourbon as prime minister. King George immediately received assurances of the good disposition of the French court, to cultivate and even improve the good understanding so happily established between France and Great-Britain. The king arrived in England on the eighteenth day of December; and on the ninth of January the parliament was assembled. His majesty, in his speech, recommended to the commons the care of the public debts; and he expressed his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund improved and augmented, so as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged.

This

This was the repeated theory of patriotism, which unhappily for the subjects was never reduced to practice : not, but that a beginning of such a laudable work was made in this very session, by an act for lessening the public debts, by which it was provided, that the annuities at five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been subscribed into the South-sea, together with the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, should be payed off at Lady-day of the year next ensuing, with the money arising from the sinking fund. The ministry however, did not persevere in this path of prudent oeconomy. The commons granted all the supplies that were demanded. They voted ten thousand seamen ; and the majority, though not without violent opposition, agreed to maintain four thousand additional troops which had been raised in the preceding year ; so that the establishment of the land forces amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four. The expence of the year was defrayed by a land-tax and malt-tax. The commons having dispatched the supply, took into consideration a grievance arising from protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, under which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the prosecution of their just creditors. The commons resolved, That all protections granted by members of that house should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn. The lords made a declaration to the same purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers *. On the twenty-

A. C. 1723.

An act for lessening the public debts.

Oldmixon. Polit. State. Hist. Reg. Annals of K. George. Tindal.

* The duke of Newcastle was now of Grafton lord chamberlain ; and lord appointed secretary of state ; the duke Carteret lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

A. C. 1724. twenty-fourth day of April his majesty closed the session in the usual manner; made some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state; and sent Mr. Horatio Walpole as ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France.

Philip king
of Spain ab-
dicates the
throne.

In the beginning of this year Philip king of Spain, retiring with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, sent the marquis of Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son the prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion; and put himself and his kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was published through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Castile resolved, That Lewis might assume the reins of government without assembling the cortes. The English minister at Paris was instructed to interpose in behalf of the French protestants, against whom a severe edict had been lately published; but his remonstrances produced no effect. England, in the mean time, was quite barren of such events as deserve a place in history. The government was now firmly established on the neck of opposition; and commerce flourished even under the load of grievous imposition.

The next parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November, seemed to be assembled for no

The king instituted a professorship for the modern languages in each university.

In the month of May died Robert Harley earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and completed a very valuable collection of manuscripts.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was by this time introduced

into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two princesses Amelia and Carolina, the duke of Bedford and his sister, with many other persons of distinction, underwent this operation with success.

Dr. Henry Sacheverel died in June, after having bequeathed five hundred pounds to the late bishop of Rochester.

other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expence of the ensuing year; though the session was distinguished by a remarkable incident, namely, the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord-chancellor of England. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it necessary to resign the great seal in the beginning of January. On the ninth day of the ensuing month the king sent a message to the commons, importing, that his majesty having reason to apprehend, that the suitors in the court of chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged in justice and compassion to the said sufferers, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the state of the masters accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his majesty having had several reports layed before him, in pursuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the house, that they may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings would admit.

A. C. 1724.

Abuses in
chancery.

These papers being taken into consideration, Sir George Oxenden observed, that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of chancery: that the crimes and misdemeanours of the late lord chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads; that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics: that he had raised the offices of masters in chancery to an exorbitant price; trusting in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors, that they might be enabled to com-

A. C. 1724. ply with his exorbitant demands: and, that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved that Thomas earl of Macclesfield should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Pulteney moved, That this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee. Sir William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state-criminals. The question being put, it was carried for the impeachment. The earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the upper house: a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had payed for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be payed. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but, upon producing the money he was discharged; and Sir Peter King, created baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of chancellor.

Annals.
Mem. Hist.
Deb. in Parl.
Tindal.

Trial of the
earl of Mac-
clesfield.

A. C. 1725.

His majesty, on the eighth day of April, gave the house of commons to understand, that having been engaged in some extraordinary expences, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money, by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in the civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, moved for an address, That an account should be layed before the house of all monies payed for secret service, pensions, and bounties, from the
twenty.

twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, to the twenty fifth of the same month in the present year. This address being voted, a motion was made to consider the king's message. Mr. Pulteney urged, that this consideration should be postponed until the house should have examined the papers that were the subject of the address. He expressed his surprize, that a debt amounting to above five hundred thousand pounds should be contracted in three years: he said, he did not wonder that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil-list, since they and their friends enjoyed such a share of that revenue; and, he desired to know, whether this was all that was due, or, whether they should expect another reckoning? This gentleman began to be dissatisfied with the measures of the ministry; and his sarcasms were aimed at Mr. Walpole, who undertook to answer his objections. The commons took the message into consideration, and passed a bill, enabling his majesty to raise any sum not exceeding one million, by exchequer-bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of sixpence per pound, directed by an act of parliament of the seventh year of his majesty, and of the civil-list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three pounds per cent. till repayment of the principal.

On the twentieth day of April a petition was presented to the house by the lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke, praying, that the execution of the law with respect to his forfeitures might be suspended, as a pardon had suspended it with respect to his life. Mr. Walpole signified to the house, by his majesty's command, that seven years before the petitioner had made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity: that

Debates
about the
debts of the
civil-list.

A. C. 1725. that from his behaviour since that time, his majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy ; and consented to his petitioning the house. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied, that the petitioner had sufficiently atoned for his past offences ; and therefore deserved the favour of that house, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was settled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his majesty's pardon, without an act of parliament. Lord Finch moved, That a bill might be brought in for this purpose ; and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of iniquity. His remonstrance was supported by lord William Powlet and Mr. Onslow ; nevertheless, the bill was prepared, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent. An act being passed for disarming the Highlanders of Scotland : another for regulating elections within the city of London : a third for reducing the interest of several bank annuities, together with some bills of a private nature ; the parliament was prorogued in May, after the king had, in the warmest terms of acknowledgment †, expressed his approbation of their conduct. Then he appointed lords-justices to govern the nation in his absence ; and set out in June for his German dominions.

A bill in favour of the late lord Bolingbroke.

The tide of political interests on the continent had begun to flow in a new channel, so as to render

† On the fifth day of December the princess of Wales was delivered of a princess, christened by the name of Louisa, and afterwards married to the king of Denmark. She died December the nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty one.

Immediately after the session of parliament the king revived the order

of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the sovereign.

William Bateman was created baron of Calmore in Ireland, and viscount Bateman ; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the Bath, was now honoured with the order of the garter.

ineffectual

ineffectual the mounds which he had raised by his multiplicity of negotiations. Lewis, the Spanish monarch, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip resumed the crown which he had resigned; and gave himself up implicitly to the conduct of his queen, who was a princess of indefatigable intrigue and insatiate ambition. The infanta, who had been married to Lewis XV. of France, was so disagreeable to her husband, that the whole French nation began to be apprehensive of a civil war, in consequence of his dying without male issue: he therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to send back the infanta, as the nuptials had not been consummated; and she was attended to Madrid by the marquis de Monteleone. The queen of Spain resented this insult offered to her daughter; and, in revenge, dismissed mademoiselle de Beaujolois, one of the regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her son Don Carlos. As the congress at Cambray had proved ineffectual, she offered to adjust her differences with the emperor under the sole mediation of Great-Britain. This was an honour which king George declined. He was averse to any undertaking that might interrupt the harmony subsisting between him and the court of Versailles; and he had taken umbrage at the emperor's refusing to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden, except upon terms which he did not choose to embrace. The peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, which he refused to mediate, was effected by a private negotiation, under the management of the duke de Ripperda, a native of the states-general, who had renounced the protestant religion, and entered into the service of his catholic majesty. By two treaties, signed at Vienna in the month of April, the emperor acknowledged

A. C. 1725.

Treaty of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

Philip

A. C. 1727. Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, promising, that he would not molest him in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London: Charles granted the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldest son of the queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the present possessors, as masculine fiefs of the empire. Spain became guaranty of the Austrian succession, according to the pragmatic sanction, by which the dominions of that house were settled on the emperor's heirs general, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable fief to the primogeniture. By the commercial treaty of Vienna, the Austrian subjects were intitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which no other nation enjoyed. His catholic majesty guarantied the Ostend East-India company; and agreed to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of piasters to the emperor. Great sums were remitted to Vienna: the Imperial forces were augmented to a formidable number; and other powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Peterburgh actually acceded.

The king of Great-Britain took the alarm. The emperor and he had for some time treated each other with manifest coldness. He had reason to fear some attempt upon his German dominions; and projected a defensive treaty with France and Prussia. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was negotiated and concluded at Hanover in the month of September. It implied a mutual guaranty of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement

ment to procure satisfaction to the protestants of A. C. 1725. Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the catholics, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. The king having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England, embarked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of the next month, he gave them to understand, that the distressed condition of some of their protestant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have layed the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers, such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the further progress of such dangerous designs. He told them, that the enemies of his government were already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries in those courts, whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender. One sees, at first sight, that the interests of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to secure the approbation of Great-Britain, upon which the support of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged necessary to insert the articles relating to commerce and the protestant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England. In a word, the ministry began now to ring the changes upon a few words that have been repeated ever since, like cabalistical sounds, by which the nation has been enchanted

A. C. 1725. into a very dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent. They harrangued, they insisted upon the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a popish pretender, the protestant interest, and the balance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of ridicule, with every person of common sense and reflection. The people were told, that the emperor and king of Spain, exclusive of the public treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing, that the Imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Portmahon, by force of arms, in case the king of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise he had made: that a double marriage should take place between the two infants of Spain, and the two arch-dutcheffes of Austria: and, that means should be taken to place the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain.

When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under consideration of the house of commons, Horatio Walpole, afterwards termed the balance-master, in derision, opened the debate with a long unanimated oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht. He enumerated the barrier treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defensive alliance with the emperor, the other with the most christian king and the states-general, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, and that of Vienna. He explained the nature of each engagement. He said, the main design of the treaty of commerce concluded between the emperor and Spain, was to countenance and support the East-India company established at Orend, which interfered so essentially with the East-India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several so-

lemn

lemn treaties still in force. He enlarged upon the danger to which the balance of power would be exposed, should the issue-male of this projected marriage between the houses of Austria and Spain, ever possess the Imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. The reader will take notice, that this very man was one of those who exclaimed against that article of the treaty at Utrecht, which prevented the power of those two houses from being immediately united in the person of the emperor. He did not forget to expatiate upon the pretended secret engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca; and the king's pious concern for the distressed protestants of Thorn in Poland. In vain did Mr. Shippen urge, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of limitation. These arguments had lost all weight. The opposition was so inconsiderable, that the ministry had no reason to be in pain about any measure they should propose. An address was voted and delivered to his majesty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain; and promising to support his majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain. An address of the same kind was presented by the house of lords in a body. A bill was brought in, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden late treasurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to eight and forty thousand pounds. This deficiency was occasioned by his embarking in the South-sea scheme. The king

Approved in
parliament.

A. C. 1725. recommended his petition ; and the house complied with his request, in consideration of his great grandfather the famous John Hampden, who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary measures of the first Charles.

Riots in
Scotland on
account of
the malt-
tax.

The malt-tax was found so grievous to Scotland, that the people refused to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom. At Glasgow, the populace, armed with clubs and staves, rified the house of Daniel Campbell their representative in parliament, who had voted for the bill ; and maltreated some excisemen who attempted to take an account of the malt. General Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had sent two companies of soldiers under the command of captain Bushel, to prevent or appease any disturbance of this nature. He drew up his men in the street, where they were pelted with stones by the multitude, which he endeavoured to disperse by firing among them without shot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with ball, and at a time when the magistrates were advancing towards him in a body, to assist him with their advice and influence, he commanded the soldiers to fire four different ways, without the sanction of the civil authority. About twenty persons were killed or wounded on this occasion. The people seeing so many victims fall, were exasperated beyond all sense of danger. They began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Bushel thought proper to retreat to the castle of Dumbarton ; and was pursued above five miles by the enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this transaction, assembled a body of forces ; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes lord advocate, took possession of Glasgow. The magistrates were apprehended and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh, where the lords-justiciary

justiciary having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent; so that they were immediately discharged. Bushel was tried for murder, convicted and condemned; but, instead of undergoing the penalties of the law, he was indulged with a pardon, and promoted in the service. Daniel Campbell having petitioned the house of commons, that he might be indemnified for the damage he had sustained from the rioters, a bill passed in his favour, granting him a certain sum to be raised from an imposition layed upon all the beer and ale brewed within the city of Glasgow. The malt tax was so sensibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal burroughs presented a remonstrance against it, as a grievous burthen which their country could not bear: petitions to the same purport were delivered to the commons from different shires of that kingdom*. On the twenty-fourth day of March the king sent a message to the house by Sir Paul Methuen, desiring an extraordinary supply, that he might be able to augment his maritime force, and concert such other measures as should be necessary in the present conjuncture. A debate ensued; but the majority complied with the demand. Some members in the upper house complained that the message was not sent to both houses of parliament: and this suggestion gave rise to another debate, in which lord Bathurst and others made some melancholy reflections upon the state of insignificance to which the peers of England were reduced. Such remarks, however, were very little

A. C. 1725.

 Oldmixon.
 Annals
 Deb. in Parl.
 Tindal.

A. C. 1726.

† The duke of Wharton having consumed his fortune in riot and extravagance, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his service to the pretender. There he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was

sent by the chevalier de St. George with credentials to the court of Madrid, where he abjured the protestant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bedchamber, and obtained the rank and appointments of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service.

A. C. 1726.

mind by the ministry, which had obtained a complete victory over all opposition. The supplies ordinary and extraordinary being granted, with every thing else which the court thought proper to ask; and several bills passed for the regulation of civil oeconomy, the king dismissed the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May.

By this time Peter the czar of Muscovy was dead, and his empress Catherine had succeeded him on the Russian throne. This princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Peterburgh; and prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George concluding, that her design was against Sweden, sent a strong squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to anticipate her views upon his allies. The English fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, alarmed the court of Russia, which immediately issued orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Wibourg, Cronstot, Revel, and Riga. The English admiral having had an audience of his Swedish majesty, steered towards Revel, and sent thither a lieutenant with a letter from the king of Great-Britain to the czarina. This was an expostulation, in which he observed, that he and his allies could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by sea and land. He complained, that measures had been taken at her court in favour of the pretender, that his repeated instances for establishing a lasting friendship with the crown of Russia, had been treated with neglect; and he gave her to understand, that he had ordered his admiral to prevent her ships from coming out of her harbours, should she persist in her resolution to execute the designs she had projected. The czarina, in her answer to the king, expressed her surprize, that she had not received his majesty's letter

A squadron
sent to the
Baltic.

letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, A. C. 1725. since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great-Britain, to expostulate with her on her armament, and expect her answer before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him, that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any designs to disturb the peace of the North; and with regard to the pretender, it was a frivolous and stale accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the unkind steps lately taken against the Russian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his station until he received certain intelligence, that the Russian gallees were layed up in their winter harbour: then he set sail for the coast of Denmark, from whence he returned to England in the month of November.

King George, that he might not seem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the North, had equipped two other squadrons; one of which was destined for the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Hosier. The other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land-forces, sailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio; then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the bay of Bulls near Cadiz, and cruised off Cape St. Mary's, so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation. Yet he committed no act of hostility; but was treated with great civility by the Spanish governor of Cadiz, who supplied him with refreshments. Rear-admiral Hosier, with seven ships of war, had sailed in April for the Spanish West-Indies, with instructions to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or, should they presume to come out. seize

Admiral
Hosier's ex-
pedition to
the West-
Indies.

A. D. 1726. and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Bastimentos near Porto-Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice-boat, which had the start of Hofier. This admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards. He returned to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crew: then he stood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this seized the English South-sea ship at La Vera-Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hofier in vain demanded restitution: he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruizing in those seas until the greater part of his men perished deplorably by the diseases of that unhealthy climate; and his ships were totally ruined by the worms. This brave officer being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage; seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamoured against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended without the least advantage to the nation. It seems to have been a mean pyratival scheme to rob the court of Spain of its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations. The ministry of Great-Britain indeed alledged, that the Spanish king had entered into engagements in favour of the pretender.

The dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the earl Marischal, were certainly at Madrid; and the duke de Ripperda, now prime minister of Spain, dropped some expressions to the English envoy, that implied some such design, which, however, the

court of Madrid positively denied. Ripperda, as a foreigner, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Spanish ministry. He was suddenly dismissed from his employments, with a pension of three thousand pistoles. He forthwith took refuge in the house of Vandermeer the Dutch ambassador, who was unwilling to be troubled with such a guest. He therefore conveyed him in his coach to the house of colonel Stanhope the British minister, whose protection he craved and obtained. Nevertheless, he was dragged from thence by force, and committed prisoner to the castle of Segovia. He afterwards made his escape, and sheltered himself in England, from the resentment of his catholic majesty. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spanish ministers endeavoured to excuse. Memorials and letters passed between the two courts, and every thing tended to a rupture. The king of Spain purchased ships of war; began to make preparations for some important undertaking; and assembled an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the old castle of Gibraltar. Mean while the states-general and the king of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover: but the king of Prussia, though his majesty's son-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements.

A. C. 1726.
Disgrace of
the duke de
Ripperda.

On the seventeenth day of January the British parliament was opened with a long elaborate speech, importing, That the proceedings and transactions of the emperor and king of Spain, and the secret offensive alliances concluded between them, had layed the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the emperor's

Substance of
the king's
speech.

A. C. 1726. emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights against those reciprocal engagements contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties. He assured them, that one of those secret articles was, the placing the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain; and another, the conquest of Gibraltar and Portmahon. He affirmed, that those combinations extended themselves into Russia; and that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of these kingdoms. He exhorted the commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great-Britain. He told them, that the king of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial, little short of a declaration, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar. He did not fail to touch the energetic strings which always moved their passions: the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a popish pretender, the present happy establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people. Such addresses of thanks were penned in both houses as the ministers were pleased to dictate; yet not without opposition from a minority, which was far from being formidable, though headed by chiefs of uncommon talents and resolution. The commons voted twenty thousand seamen, and six and twenty thousand three hundred eighty-three men for the land service; and to defray the extraordinary expence, a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

The house of lords having taken into consideration the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great-Britain, France and Spain, and the

the papers relating to the accession of the states-general to the treaty of Hanover; a warm debate ensued. The lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession of the states-general to the treaty, was upon condition, that this their act should be approved and ratified by the king of Great-Britain, the most christian king, and the king of Prussia; but that the minister of his Prussian majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect: that if the court of France should, for the same reason, think itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burden of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He said he could not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain: that indeed the duke de Ripperda might have dropped some indiscreet expressions: he was known to be a man of a violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his catholic majesty: that in the memorial left by the Spanish ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two crowns to the ministers of England; and mentioned a positive promise made by the king of Great-Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried before the kingdom engaged in a war which must be attended with dangerous consequences; that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly; an annual sum by which the people would soon be exhausted. He observed, that in some papers layed before the house, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear. He declared, that for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and so long

A. C. 1726.
 Debate on the approaching rupture with the emperor and Spain.

A. C. 1726. as he had the honour to sit in that house, he would speak and act for the good of his country, He therefore desired their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. He said, nothing could be gained by the war should it prove successful, and every thing would be lost should it be unprosperous. He was answered by lord Townshend, who affirmed, that his majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the pretender, though the safety of the state did not permit him to lay these advices before the parliament. After much altercation, the majority resolved, that the measures his majesty had thought fit to take, were honourable, just, and necessary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain by solemn treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen lords entered a protest against this resolution. Disputes of the same nature arose from the same subject in the lower house. Lord Townshend had affirmed in the house of peers, that no promise of restoring Gibraltar had been made: Sir Robert Walpole owned such a promise in the house of commons: a motion was made for an address, desiring these engagements might be layed before the house: another member moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Poyntz to the king of Sweden, and for the secret offensive article between the courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made to address the king for such memorials and representations

representations from the courts of Sweden and Denmark, as induced him, in the course of the preceding year, to send a squadron to the Baltic. In the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expences, over and above such as were specified. Mr. Pulteney moved for an address on this subject; but each of these motions was rejected on a division; and the majority concurred in an address of thanks to his majesty, for the great wisdom of his conduct. They expressed the most implicit confidence in his goodness and discretion: they promised to support him in all such further measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture; and for the honour and advantage of these kingdoms.

His majesty's speech gave such umbrage to the court of Vienna, that Mr. Palmes, the Imperial resident at London, was ordered to present a warm memorial to the king, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation. In this bold remonstrance, the king was charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several things that were either wrested, misrepresented, or void of all foundation. The memorialist affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations: and in no respect prejudicial to the British nation. He declared, that there was no offensive alliance concluded between the two crowns: that the supposed article relating to the pretender, was an absolute falsehood: that the insinuation with respect to the siege of Gibraltar was equally untrue, his master having made no engage-

Memorial of
Mr. Palmes
the Imperial
resident.

A. C. 1726. engagements with the king of Spain but such as were specified in the treaty communicated to his Britannic majesty. He said, the hostilities notoriously committed in the West-Indies, and elsewhere, against the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, seemed to justify that prince's undertaking the siege of Gibraltar. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial majesty, suitable reparation for the injury his honour had sustained from such calumnious imputations. Both houses of parliament expressed their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, in an address to his majesty; and Mr. Palms was ordered to depart the kingdom. Virulent declarations were presented by the ministers of the emperor and king of Great-Britain, to the diet of the empire at Ratisbon; and such personal reflections retorted between these two potentates, that all hope of reconciliation vanished.

King George, in order to secure himself against the impending storm, entered into more strict engagements with the French king; and agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds for three years to the king of Sweden, in consideration of that prince's holding in readiness a body of ten thousand troops for the occasions of the alliance. He concluded a fresh treaty with the king of Denmark, who promised to furnish a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large subsidy granted by the king of France. The proportions of troops to be sent into the field, in case of a rupture, were ascertained. His Britannic majesty engaged for four and twenty thousand men, and a strong squadron to be sent into the Baltic. He made a convention with the prince of Hesse-Cassel, who undertook to provide eight thousand infantry and four thousand horse, in consideration of seventy-four thousand pounds to be payed by Great-Britain immediately,

and

Convention
with Sweden
and Hesse-
Cassel.

and fifty thousand pounds more in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence. Such was the fruit of all the alliances so industriously planted since the accession of king George to the throne of Great-Britain. In the day of his trouble, the king of Prussia, who had espoused his daughter, deserted his interest; and the states-general stood aloof. For the security of his German dominions, he had recourse to the king of France, who was a precarious ally; to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the principality of Hesse-Cassel: but none of these powers would contribute their assistance, without being gratified with exorbitant subsidies, though the danger was common, and the efforts ought to have been equal. Instead of allies, they professed themselves mercenaries. Great-Britain paid them for the defence of their own dominions: she moreover undertook to maintain a powerful fleet for their safety. Is there any Briton so weak as to think, or so fool-hardy as to affirm, that this was a British quarrel?

For the support of those expensive treaties, Mr. Scroope, secretary of the treasury, moved in the house of commons, that, in the malt-tax bill, they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the king to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been or should be made before the twenty-fifth day of September, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe. To little purpose did the members in the opposition urge, that this method of asking and granting supplies was unparliamentary: that such a clause would render ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all parliaments had thought a necessary security against

A. C. 1726.

Annals.
Deb. in Parl.
Tribunal.
Lives of the
Admirals.

A. C. 1727.

A. C. 1727. against misapplication, which was the more to be feared, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money that should be disposed of by virtue of this clause: that great sums had already been granted: that such an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government: that such confidence in the crown might, through the influence of evil ministers, be attended with the most dangerous consequences: that the constitution could not be preserved, but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary: that such clauses, if not seasonably checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown and in the ministers an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people; which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature. The motion was carried, the clause added, and the bill passed through the other house without amendment, though not without opposition. Notwithstanding this vote of credit, Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the king, the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds should be raised by loans on exchequer-bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the parliament's disposal. Though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of parliament, by which the exceedings of the public funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking-fund, it was carried by the majority.

Vote of credit.

On the fifteenth day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and dispatch; and given them to understand, that the siege of Gibraltar was actually begun. The trenches were opened before this fortrefs on the eleventh day of February, by the Condé-de-las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four and twenty pieces of cannon. At the same time, five hundred men arrived from Minorca; so that the garrison amounted to six thousand, who were plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coast of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The states-general being apprehensive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, desired the king would hold in readiness the ten thousand auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty. They were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raised companies. Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful fleet for the Baltic, and was joined by a Danish squadron; but the czarina dying on the seventeenth day of May, he had no occasion to commit hostilities, as the Russian armament was laid aside.

Mean while, the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might again embroil all Europe. The king of France interposed his mediation, which was conducted by the duke of Richelieu, his ambassador at Vienna. Plans and

Siege of
Gibraltar by
the Spaniards.

A. C. 1727.

A. C. 1727. Prelimina-
ries of
peace.

counter-plans of pacification were proposed between the two crowns and the allies. At length all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed in May at Paris, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors. They imported, that hostilities should immediately cease: that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years; and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. This congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the conveniency of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage. The court of Madrid, however, started some new difficulties, and for some time would not consent to the restitution of the South-sea ship, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the West-Indies; so that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coast of Spain. But these objections were removed in the sequel.

King George having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich on the third day of June, and landing in Holland on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover. He was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road, lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnabrug, where he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne

Death and
character
of king
George I.

throne of Great-Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, and a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of the people; and, if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry whose power and influence were founded on corruption*.

* George I. married the princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had his present majesty George II. and the late queen of Prussia. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

From the death of Charles II. to this period, England made a considerable figure in every branch of literature. Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clarke distinguished themselves in divinity: Mr. Whiston wrote in defence of arianism: John Locke shone forth the great restorer of human reason: Cudworth traced the whole labyrinth of metaphysical argumentation: the earl of Shaftsbury raised an elegant, though feeble, system of moral philosophy: Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety and variety of metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction: lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphysician have

been questioned since his posthumous works appeared: great progress was made in mathematics and astronomy, by Wallis, Halley, and Flamsteed: the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the classical Dr. Freind, and the elegant Dr. Mead. Among the poets of this æra we number John Phillips, author of a didactic poem called Cyder, a performance of real merit; he lived and died in obscurity: William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance, and regularity: Vanbrugh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with less art and precision: Steele, who in his comedies successfully ingrafted modern characters on the antient drama: Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue:

A. C. 1727. Iogues: Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate; though he yielded to none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter: Swift, whose muse seems to have been meer misanthropy. He was a cynic rather than a poet; and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been unpleasing, had not he qualified them by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais: Prior, lively, familiar, and amusing: Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory: Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification: the agreeable Parnel: the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth: Gay, whose fables may vie with those of La Fontaine, in native humour, ease, and simplicity: and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Dr. Bentley stood foremost in the list of critics and commentators. Sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture. The most remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.



GEORGE II.

G E O R G E II.

AT the accession of George II. the nation had great reason to wish for an alteration of measures. The public debt, notwithstanding the boasted oeconomy and management of the ministers; notwithstanding the sinking-fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances, was now increased to fifty millions two hundred sixty-one thousand two hundred and six pounds, nineteen shillings, eight-pence, three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged in pecuniary subsidies to many powers upon the continent, with whom its real interests could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been lavished upon these foreign connexions; upon unnecessary wars and fruitless expeditions. Dangerous encroachment had been made upon the constitution by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent suspensions of the Habeas corpus act upon frivolous occasions; by repealing clauses in the act of settlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a standing army; and above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in parliament. The nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been so often en-

A. C. 1727.

George II.
ascends the
throne.

A. C. 1727.

dangered, was now so well understood, and so securely restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes: besides, an avowed extension of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and resolution, than the present ministry could exert. They understood their own strength, and had recourse to a more safe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age, the almost total extinction of sentiment, honour, and public spirit, had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the ministry: the public treasure was at their devotion: they multiplied places and pensions to increase the number of their dependents: they squandered away the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse: they enlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatize as Jacobites and enemies to the government, all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration.

Characters
of the principal persons
concerned
in the ministry.

The supreme direction of affairs was not yet engrossed by a single minister. Lord Townshend had the reputation of conducting the external transactions relating to treaties and negotiations. He is said to have understood that province, tho' he did not always follow the dictates of his own understanding. He possessed an extensive

tenſive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The duke of N. his colleague, was not remarkable for any of theſe qualifications; he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, and to the ſtrength of his intereſt in parliament, rather than to his judgment, preciſion, or any other intellectual merit. Lord C. who may be counted an auxiliary, tho' not immediately concerned in the adminiſtration, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the character of envoy at ſeveral courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different intereſts and connexions ſubſiſting among the powers of the continent; and he infinitely ſurpaſſed all the miniſters in learning and capacity. He was, indeed, the only man of genius employed under this government. He ſpoke with eaſe and propriety; his conceptions were juſt and lively; his inferences bold; his counſels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents by acting in a ſubordinate character to thoſe whom he deſpiſed; and ſeemed to look upon the pernicious meaſures of a bad miniſtry with ſilent contempt, rather than with avowed deteſtation. The interior government of Great-Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert W. a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raiſed himſelf to the head of the treaſury. Having obtained a ſeat in the lower houſe, he declared himſelf one of the moſt forward parti-

A. C. 1727. fans of the Whig faction. He was endued with a species of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design, he seldom failed to persuade that part of his audience for whose hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a fordid thirst of lucre; had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration. In the late reign he had, by dint of speaking decisively to every question, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the Tory ministers, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the schemes of the monied interest, become a leading member in the house of commons. By his sufferings under the Tory parliament, he attained the rank of a martyr to his party: his interest, his reputation, and his presumption daily increased: he opposed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the ministry, which evinced the greatness of his influence and authority. He had

Had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late king and the prince of Wales : then he was reassociated in the administration with additional credit ; and, from the death of the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime minister. He knew the maxims he had adopted would subject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of some individuals, who had not yet resigned all sentiments of patriotism, nor all views of opposition : but the number of these was inconsiderable when compared to that which constituted the body of the community ; and he would not suffer the consideration of such antagonists to come in competition with his schemes of power, affluence, and authority. Nevertheless, low as he had humbled antiministerial association, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm, to bear the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen satire that was exercised against his measures and management, by a few members in the opposition. Sir William Wyndham possessed all the energy of elocution ; Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastic ; Mr. Hungerford sly, insinuating, and ironical. Mr. W. P. inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated. He was one of the most learned members in the house of commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions ;

A. C. 1727.

ductions; well read in history and politics; deeply skilled in the British constitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances. He spoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was said to be the effect of personal animosity to Sir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

An express arriving on the fourteenth day of June with an account of the late king's death, his present majesty king George II. repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester-house; and the members of the privy-council being assembled, were sworn a-new. The king declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. At the same time he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union. Next day he was proclaimed king of Great-Britain. The parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose; but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of the month. All the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the treasury; and the system of politics which the late king established underwent no sort of alteration. The king, in his speech to both houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution

tion to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promised to lessen the public expence as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit: he observed to the commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil-list revenues was now determined; and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family: and he recommended it to both houses to dispatch the business that should be necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country. Addresses of condolance and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the commons, in a committee of the whole house, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed, that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds granted to and settled on the late king, had fallen short every year; and, that his present majesty's expences were likely to increase by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the intire revenues of the civil list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the king during his life. Mr. Skippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the public money. He said, the sum

A. C. 1727.

Debates in
parliament
concerning
the civil-
list,

A. C. 1727.

of seven hundred thousand pounds was not obtained for his late majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time, allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: that although his majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of prince Frederick would be much inferior to those settled on his present majesty when he was prince of Wales; besides, it was to be hoped, that many personal, many particular expences in the late reign, especially those for frequent journies to Hanover, would be discontinued, and intirely cease. He observed, that the civil-list branches in the queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; nevertheless, she called upon her parliament but once in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and, these were occasioned by the unparallelled instances of her piety and generosity. She gave the first-fruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds per annum, out of the post-office, on the duke of Marlborough: she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the public: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim: she allowed

lowed four thousand pounds annually to prince Charles of Denmark : she sustained great losses by the tin-contract : she supported the poor Palatines : she exhibited many other proofs of royal bounty, and, immediately before her death, she had formed a plan of retrenchment ; which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-one pounds. He affirmed, that a million a-year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, so often and so justly complained of in the house of commons : that over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulph of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the antient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion ; then the two insurance-offices were erected, and payed near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters : our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that crown : four and twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the public safety, were afterwards privately sold ; a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded and granted, for
paying

A. C. 1727.

paying the debts of the civil-list; and his majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expences for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new incumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the public utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government, amounting to above six hundred thousand pounds. He took notice, that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predeceffors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue: that as none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned. He said, he heartily wished that time, the great discoverer of hidden truths, and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such as had been perverted from their public duty by private pensions; who had been the hired slaves, and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glorious administration. He proposed, that instead of granting an addition to the civil-list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words, “in like manner as they were granted and
 “ continued to his late majesty, so as to make up
 “ the

“ the clear yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds.” To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was layed aside as idle and superfluous. The house agreed to the motion ; and a bill was brought in for the better support of his majesty’s household. The commons having received a message from the king, desiring they would make further provision for the queen his consort, resolved, That in case she should survive his majesty, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil list, together with his majesty’s palace of Somerset-house, and Richmond Old Park. A bill was formed on this resolution, which, as well as the other, passed both houses ; and received the royal assent on the seventeenth day of July, when the king, in a speech to both houses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct ; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired such weight in holding the balance of Europe. Then the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth day of August ; but on the seventh of that month a proclamation was issued for dissolving this and convoking another.

In the interim some changes were made in different departments of civil oeconomy. Lord viscount Torrington was placed at the head of the admiralty : the earl of Westmoreland was

Changes
and promo-
tions.

A. C. 1727. appointed first lord-commissioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and polished manners, was nominated ambassador to the Hague. The privy-council being dissolved, another was appointed of the members then present. The duke of Devonshire was dignified with the place of president; and the duke of St. Alban's was appointed master of the horse. On the eleventh day of October the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Westminster-abbey, with the usual solemnity *. By this time the courts of France and Spain were perfectly reconciled: all Europe was freed from the calamities of war; and the peace of Great-Britain suffered no interruption, except from some transient tumults among the tanners of Cornwall, who, being provoked by a scarcity of corn, rose in arms, and plundered the granaries of that county.

The elections in England and Scotland for the parliament having succeeded on the new

* King George II. ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. On the second day of September, one thousand seven hundred and five, he espoused the princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederick marquis of Brandenburg-Anspach, by whom he had two sons, Frederic Lewis prince of Wales, born at Hanover on the thirty-first day of January,

one thousand seven hundred and seven; and William Augustus, born at London on the fifteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one: she had likewise born four princesses, namely, Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the king of Denmark.

system,





The Hon.^{ble} ARTHUR ONSLOW.

system, according to the wishes of the ministry, the two houses met on the twenty-third day of January, when the commons unanimously chose for their speaker Arthur Onslow esquire, knight of the shire for Surrey, a gentleman of extensive knowledge, worth, and probity, grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the discharge of that honourable and important office. The king, in his speech to this new parliament, declared, that by the last advices from abroad, he had reason to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congress, would soon be intirely removed: in the mean time he represented the absolute necessity of continuing the preparations which had hitherto secured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe. He promised, that his first care should be to reduce from time to time the expence of the public, as oftèn, and as soon as the interest and safety of his people would permit such reduction. He expressed an earnest desire of seeing the foundation layed of an effectual scheme for the increase and encouragement of seamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the service of their country. Finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and dispatch of the public business. Those speeches, penned by the minister, were composed with a view to soothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the measures

A. C. 1727. measures of the government ; but without any intention of performing those promises of oeconomy, reformation, and national advantage. The two houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of applause and affection to his majesty. The lords, in their address, hailed him as the best of kings, and true father of his country. The commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his transactions ; promised to support him in all his undertakings ; and declared they would cheerfully grant whatever supplies should be wanted for the public service. Having considered the estimates which were laid before them by order of his majesty, they voted two and twenty thousand, nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons ; and fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thousand, nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops ; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the king of Sweden ; and half that sum to the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle. The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the bank one million, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds ; for which annuities to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties

on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation. A. C. 1727.

All these sums, however, were not granted without question. The number of land-forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition. When they deliberated on the loan of the bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this subject. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, presented a petition, setting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burden was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and an hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The house having addressed the king for a particular and distinct account of the distribution of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, charged to have been issued for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe; he declined granting their request, but signified in general,

A. C. 1723.

general, that part of the money had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secrecy. Such a message in the reign of king William would have raised a dangerous flame in the house of commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the public money, as tending to render parliaments altogether insignificant; to cover embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. The commons having taken into consideration the state of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers; a motion was made by a court-member, that it appeared the monies already issued and applied towards discharging the national debt, together with a sum to be issued at Lady-day, amounted to six millions six hundred forty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-two pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing. In vain did the leaders of the opposition expose the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonstrate the fraudulent artifice used in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried; and several resolutions were taken on the state of the national debts. In the particular account of these debts, upon which the house resolved to form a representation to his majesty, an article of three hundred thousand pounds relating to the duty

duty upon wrought plate, was totally omitted. This extraordinary omission being discovered, gave rise to a very warm debate, and to very severe reflections against those who superintended the public accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representation, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, with a state of the sinking fund and of the public credit. The draught being approved by the house, was presented to the king, who received it graciously. He took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it: a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged, without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

A. C. 1723.

Warm dispute concerning the national debt.

This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a message to the house, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements entered into, and concerted with the advice and concurrence of the last parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. Though a debate ensued upon this

Vote of credit.

N^o. 98.

A a

message,

A. C. 1728.

message, the majority resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements. A vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the king submitted to their perusal: they likewise prepared a bill for amending the statute of limitation, which however did not pass into a law: they considered the state of the national debt; a subject fruitful of debates: they passed the mutiny-bill, and those that were sent up from the commons, touching the supplies; together with an act, obliging ships arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and some others of a more private nature. These bills having received the royal assent, the king closed the session on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular, for having impowered him to borrow five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events. The king's uncle Ernest Augustus, prince of Brunswick, duke of York and bishop of Osnabrug, died on the third day of August, and was succeeded in the bishopric by





FREDERICK Prince of *WALES*.

by the elector of Cologne, according to the pactum by which Osnabrug is alternately possessed by the house of Brunswick and that elector. In the beginning of December, his majesty's eldest son prince Frederick arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided; was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, resident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master payed to the pretender the honours due to the king of Great-Britain. The congress opened at Soissons, for determining all disputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in settling and reconciling so many different pretensions and interests, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover, proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was given as yet by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in suspense: the English fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West-Indies: the sailors perished miserably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs: while the Spanish cruisers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great-Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good understanding with France, and now strengthened its interest by a double alliance of marriage with

A. C. 1728.

A double marriage between the houses of Spain and Portugal.

the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this house was betrothed to the prince of Asturias; while the Spanish infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now matched with the prince of Brazil, eldest son of his Portuguese majesty. In the month of January, the two courts meet in a wooden house built over the little river Coya that separates the two kingdoms, and there the princesses were exchanged.

The parliament of Great-Britain meeting according to their last prorogation on the twenty-first day of January, the king in his speech communicated the nature of the negotiation at the congress; demanded such supplies as might enable him to act vigorously in concert with his allies, provided his endeavours to establish an advantageous peace should miscarry; and he hinted, that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great measure from the hopes that were given, of creating discontents and divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain. This suggestion was a ministerial artifice to inflame the zeal and resentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the opposition. Accordingly the hint was pursued, and in the addresses from both houses, that could not fail of being agreeable, considering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both peers and commons expressed their detestation and abhorrence of those, who by such base and unnatural

Liberality of the commons.

natural artifices, suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniencies which they themselves had occasioned. In these addresses, likewise, the parliament congratulated his majesty on the arrival of the prince of Wales in his British dominions; and the commons sent a particular compliment to his royal highness on that occasion. The estimates having been examined in the usual form, the house voted fifteen thousand seamen for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, was not carried without dispute. All the arguments against a standing army in time of peace, as inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney. These, however, were answered and represented as absurd, by Mr. Horatio Walpole and Mr. D. two staunch adherents of the minister. The first had, in despite of nature, been employed in different negotiations: he was blunt, awkward and slovenly: an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; spoke with confidence; and in dispute was vain, sarcastic, petulant, and verbose.

A. C. 1723.

Debate on
the subsidies
to Hesse-
Cassel and
Wolfem-
bottle.

The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfembottle, were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lütwyche, and Mr. Pulteney; which last observed, that as the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Brunswick Wolfembottle, usually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great-Britain should defray no more than the expence of the additional forces which those powers had raised, in consequence of their conventions with the king of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving, that this remark made an impression on the house, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure: he expatiated upon the wisdom of the late king, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed, that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overawed by the Hessians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that therefore they ought not to grudge an expence which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joseph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloss might be put upon such measures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which
England

England in former times had steered and squared its conduct with relation to its interest abroad: that the navy was the natural strength of Great-Britain; its best defence and security: but if, in order to avoid a war, they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to see an end of such extravagant expences. This gentleman, who exercised the office of master of the rolls, had approved himself a zealous defender of whig principles, was an able lawyer, a sensible speaker, and a conscientious patriot. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and by sale of annuities to the bank, not exceeding fifty thousand pounds per annum.

Petitions were delivered to the house of commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West-Indies. These being considered, the house ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congress at Soissons; and addressed his majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to admiral Hoffer, and those who succeeded him in the

A. C. 1722. command of the West-India Squadron. Mr. Oglethorpe having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by goalers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the goals of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-prison, which they visited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villany, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the house unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. A resolution of the same nature passed against John Huggins, esquire, who had been warden of the Fleet-prison. The house presented an address to the king, desiring he

Committee
for inspect-
ing the
goals.

he would direct his attorney general forthwith, to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden : another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet; and for more effectual preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison.

Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards. The house, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, inquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction; and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The king assured them he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his people, in an affair of so much importance : and they, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer. They did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of sixty-thousand pounds that had been stated in the public account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied. He told them the money had been issued and disbursed

Address
touching the
Spanish de-
predations.

A. C. 1728.

buried for secret services; and that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given without a manifest prejudice to the public. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of parliament; and it passed through the house without opposition: but, their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamour thro' the whole kingdom, and, excited very warm disputes in parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the ministers. The commons having made further progress in the inquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great-Britain. They justified the instructions given to admiral Hosier to seize and detain the flota and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his majesty and his allies; nay, even declared, that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary, tending to prevent an open rupture; and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the king, to use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

Mr. Scrope, member for Bristol, moved for an address, intreating his majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil-list revenues for one year to be layed before the house. The address was presented, the account produced; and the house, in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration. The courtiers affirmed, that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his majesty; and Mr. Scrope proposed, that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the king, on account of those deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and other members. They expressed their surprize that it should be made so late in the session, when no further demand of money could be reasonably expected; and they said, it was the more extraordinary, because it appeared in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the house, that the revenues of the civil-list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pulteney moved, that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the truth. The ministers opposed this motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative. The majority voted the sum demanded; and in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted a resolution for granting to his majesty the sum of one hundred

and

A sum voted to the king on account of arrears due on the civil list revenue.

A. C. 1728. and fifteen thousand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil-list revenues.

Proceedings
in the house
of lords.

The house of lords, having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the judges to bring in another, on the report of a committee appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors; at length, deliberated upon the state of the nation, particularly, the positive demand made by the court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his catholic majesty. From a copy of the letter layed before the house, it plainly appeared that king George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing, that for the honour of his majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty, that the king of Spain should renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms; a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest. Then the majority resolved, That the house did intirely rely upon his majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty, to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the house examined the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and

and a motion was made, to resolve, That Ho-
 fier's expedition was an unreasonable burden on
 the nation; but, this too was rejected, and oc-
 casioned another protest. Nor did the clause in
 the corn-bill, for granting one hundred and fif-
 teen thousand pounds to his majesty, pass through
 the house of peers without warm opposition.
 Divers lords alledged, that instead of a deficiency
 in the civil-list revenues, there was a considerable
 surplus: that this was a new grant, and a new
 burden on the people: that the nation was load-
 ed, not to complete, but to augment the sum de-
 signed for the civil-list; and this at a time when
 the public debts were increased; when the taxes
 were heavily felt in all parts of the country;
 when the foreign trade of Britain was incumber-
 ed and diminished; when her manufactures were
 decayed; her poor multiplied; and she was sur-
 rounded by many other national calamities. They
 observed, that if the produce of the civil-list re-
 venue should not amount to the yearly sum of
 eight hundred thousand pounds, the deficiency
 must be made good to his majesty by the pub-
 lic; whereas no provision was made, by which,
 if the produce of these revenues should exceed
 that sum, the surplus could accrue to the benefit
 of the public: that by this precedent, not only
 real deficiencies were to be made good, but also
 supplies were to be given for arrears standing out
 at the end of every year, which should come on
 before the supplies could be granted, though the

A. C. 1728. supply given to make good arrears in one year, would certainly increase the surpluses in another: that the revenues of the civil-list were variable in their own nature; and even when there is no deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might be easily increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. All these arguments, and other objections equally strong and plausible, against this unconscionable and unparliamentary motion, served only to evince the triumph of the ministry over shame and sentiment, their contempt of public spirit, and their defiance of national reproach †.

A. C. 1729. The king had on the twenty-fourth day of March given the royal assent to five bills; and on the fourteenth day of May the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the queen to be regent in the kingdom during his majesty's absence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of insolvent debtors. At the same time two and thirty private bills were passed; then the king expressed his approbation of the parliament, signified his intention to visit his German dominions, and ordered the chancellor to prorogue both houses. His majesty having appointed the queen regent of the realm, set out for Hanover on the seven-

† The peers that distinguished themselves in the opposition were Beaufort, Strafford, Craven, Foley, Litchfield, Scarisdale, Gower, Mont-

joy, Plymouth, Bathurst, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

teenth day of May, in order to remove a petty
 misunderstanding which had happened between
 that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some
 Hanoverian subjects had been pressed or decoy-
 ed into the service of Prussia; and the regents
 of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers
 by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom
 of Great-Britain at this juncture enjoyed unin-
 terrupted repose; and commerce continued to
 increase, in spite of all restriction and discouragement.
 The people of Ireland found themselves
 happy under the government of lord Carteret;
 and their parliament, assembling in the month of
 September, approved themselves the fathers of
 their country. They established funds for the
 discharge of their national debt, and for main-
 taining the expence of government: they enact-
 ed wholesome laws for the encouragement of
 manufacture, trade, and agriculture; and they
 formed wise regulations in different branches of
 civil oeconomy. Some time after this session,
 which was conducted with so much harmony and
 patriotism, lord Carteret returned to England;
 and was succeeded by the duke of Dorset in the
 government of that kingdom. In the month of
 May, Charles lord Townshend resigned the seals,
 which were given to colonel Stanhope, now
 created earl of Harrington; so that Sir R. W.
 now reigned without a rival. James earl of
 Waldegrave was appointed ambassador to the
 court of France, which, about this time, was filled
 with joy by the birth of a dauphin.

A. C. 1729*

Wise con-
 duct of the
 Irish par-
 liament.

A. C. 1729.

Abdication
of the king
of Sardinia.

In the month of September Victor Amadæus, king of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chamberry, and espoused the countess dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of queen, but assumed that of marchioness of Somerive. Though the congress at Soissons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, not only without the concurrence of the emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance. On this subject he communicated an imperial commissorial decree to the states of the empire assembled in the diet at Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister de Chavigny. In October Peter II. czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederick William duke of Courland. The following month was rendered remarkable by the death of pope Benedict XIII. in whose room cardinal Laurence Corsini was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement. XII.

Death of
pope Bene-
dict XIII.

The

A. C. 1729.

Substance of
the king's
speech to
both houses.

The British parliament assembling on the thirteenth day of January, the king gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed. He assured them that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the British trade and navigation, were renewed and confirmed: that the free uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored: that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations: that all rights, privileges, and possessions belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed: and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land-forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet; and observed, that there would be a considerable saving in the expence of the current year. After both houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to the king on the peace of Seville, the lords took that treaty into consideration; and it did not pass inquiry without severe animadversion.

The lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great-Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the

A. C. 1729. court of Spain. They said, this stipulation was a hardship upon British subjects, and dishonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards: and after all, they would have no more but the slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by commissaries which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great-Britain should be bound to ratify and guaranty whatever agreement should be made between the king of Spain and the dukes of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries: that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma, without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance: that they should guaranty for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma; a stipulation, which, in all probability, would involve Great-Britain in endless quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirm that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma

Objections
to the treaty
of Seville in
the house of
lords.

ma in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing, that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt, from all events. They complained, that these alterations, from the tenour of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an antient, powerful, and faithful ally: and, that throughout the whole treaty, there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation, to secure Great-Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the substance of the objections made to the peace: then lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession of Don Carlos to the dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of other two motions, to resolve, That Great-Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville: and, That the stipulations in that treaty, for repairing the losses of the British merchants were insuffi-

A. C. 1729.

cient and precarious. The majority, far from stigmatizing this transaction, resolved, That the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honour, dignity, rights, and possessions of the crown: that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants. On these resolutions an address of approbation was founded; but, when a motion was made for an address to his majesty, that he would order to be layed before the house a list of all pensions payable to the crown, it was immediately resolved in the negative. Divers contests of the same kind arose upon the mutiny-bill, the pension-bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thousand Hessians: but the ministry bore down all opposition, tho' their triumphs were clogged with vigorous protests, which did not fail to make impression upon the body of the people.

Opposition
in the house
of commons
to a stand-
ing army.

Nor was the success of the court-interest in the house of commons altogether pure and free from exception and dispute. When the charge of the land-forces fell under the consideration of the commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham, secretary at war, moved, that the number of the effective men for the land-service of the ensuing year, should be fixed at seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine; Mr. Pulteney insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. Mr. Shippen affirmed, that Mr. Pelham's motion

was

was a flat negative to the address for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the late treaty, which he then assured the house, would immediately produce all the blessings of an absolute peace; and deliver the kingdom from the apprehensions and inconveniencies of a war. He said, the motion tended directly towards the establishment of an army in Great-Britain, which, he hoped, would never be so far germanized, as tamely to submit to a military government. He observed, that the nation could have no occasion for all the troops that were demanded, considering the glorious scene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. “ They are not necessary (said he) to awe Spain into a firm adherence to its own treaty: they are not necessary to force the emperor into an immediate accession; nor are they in any sort necessary for the safety of his majesty’s person and government. Force and violence are the resort of usurpers and tyrants only; because they are with good reason, distrustful of the people whom they oppress; and, because they have no other security for the continuance of their unlawful and unnatural dominion, than what depends entirely on the strength of their armies.” The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the courtiers brought in, to prevent any

A. C. 1729.

Bill prohibiting loans to foreign princes or states.

subjects of Great-Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign princes or states, without having obtained licence from his majesty, under his privy-seal, or some greater authority. The minister pretended, that this law was proposed to disable the emperor, who wanted to borrow a great sum of the English merchants, for raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. The bill contained a clause, empowering the king to prohibit by proclamation, all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion; and the attorney-general to compel, by English bill, in the court of exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath, of any such loans; and, that in default of an answer to any such bill, the court should decree a limited sum against the person refusing to answer. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued strenuously against this bill, as a restraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent. He said, that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states, or potentates, the English were totally disabled from assisting their best allies: that among others the king of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions: that while the licensing power remained in the crown, the licences would be issued through the

hands

hands of the minister, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty thousand a year: that the bill would render the exchequer a court of inquisition; and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, spoke with judgment and precision, and upon all occasions steadily adhered to the interests and liberties of his country. After having explained his reasons, he declared he should never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a branch of our dearest liberties, and a very terrible hardship on mankind. Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself on the same side of the question; but the bill was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the house, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

The subsidies were continued to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, in spite of all that could be urged against these extraneous incumbrances; and the supply for the ensuing year was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about

A. C. 1729. two millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. It must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the house appropriated one million of the surplusses, arising from the sinking fund, towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition. They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finistere; they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of parliament to the East-India company, drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the subjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions; and in consideration of an act of parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East-India company. This proposal was rejected; and the exclusive privilege vested in the company, was, by act of parliament, protracted

A. C. 1739.

Charter of
the East-
India com-
pany pro-
longed

tracted to the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, upon the following conditions: That they should pay into the exchequer the sum of two hundred thousand pounds towards the supplies of the year, without interest or addition to their capital stock: that the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, payable to them from the public, should be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand: and, That after the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by parliament, on three years notice and repayment of their capital.

On the fifteenth day of May the king went to the house of peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which were raised, the parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance, which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints in dishonour of him and his government; and in defiance of the sense of both houses of parliament † The emperor was so much incensed at

† In the course of this session, the commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being the

A. C. 1730.

The emperor presents the treaty of Seville.

the insult offered to him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects of Great-Britain from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war; and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with such dispatch as had been very seldom exerted by the house of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the infant Don Carlos by the quadruple alliance; and all that the emperor required, was that this prince should receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the empire.

Seven Indian chiefs arrive in England.

In Great-Britain, this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians in America, were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cumin, and introduced to the king, at whose feet they layed their crown and regalia; and by an authentic deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full

ing chosen members of parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the commons in parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all pro-

bability this bill would not have made its way through the house of commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the upper house, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

powers

powers for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British court: they compared the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations: and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were reconveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South Carolina. In the month of September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople, without bloodshed or confusion. A few mean janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming, that all true Mussulmans ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the government. They soon increased to the number of one hundred thousand; marched to the seraglio, and demanded the grand vizir, the kiaja, and captain bachau. These unhappy ministers were immediately strangled. Their bodies being delivered to the insurgents, were dragged through the streets: and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this sacrifice, the revolted deposed the grand signor Achmet, who was confined to the same prison, from whence they brought his nephew Machmout, and raised him to the throne, after he had lived seven and twenty years in confinement.

Revolution
at Constantinople.

England

A. C. 1730.

England infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries.

England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind were civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters, demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villany was practised in different parts of the kingdom; so that the government was obliged to interpose, and offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

A. C. 1730.

In the speech with which the king opened the session of parliament on the twenty-first day of January, he told them, that the present critical conjuncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention: that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements, must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed before the season of action, to prevent by an accommodation the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated. Both houses, in their addresses, promised to support his majesty in all his engagements: tho' the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdity of promising to fulfil engagements before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great-Britain. Another bill was brought into the house of commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of parliament; and, after a third reading, carried up to the lords for their concurrence. When the supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the duke of Wolfenbuttle,

Bill against
pensioners
sitting as
members in
the house of
commons.

A.C. 1730. buttle, which, however, were continued; and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expence of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law; a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, That all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. Though one would imagine, that very little could be advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the antient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading; in spite of these objections it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom, having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West-Indies; their petitions were referred to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be well founded. The house presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavour to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the

the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The bill against pensions produced a warm debate in the house of lords, where it was violently opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, and earl of Ilay, and Dr. Sherlock bishop of Bangor. This prelate, in a remarkable speech, represented it as a scheme to enlarge the power of the house of commons; and to break the balance between the powers essential to the constitution, so as sooner or later to prove the ruin of the whole. The great barrier provided against bribery and corruption by this bill, consisted in an oath to be imposed on all members of the lower house, by which they must have solemnly sworn and declared, that they had not directly nor indirectly, any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office in part, or in the whole, held for them or for their benefit, by any persons whatsoever; and, that they would not accept any such pensions or offices, without signifying the same to the house within fourteen days after they should be received or accepted. The bill was vindicated as just and necessary by the earls of Winchelsea and Strafford, the lord Bathurst, and the lord Carteret, who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the opposition.

The house of peers proceeded to consider the state of the national debt: they read a bill for
the

A. C. 1731.

the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed, and laid aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy. They passed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the English language; and a fruitless motion was made by the lord Bathurst for an address, to desire his majesty would give directions for discharging the Hessian troops that were in the pay of Great-Britain. On the seventh day of May the parliament was prorogued, after the king had given them to understand, that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed, by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the emperor. He said it was communicated to the courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded: and, that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the states-general. He observed, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion, were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe: that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable prospect of seeing the public tranquillity re-established.

Treaty at
Vienna.Death of the
duke of
Parma.

In the month of January the duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared his dutchefs was three months advanced
in

A. C. 1731.

in her pregnancy; intreating the allied powers of Europe to have compassion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still-born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the infant don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the dutchy. Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of Imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation; and leave the administration intirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these dutchies for the infant don Carlos: and, that if the dutchess dowager should not be delivered of a prince, the said infant might receive the investiture from the emperor whenever he would, provided he should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great Britain and the states-general interposed their mediation so effectually with the court of Vienna, that the emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the sixteenth day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannic majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, That the

A. C. 1731.

king of Spain might take possession of these places in favour of his son don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville. He likewise agreed, That the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville, should guaranty the pragmatic sanction, or succession of the Austrian hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the Imperial court did not subscribe this treaty, because by the maxims received in that republic, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary: nevertheless, the states-general were, by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contracting party.

On the twenty-second day of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the emperor, the kings of Great-Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In August a treaty of union and defensive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dresden. The court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the dutchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations, in presence of the older dutchess dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians, and a surgeon;

geon ; and was declared with child : nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived ; and general Stampa with the Imperial forces took formal possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the great duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the crown of Great-Britain engaged to equip an armament that should convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Portsmouth on the twenty-sixth day of August, and in September arrived at Barcelona, where, being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leghorn ; from whence the admiral returned to England. Don Carlos passed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish galleys, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the Imperial general withdrew his forces into the Milaneze ; and the infant took possession of his new territories.

A. D. 1735.

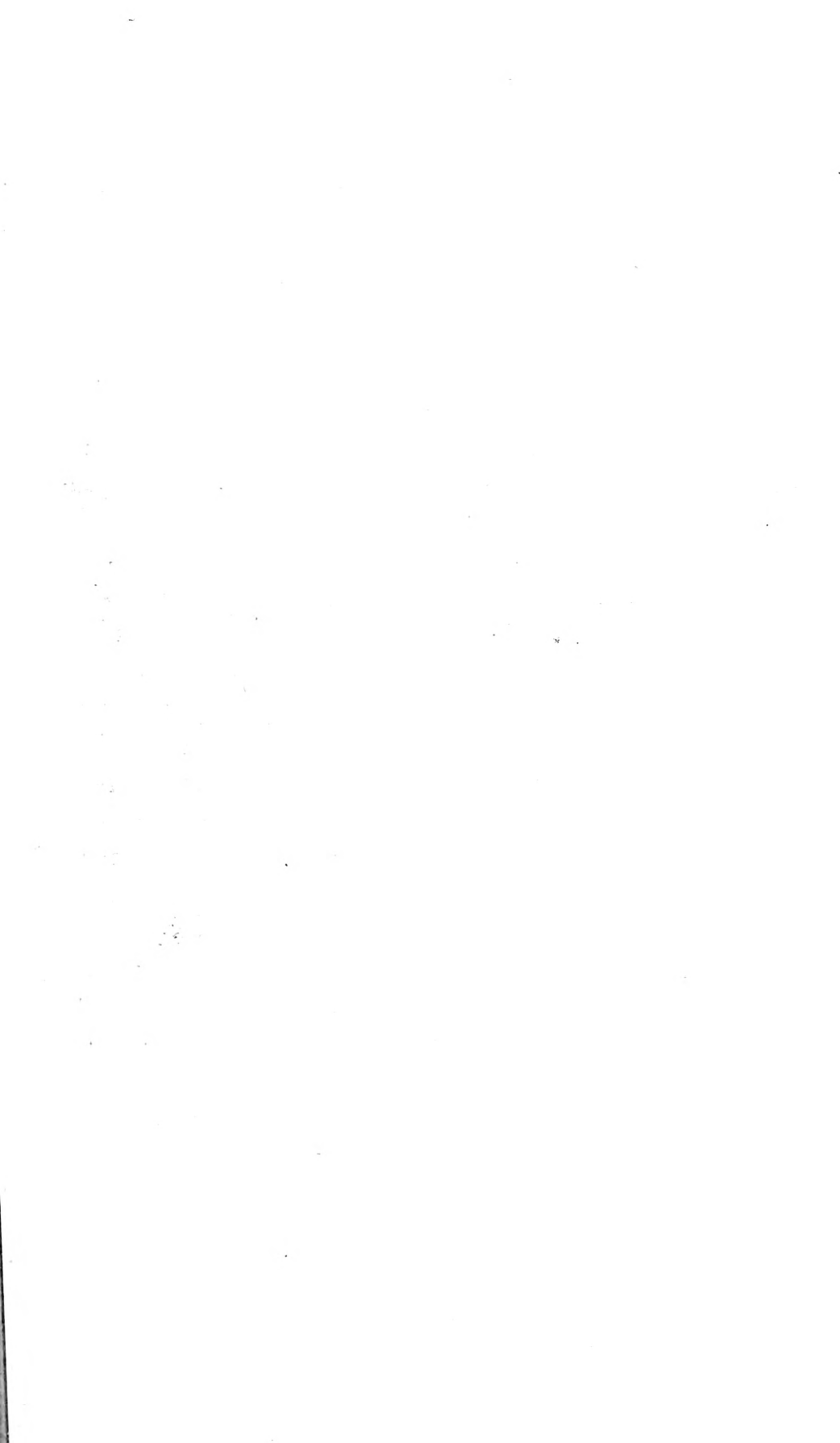
Don Carlos takes possession of his territories.

During these transactions, France was distracted by religious disputes, occasioned by the bull unigenitus thundered against the doctrines of Jansenius ; a bull which had produced a schism in the Gallican church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confusion. It was opposed by the parliaments and lay-tribunals of the kingdom ; but many bishops, and the

France distracted by religious disputes.

A. C. 1737. jesuits in general, were its most strenuous assertors. All the artifices of priestcraft were practised on both sides, to inflame the enthusiasm, and manage the superstition of the people. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, consequently was declared damned by the abettors of that constitution. On the other hand, the jesuits exerted all their abilities and industry in preaching against the Jansenists; in establishing an opinion of their superior sanctity; and inspiring a spirit of quietism among their votaries, who were transported into the delirium of possession, illumination, and supernatural converse. These arts were often used for the most infamous purposes: Female enthusiasts were wrought up to such violence of agitations, that nature fainted under the struggle; and the pseudo-saint seized this opportunity of violating the chastity of his penitent. Such was said to be the case of Mademoiselle la Cadiere, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abused in this manner by the lust and villainy of pere Girard, a noted jesuit, who underwent a trial before the parliament of Aix, and very narrowly escaped the stake.

The parliament of Great-Britain meeting on the thirteenth day of January, the king in his speech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna: that don Carlos was actually possessed





GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

A. C. 1731.

possessed of Parma and Placentia : that six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the dutchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the great duke, the reversion of his dominions: and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two houses. He told the commons, that the estimates for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years. He recommended unanimity: he observed, that his government had no security but what was equally conducive to their happiness, and to the protection of his people: that their prosperity had no foundation but in the defence and support of his government. “Our safety (said he) is mutual, and our interests are inseparable.” The opposition to the court-measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session. The minister’s motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocution. His principal emissaries were obliged to task their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonstrate and convince; to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the house of commons lord Hervey, lately appointed vice chamberlain of his majesty’s household, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they

The ministry violently opposed in parliament.

A. C. 1731: should declare their intire approbation of the king's conduct; acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government; express their confidence in the wisdom of his counsels; and declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. This member, son to the earl of Bristol, was a nobleman of some parts, which however, were more specious than solid. He condescended to act as a subaltern to the minister, and approved himself extremely active in forwarding all his designs, whether as a secret emissary, or public orator; in which last capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy. His motion was seconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, and opposed by Sir Wilfred Lawson, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not argue against a general address of thanks; but exposed the absurdity and bad tendency of expressions which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. Sir Wilfred Lawson observed, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favours we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had sustained from that nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guaranty to the pragmatic sanction, laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family when attacked by any potentate

tentate whatever, except the grand signor: that they might be attacked when it would be much against the interest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war upon any foreign account: that it might one day be for the interest of the nation to join against them, in order to preserve the balance of Europe, the establishing of which had already cost England such immense sums of money. He insisted upon the absurdity of concluding such a number of inconsistent treaties; and concluded with saying, that if affairs abroad were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into port, yet took it in his head, to carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks, and shallows; who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous expence, at last, by chance, hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham spoke to the same purpose. Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed, that many other things related more nearly to the honour and interest of the nation, than did the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction. He said, he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been intirely razed and destroyed: that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the de-

A. C. 1731.

predations committed by the natives of Spain : that more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose valour the nation must chiefly depend in case of an invasion ; and that some regard had been shewn to the oppressed protestants in Germany. He expressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly ; for he had generally observed, that when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the weaker ; and this, he was afraid, had been the case between France and Great-Britain. The motion was vigorously defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and brother to the duke of Newcastle, a man whose greatest fault was his being concerned in supporting the measures of a corrupt ministry. In other respects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the interest of his country, though egregiously mistaken in his notions of government. On this occasion he asserted, that it was no way inconsistent with the honour or dignity of that house, to thank his majesty in the most particular terms for every thing he had been pleased to communicate in his speech from the throne : that no expressions of approbation in the address could be any way made use of to prevent an inquiry into the measures which had been pursued, when the treaties should be laid before the house. He said, at the opening of a session the eyes of all Europe were turned
towards

towards Great-Britain, and from the parliament's first resolves, all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would ensue between his majesty and the representatives of his people : that their appearing jealous or diffident of his majesty's conduct, would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign states and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false step that might have been made by his ministers. His arguments were reinforced by a long speech from Mr. H. Walpole. The question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

The next subject of the debate was the number of land-forces. When the supply fell under consideration, Sir W. Strickland, secretary at war, moved, that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay. On the other hand, lord Morpeth having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed, by maintaining a numerous standing army in time of peace, made a motion that the number should be reduced to twelve thousand. A warm debate ensuing, was managed in favour of the first motion, by lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, Mr. Pelham, Sir Philip Yorke attorney-general, who was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and shone more as an advocate at the bar, than as an orator in the house of commons. The last partisan of the ministry was Sir
William

Debates on
a standing
army.

A. C. 1731. William Yonge, one of the lord commissioners of the treasury, a man who rendered himself serviceable and necessary by stooping to all compliances, running upon every scent, and haranguing on every subject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation, composed of assertions without veracity, conclusions from false premises, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was espoused by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an antient family and opulent fortune in Wales, brave, open, hospitable, and warmly attached to the antient constitution and hierarchy: he was supported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with weight, precision, and severity; by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard. The courtiers argued, that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land-forces as might defeat the designs of malcontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous measures in case the peace of Europe should be reimbroiled. They affirmed the science of war was so much altered, and required such attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain standing armies, for their security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers: that the number of troops in Great-Britain was too inconsiderable



S^r WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN Bar^t

able to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch: that his majesty never entertained the least thought of infringing the liberties of his subjects: that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the parliament, which was the representative of the people. To these arguments the members in the opposition replied, that a standing force, in time of peace, was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous: that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives to courage and perseverance: that the civil magistrate was able to preserve the peace of the country: and, that the number of the malcontents was altogether contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing army, and other such arbitrary measures: that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and howsoever they might find themselves necessitated to depend upon a military force for security against incroaching neighbours, the case was very different with regard to Great-Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this provision was strengthened and improved by

A. C. 1731.

a numerous navy, that secured to her the dominion of the sea; and, if properly disposed, would render all invasion impracticable, or at least ineffectual: that the land-army of Great-Britain, though sufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not possibly secure such an extent of coast, and therefore could be of very little service in preventing an invasion: that though they had all imaginable confidence in his majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help apprehending, that should a standing army become part of the constitution, another prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal designs, might arise, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honour and probity, these might be easily discarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper. By these means, practised in former times, an army had been new-modelled to such a degree, that they turned their swords against the parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and destroyed the constitution both in church and state: that with respect to its being wholly dependent on the parliament, the people of England would have reason to complain of the same hardship, whether a standing army should be declared at once indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year, according to the direction of the ministry: that the sanction of the legislature granted to measures which

which in themselves are unconstitutional, burdensome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, instead of yielding consolation, would serve only to demonstrate, that the most effectual method of forging the chains of national slavery, would be that of ministerial influence operating upon a venal parliament. Such were the reasons urged against a standing army, of what number soever it might be composed: but the expediency of reducing the number from about eighteen thousand to twelve thousand, was insisted upon as the natural consequence of his majesty's declaration, by which they were given to understand, that the peace of Europe was established; and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people. It was suggested, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient, on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe, it was surely reasonable to think, that a less number would suffice when peace was perfectly re-established. Whatever effect these reasons had upon the body of the nation, they made no converts in the house, where the majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, upon those publicans who refused to vote in elections, according to the direction of the ministry. Mr. Pulteney asserted, that the

A. C. 1731. money raised for the subsistence of eighteen thousand men in England, would maintain sixty thousand French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared, that eighteen thousand of the English troops in the late war, were maintained on less than two thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number : but no regard was paid to these allegations.

Account of
the charita-
ble corpora-
tion.

The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the house, was the state of the charitable corporation. This company was first erected in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven. Their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest, to the poor, upon small pledges ; and to persons of better rank upon an indubitable security of goods impawned. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds ; but, by licences from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinson, Esq; member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds, no equivalent was found ; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the
value

value of thirty thousand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the house of commons, represented, that by the most notorious breach of trust, in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress: they therefore prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of parliament, the house would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and gave such a relief to the petitioners, as to the house should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the inquiry. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant, were expelled the house of commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: and a bill was brought

A. C. 1731. brought in to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from signior John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who should deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favour of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection to the English people. On this supposition the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both houses concurred in an order, that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The lower house resolved, that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

Revival of
the salt-tax.

No motion, during this session, produced such a warm contest, as did that of Sir Robert Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties upon salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived
and

and granted to his majesty, his heirs and successors, for the term of three years. In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country-party were immediately in commotion. They expressed their surprise at the grossness of the imposition. They observed, that two years had scarce elapsed since the king, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burdensome to the poor: the house was then of opinion, that the tax upon salt was the most burdensome, and the most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken off: but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinion so suddenly, and resolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest. They affirmed, that the most general taxes are not always the least burthensome: that after a nation is obliged to extend her taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the public, are the most convenient and the easiest to the people: but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the subsistence of the poor. The price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesmen and manufacturer must be encreased; and, where

A. C. 1731. these are high, the manufactures will be under-
fold by those of cheaper countries. The trade
must of consequence be ruined; and it is not to
be supposed that the landed gentleman would
chuse to save a shilling in the pound from the
land-tax, by means of an expedient that will
ruin the manufactures of his country; and de-
crease the value of his own fortune. They al-
ledged, that the salt-tax particularly affected the
poor, who could not afford to eat fresh provi-
sions: and that, as it formerly occasioned mur-
murs and discontents among the lower class of
people, the revival of it would, in all probability,
exasperate them into open sedition. They ob-
served, that while it was exacted in England, a
great number of merchants sent their ships to
Ireland to be victualled for their respective
voyages; that, since it had been abolished,
many experiments had been successfully tried
with salt, for the improvement of agriculture,
which would be entirely defeated by the revival
of this imposition. They suggested, that the
land-tax was raised at a very small expence, and
subject to no fraud, whereas that upon salt would
employ a great number of additional officers in
the revenue, wholly depending upon the mini-
stry, whose influence in elections they would
proportionably increase. They even hinted,
that this consideration was one powerful motive
for proposing the revival of an odious tax which
was in effect an excise, and would be deemed a

step towards a general excise upon all sorts of provisions. Finally, they demonstrated that the salt-tax introduced numberless frauds and perjuries in different articles of traffic. Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to obviate all these objections in a long speech, which was minutely answered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney. Nevertheless, the question being put, the minister's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill passed, divers motions were made, and additional clauses proposed by the members in the opposition. New debates were raised on every new objection, and the courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

The pension bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the house of lords. A bill for the encouragement of the sugar-colonies passed through the lower house with great difficulty; but was lost among the peers: another for the better securing the freedom of parliaments, by farther qualifying members to sit in the house of commons, was read the third time, and thrown out upon the question. A committee had been appointed to enquire into a sale of the estate which had belonged to the late earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the sale had been fraudulent: a bill was prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, esquire, and serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the

A. C. 1751. forfeited estates, were declared guilty of a notorious breach of trust, and expelled the house, of which they were members: George Robinson, esquire, underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the charitable corporation, as he and Thompson had neglected to surrender themselves according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose. During this session, five members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonour. All the supplies were granted, and, among other articles, the sum of two and twenty thousand six hundred ninety-four pounds seven shillings and six-pence, for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch; but, this was not obtained without a violent dispute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his majesty's displeasure. The king, on the first day of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, esquire, out of the list of privy-counsellors: his majesty farther ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace. The several lords-lieutenants from whom he had received deputations, were commanded to revoke them; and

Mr. Pulteney struck out of the list of privy-counsellors.

and the lord chancellor and secretaries of state A. C. 1737. were directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

Nor did the house of peers tamely and unanimously submit to the measures of the ministry. The pension-bill being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered. A debate arose about the number of standing forces: and the earl of Chesterfield argued for the court-motion. The earl of Oxford moved, that they might be reduced to twelve thousand effective men. The earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The marquis of Tweeddale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public: he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand men on any emergency. The duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries. Then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion;

A. C. 1732.

and after all acknowledged, that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered and refuted in an excellent speech by the lord Carteret; nevertheless, victory declared for the minister. The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking fund, and passed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king on the first day of June gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared; and closed the session, after having informed both houses that the states-general had acceded to the treaty of Vienna: that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

The king
sets out for
Hanover.

Remarkable
instance of
suicide.

The most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of suicide; an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural causes operating on the human body, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder,
and

and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the king's-bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example, in making away with herself, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair was in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber at about a yard's distance from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers inclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who should carry the inclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed. In one of these the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands; and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and their offspring. This letter was altogether surprizing for the calm resolution, the good humour, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils, that through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They justified the murder of their child, by saying, it was less cruelty to take her with them, than to

A. C. 1732. leave her friendless in the world, exposed to ignorance and misery. They professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures : they therefore resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions ; submitting themselves to those ways which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death. Those unfortunate suicides had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general and governor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families to plant that colony. The king of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet sailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the count de Montemar, and arrived on the coast of Barbary in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a considerable body of troops was landed without much opposition. Next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The bey or governor of Oran, immediately retired with his garrison, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thousand seven hundred

A. C. 1732.

dred and eight. The strong fort of Mazalquivir was likewise surrendered to the victors at the first summons; so that this expedition answered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadæus, the abdicated king of Sardinia, having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues, in order to reascend the throne, his son the reigning king, ordered his person to be seized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong escorte. His wife, the marchioness de Spigno, was conducted to Ceva. The old king's confessor, his physician, and eight and forty persons of distinction, were imprisoned. The citadel of Turin was secured with a strong garrison; and new instructions were given to the governor and senate of Chamberri. The dispute which had long subsisted between the king of Prussia and the young prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by king William III. as head of the house of Orange, was at last accommodated by a formal treaty signed at Berlin and Dieren. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which were said to have consumed the piles and timber-work that supported their dykes. They prayed and fasted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length, they were delivered from their fears

Affairs of
the con-
tinent.

A. C. 1732.

by a hard frost, which effectually destroyed those dangerous animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor.

The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual revolution of debates in parliament. Debates, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. When the session was opened on the sixteenth day of January, the king declared, that the situation of affairs both at home and abroad, rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two houses any other reasons for calling them together, but the ordinary dispatch of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of parliament. The motion made in the house of commons for an address of thanks, implied, that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed, that the nation had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs: that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that the British merchants had received no redress for the depredations committed by the
the

Meeting of
the parlia-
ment.

the Spaniards: that the commerce of England daily decreased: that no sort of trade throve but the traffic of Change-alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised: and that every session of parliament opened a new scene of villainy and imposition. A C. 1732.

The pension-bill was once more revived, and lost again in the house of peers. All the reasons formerly advanced against a standing army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number insisted upon with such warmth, that the ministerial party were obliged to have recourse to the old phantom of the pretender. Sir Archer Croft said, a continuation of the same number of forces was the more necessary, because, to his knowledge, popery was increasing very fast in the country; for, in one parish which he knew, there were seven popish priests: and, that the danger from the pretender was the more to be feared, because they did not know but he was then breeding his son a protestant. Sir Robert Walpole observed, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wished for, and desired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom: that no reduction had ever been made but what gave fresh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and, he did not doubt, but that if they should resolve to reduce any part of the army, there should be post-horses employed that very night to carry the good news beyond sea to the pretender.

A. C. 1732.

Address to
the king
touching the
Spanish de-
predations.

pretender. His brother Horatio added, that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his majesty's government, and would be necessary as long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne. The futility, the self-contradiction, and the ridiculous absurdity of these suggestions, were properly exposed; nevertheless, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawson having made a motion for an address to the king, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants; it was after a violent debate approved, and the address presented. The king, in answer to this remonstrance, gave them to understand, that the meeting of the commissaries of the two crowns had been so long delayed by unforeseen accidents, that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February; and, that as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed, that the term of three years stipulated for finishing the commission, should be computed from their first meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the house of commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the sugar colonies in the West-Indies; but, as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have put a stop to all commerce between the French islands and the
British

British settlements in North-America, it met with a very warm opposition from those who had the prosperity of those northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patronized and supported by the court interest, surmounted all objections; and afterwards passed into a law. While the commons deliberated upon the supply, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a sacred deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt; and they might have demonstrated the egregious folly of a measure, by which the public, for a little temporary ease, lost the advantage of the accumulating interest which would have arisen from the sinking fund if properly managed and reserved. All objections vanished before the powers of ministerial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interposition actually defeated a scheme which had been adopted by the minister; and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

The house having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco

A. C. 1732. bacco and wines, all the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members; the commissioners of the customs and excise were ordered to attend the house, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal, in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested. In a word, there had been a call of the house on the preceding day. The session was frequent and full; and both sides appeared ready and eager for the contest, when Sir Robert Walpole broached his design. He took notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his plan before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public; and, that these had been strenuously assisted and supported by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great-Britain to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants, were now become

The excise
scheme pro-
posed by Sir
Robert
Walpole.

come their masters; upon the injury done to the fair trader, and the loss sustained by the public with respect to the revenue. He asserted, that the scheme he was about to propose would remove all these inconveniencies, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add two or three hundred thousand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealer in those commodities: he recited the several acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco: he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise: he endeavoured to obviate some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of excise to those of the customs, that the farther subsidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco, should be still levied at the custom-house, and payable to his majesty's civil-list, as heretofore: that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of the excise: that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer have another: and, that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by exportation or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the custom-house,

discharged

A. C. 1732. discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been payed at its first importation; and then exported without further trouble: that the portion destined for home-consumption should, in presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of four pence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges to be named by his majesty, and in the country, by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

Such was the substance of the famous excise scheme, in favour of which Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and subsidies on tobacco, should from and after the twenty-fourth day of June cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question. Sir
Robert

Opposition
to the
scheme.



MR. PELHAM.

Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the opposition. Sir John Barnard, another representative of London, distinguished himself in the same cause. He was supported by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The scheme was espoused by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed lord chief-justice of the king's-bench, and ennobled in the course of the ensuing year. Sir Joseph Jekyll approved of the project, which was likewise strenuously defended by lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which last excelled all his contemporaries of the ministry in talents and address. Those who argued against the scheme, accused the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations. With respect to the supposed hardships under which the planters were said to labour, they affirmed, that no planter had ever dreamed of complaining, until instigated by letters and applications from London: that this scheme, far from relieving the planters, would expose the factors to such grievous oppression, that they would not be able to continue the trade, consequently the planters would be intirely ruined; and after all, it would not prevent those frauds against which it was said to be provided: that from the examination of the commissioners of the customs, it appeared that those frauds did not exceed forty thousand

A. C. 1732.

pounds per annum, and might in a great measure be abolished by a due execution of the laws in being; consequently this scheme was unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a grievous oppression. They suggested that it would produce an additional swarm of excise-officers and warehouse-keepers, appointed and payed by the treasury, so as to multiply the dependents on the crown, and enable it still farther to influence the freedom of elections: that the traders would become slaves to excise-men and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by those officers: that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay: and, that should a law be enacted in consequence of this motion, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise-laws into every branch of the revenue; in which case the liberty of Great-Britain would be no more. In the course of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches to the house. He said, it would be

an

A. C. 1732.

an easy task for a designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them : that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants ; but, he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars : and those who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by Sir John Barnard, who observed, that merchants of character had a right to come down to the court of requests, and lobby of the house of commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce : that when he came into the house, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm dispute the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices. Several resolutions were founded on the proposal ; and to these the house agreed, though not without another violent contest. The resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London ; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition

A. C. 1733.

A. C. 1733.

but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against the excise-bill. The populace still crowded around Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the house of commons. They even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on this occasion; and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He therefore thought proper to drop the design, by moving, that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the twelfth day of June. Then complaint being made of the insolence of the populace, who had maltreated several members, divers resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds and their abettors; and these resolves were communicated to the lord-mayor of London, the sheriff of Middlesex, and the high bailiff of Westminster. Some individuals were apprehended in the court of requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigie by the populace. After the miscarriage of the excise-scheme, the house unanimously resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs; and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen by ballot for this purpose.

The

A. C. 1733.

The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the house of lords, who made some amendments, in consequence of which it was laid aside; and, by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of those who had suffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone some alterations, it passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent. The king, by a message to parliament, had signified his intention to give the princess-royal in marriage to the prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter, as should be suitable to the occasion. The commons immediately resolved, that out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, his majesty should be empowered to apply fourscore thousand pounds as a marriage-dower for his daughter; and a clause for this purpose was inserted in the bill, for enabling his majesty to apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year.

*Bill for a
dower to
the princess
royal.*

The opposition in the house of lords was still more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the pension-bill, and the number of land-forces, on a motion made by lord Bathurst, for an account of the produce

of the forfeited estates, which had belonged to the directors of the South-sea company. The trustees for these estates had charged themselves with a great sum of money; and the lords in the opposition thought they had a right to know how it had been disposed. The ministry had reasons to stifle this inquiry; and therefore opposed it with all their vigour. Nevertheless, the motion was carried, after a warm dispute, and the directors of the South-sea company were ordered to lay the account before the house. From this it appeared, that the large sums of money arising from the forfeited estates, had been distributed among the proprietors by way of dividend, even before recourse was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied: lord Bathurst therefore moved for a resolution of the house, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpose, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors of that stock. The duke of Newcastle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confused and almost unintelligible, the present directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the house a further and more distinct account of the manner in which the money had been disposed. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which the house divided, and of fifty-seven



PHILIP Earl of *CHESTERFIELD*.

seven peers who voted for the delay, forty-six were such as enjoyed preferment in the church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length lord Bathurst waved his motion for that time: then the house ordered, that the present and former directors of the South-sea company, together with the late inspectors of their accounts, should attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated, and gave so little satisfaction, that lord Bathurst moved for a committee of inquiry; but the question being put, was carried in the negative: yet a very strong protest was entered by the lords in the opposition. The next subject of altercation was the bill for misapplying part of the produce of the sinking-fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation, by the earl of Strafford, the lords Bathurst and Carteret, and the earl of Chesterfield, who had by this time resigned his staff of lord-steward of the household, and renounced all connection with the ministry. Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, importing, that, in the opinion of the house, the sinking-fund ought for the future to be applied, in time of peace and public tranquillity, to the redemption of those taxes which were most prejudicial to the trade, most burdensome on the manufacture, and most oppressive on the poor of the nation. This motion was over-ruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh

A. C. 1733.

day of June, the king gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavours that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepresentations.

Double
election of
a king of
Poland.

Europe was now reinvolved in fresh troubles, by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Augustus died at Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The elector of Saxony son to the late king, and Stanislaus whose daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themselves candidates for the Polish throne. The emperor, the czarina, and the king of Prussia, espoused the interests of the Saxon; the king of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law. The foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the electors; and the marquis de Monti, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully, that he soon gained over the primate, and a majority of the catholic dietines, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French king no sooner understood that a body of the emperor's forces was encamped in Silesia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and take measures for entering Germany, in case the Imperialists should march into Poland. A French fleet set sail for
Dantzick,

Dantzick, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of election approached, the Imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers, delivered in their several declarations, by way of protests against the contingent election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, disqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks and other infidels. The Russian general Laszi entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men: the diet of the election was opened with the usual ceremony on the twenty-fifth day of August: prince Viesazowiski chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula, with three thousand men, including some of the nobility who adhered to that party. Nevertheless, the primate proceeded to the election: Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamation. The opposite party soon increased to ten thousand men; protested against the election, and joined the Russian army, which advanced by speedy marches. King Stanislaus finding himself unable to cope with such adversaries, retired with the primate and French ambassador to Dantzick, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warsaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was surrendered upon terms: then the soldiers and inhabitants plundered the houses belonging to the grandees who

A. C. 1733. had declared for Augustus, as well as the hotel of the Russian minister. In the mean time, the Poles, who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a kolo at Grocow, where the elector of Saxony was chosen and proclaimed by the bishop of Cracow, king of Poland, under the name of Augustus III. on the sixth day of October. They afterwards passed the river, and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

The kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia join against the emperor.

During these transactions, the French king concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which these powers agreed to declare war against the emperor. Manifestos were published reciprocally by all the contracting powers. The duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of Fort Kehl, which in a few days was surrendered on capitulation: then he repassed the river, and returned to Versailles. The king of Sardinia having declared war against the emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by marechal de Villars, and drove the Imperialists out of the Milanese. His Imperial majesty dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to compromise all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of Great-Britain;

Britain; and Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, proposed an accommodation. Philip expressed his acknowledgments to the king of England; declaring, however, that the emperor's advances were too late; and that his own resolutions were already taken. Nevertheless, he sent orders to the count de Montijo, his ambassador at London, to communicate to his Britannic majesty the motives which had induced him to take these resolutions. In the mean time, he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the Imperial fortress of Aula, the garrison of which was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The republic of Venice declared she would take no share in the disputes of Italy; the states-general signed a neutrality with the French king, for the Austrian Netherlands, without consulting the emperor or the king of Great-Britain; and the English councils seemed to be altogether pacific.

In November, the prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to espouse the princess-royal; but the marriage was postponed upon account of his being taken ill; and he repaired to Bath in Somersetshire, to drink the waters for the recovery of his strength. Henrietta the young dutchess of Marlborough dying about this time, the title devolved to his sister's son the earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning the office of chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot solicitor-general, together

The prince of Orange arrives in England.

A. C. 1733.

ther with the title of a baron ; a promotion that reflected honour upon those by whom it was advised. He possessed the spirit of a Roman senator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the parliament in January, the king told them, in his speech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful alliance. He said he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers that were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the states-general of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe. In the mean time, he expressed his hope that they would make such provision as should secure his kingdom, rights, and possessions, from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. He said, that whatever part it might in the end be most reasonable for him to act, it would in all views be necessary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdoms in a posture of defence. The motion

tion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both houses, which, it must be owned, appears to have proceeded from a spirit of cavilling, rather than from any reasonable cause of objection.

The house of commons resolved to address his majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Rushout moved for another, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville should be submitted to the inspection of the commons; but, after a hard struggle it was over-ruled. The next motion was made by Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and wrangled with great perseverance. He proposed, that the house should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland, some years before the death of king Augustus, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being opposed by all the court-members, a contest ensued, in the course of which Mr. Pulteney compared the ministry to an emperic, and the constitution of England to his patient. This pretender in physic (said he) being consulted, tells the distempered person, there were but two or three ways of treating his disease; and he was afraid that none of them would succeed. A vomit might throw him into convulsions that would occasion immediate death;

A. C. 1733.
Altercations
in the house
of com-
mons.

A. C. 1753. death; a purge might bring on a diarrhoea that would carry him off in a short time; and he had been already bled so much, and so often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient shocked at this declaration, replies, “ Sir, you
 “ have always pretended to be a regular doctor,
 “ but I now find you are an arrant quack. I
 “ had an excellent constitution when I first fell
 “ into your hands, but you have quite destroy-
 “ ed it; and now I find I have no other chance
 “ for saving my life, but by calling for the help
 “ of some regular physician.” In the debate, the members on both sides seemed to wander from the question, and indulge themselves with ludicrous personalities. Mr. H. Walpole took occasion to say, that the opposition treated the ministry as he himself was treated by some of his acquaintance, with respect to his dress. “ If I
 “ am in plain cloaths (said he) then they call me
 “ a slovenly dirty fellow; and if by chance I
 “ wear a laced suit, they cry, What, shall such
 “ an aukward fellow wear fine cloaths?” He continued to sport in this kind of idle buffoonery. He compared the present administration to a ship at sea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed port, the word was “ Steady; steady!” but when the wind began to shift and change, the word was necessarily altered to “ Thus, thus, and no near.” The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of several other proposals made by

A. C. 1733.

the members in the opposition. Sir John Barnard presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise laws, and imploring relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city-members, explained the grievous hardships which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole house. They were opposed by Mr. Winnington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partisans of the ministry; and these skirmishes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth, was wielded against that odious, arbitrary, and oppressive method of collecting the public revenue. Nevertheless, the motion in favour of the sufferers was rejected.

When the commons deliberated upon the supply, Mr. Andrews, deputy-paymaster of the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred men to the number of land-forces which had been continued since the preceding year. The members in the opposition disputed this small augmentation with too much heat and eagerness. It must be acknowledged, they were by this time irritated into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether

A. C. 1733. altogether blameable for acting on this maxim, if their sole aim was to remove from the confidence and counsels of their sovereign, a man whose conduct they thought prejudicial to the interest and liberties of their country. They could not, however, prevent the augmentation proposed: but they resolved, if they could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration. It was in consequence of their dismissal that lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commission-officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either house of parliament. Such an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles; but at this juncture could not fail to miscarry: yet it was sustained with great vigour and address. When the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the king, desiring to know who advised his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their respective regiments.

Debate about removing the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their respective regiments.

He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham: but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was carried in the negative. The

next

next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons. It was read a first and second time; but, when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful opposition, and produced a warm debate that issued in a question which, like the former, passed in the negative. A clergyman having insinuated in conversation, that Sir William Milner, baronet, member for York, received a pension from the ministry, the house took cognizance of this report: the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped such a hint from hearsay. The accused member protested, upon his honour, that he never did, or ever would receive, place, pension, gratuity, or reward, from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accusation was voted false and scandalous, and the accuser taken into custody; but in a few days he was discharged upon his humble petition, and begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon salt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill passed against stock-jobbing.

But the subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who proposed that a bill should be brought in for repealing the septennial act,

Motion for
the repeal
of the sep-
tennial act.

A. C. 1733.

and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The arguments for and against septennial parliaments have already been stated. The ministry now insisted upon the increase of papists and Jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government: they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least incroachment had been made on the liberties of the people, since the septennial act took place; and they defied the most ingenious malice to prove that his present majesty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hynde Cotton affirmed, that in many parts of England the papists had already begun to use all their influence in favour of those candidates who were recommended by the ministers as members in the ensuing parliament. With respect to his majesty's conduct, he said he would not answer one word: but as to the grievances introduced since the law was enacted for septennial parliaments, he thought himself more at liberty to declare his sentiments. He asserted, that the septennial law itself was an encroachment on the rights of the people: a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial. He observed, that the laws of treason with respect to trials were altered since that period: that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes alledged against him were said to be committed; but by

by an act of septennial parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the ministry, could find a jury proper for their purpose; where the prisoner could not bring any witnesses in his justification, without an expence which perhaps his circumstances would not bear. He asked if the riot act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people? An act by which a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who perhaps subsists by his being in the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation. “ Was
 “ not the fatal South-sea scheme (said he) esta-
 “ blished by the act of a septennial parliament?
 “ And can any man ask, whether that law was
 “ attended with any inconvenience? To the
 “ glorious catalogue I might have added the
 “ late excise-bill, if it had passed into a law;
 “ but, thank heaven, the septennial parliament
 “ was near expiring before that famous mea-
 “ sure was introduced.”

Sir William Wyndham concluded an excel-
 lent speech, that spoke him the unrivalled ora-
 tor, the uncorrupted Briton, and the unshaken
 patriot, in words to this effect. “ Let us sup-
 “ pose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue
 “ and honour, of no great family, and but a

Conclusion
 of a remark-
 able speech
 by Sir Wil-
 liam Wynd-
 ham.

A. C. 1733. “ mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of
 “ state, by the concurrence of many whimsical
 “ events ; afraid, or unwilling to trust any but
 “ creatures of his own making, lost to all sense
 “ of shame and reputation ; ignorant of his
 “ country’s true interest, pursuing no aim but
 “ that of aggrandizing himself and his favou-
 “ rites ; in foreign affairs, trusting none but
 “ those who from the nature of their education,
 “ cannot possibly be qualified for the service of
 “ their country, or give weight and credit to
 “ their negotiations. Let us suppose the true
 “ interest of the nation, by such means, neglect-
 “ ed or misunderstood, her honour tarnished,
 “ her importance lost, her trade insulted, her
 “ merchants plundered, and her sailors mur-
 “ dered ; and all these circumstances overlook-
 “ ed, lest his administration should be endan-
 “ gered. Suppose him next possessed of im-
 “ mense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with
 “ a parliament chiefly composed of members
 “ whose seats are purchased, and whose votes
 “ are bought at the expence of the public trea-
 “ sure. In such a parliament, suppose all at-
 “ tempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to
 “ relieve the nation from the distress which has
 “ been intailed upon it by his administration.
 “ Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of
 “ his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay,
 “ or engages in his particular interest, by dis-
 “ tributing among them those posts and places
 “ which

“ which ought never to be bestowed upon any
 “ but for the good of the public. Let him
 “ plume himself upon his scandalous victory,
 “ because he has obtained a parliament like a
 “ packed jury ready to acquit him at all adven-
 “ tures. Let us suppose him domineering with
 “ insolence over all the men of antient families,
 “ over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune,
 “ in the nation : as he has no virtue of his own,
 “ ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to
 “ destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a mi-
 “ nister, and such a parliament, let us suppose
 “ a case which I hope will never happen : a
 “ prince upon the throne uninformed, ignorant,
 “ and unacquainted with the inclinations and
 “ true interest of his people, weak, capricious,
 “ transported with unbounded ambition, and
 “ possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such
 “ a case will never occur ; but, as it possibly
 “ may, could any greater curse happen to a na-
 “ tion, than such a prince on the throne, ad-
 “ vised, and solely advised, by such a minister,
 “ and that minister supported by such a parlia-
 “ ment. The nature of mankind cannot be al-
 “ tered by human laws, the existence of such a
 “ prince or such a minister we cannot prevent
 “ by act of parliament ; but the existence of
 “ such a parliament I think we may prevent ; as
 “ it is much more likely to exist, and may do
 “ more mischief while the septennial law remains
 “ in force, than if it were repealed : therefore

A. C. 1733. "I am heartily for its being repealed." Notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous, the most pathetic remonstrances in favour of the motion, the question was put, and it was suppressed by meer dint of number.

A. C. 1734. The triumph of the ministry was still more complete in the success of a message delivered from the crown, in the latter end of the session, when a great many members of the other party had retired to their respective habitations in the country. Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commission to the house, importing, that his majesty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occasion should require such an augmentation, between the dissolution of this parliament and the election of another. Such an important point, that was said to strike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but, on the contrary, contested with uncommon ardour. The motion for taking the message into consideration was carried in the affirmative; and an address presented to the king, signifying their compliance with his desire. In consequence of a subsequent message, they prepared and passed a bill enabling his majesty to settle an annuity of five thousand pounds for life on the princess-royal, as a mark of his paternal favour and affection.

Message from the king for powers to augment the forces.

Opposition in the house of peers.

The opposition in the house of peers kept pace with that in the house of commons, and was supported with equal abilities, under the auspices of the lords Bathurst and Carteret, the earls
of

of Chesterfield and Abingdon. The duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the lower house; and it met with the same fate, after a warm dispute. Then the lord Carteret moved for an address to the king, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the house who advised his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and the lord viscount Cobham from their respective regiments; and what crimes were laid to their charge. This proposal was likewise rejected, at the end of a debate in which the duke of Argyle observed, that two lords had been removed, but only one soldier had lost his commission. Such a great majority of the Scottish representatives had always voted for the ministry since the accession of the late king; and so many of these enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the crown, that several attempts were made by the lords in the opposition, to prevent for the future the ministerial influence from extending itself to the elections of North-Britain. Accordingly, two motions for this purpose were made by the earl of Marchmont, and duke of Bedford; and sustained by the earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, the lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret. They were opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the earl of Cholmondeley, earl Powlet, lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the house of peers, and lord Talbot. The question being

A. C. 1734.

put in both, they were of course defeated ; and the earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the most signal services to the royal family, and exhausted his fortune in supporting the interests and dignity of the crown. Strenuous protests were entered against the decision of the majority, concerning the king's message demanding a power to augment his forces during the recess of parliament ; as also against a bill for enabling his majesty to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking fund, for the service of the current year. The business of the session being dispatched, the king repaired to the house of lords on the sixteenth day of April, and having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, took leave of this parliament, with the warmest acknowledgment of their zeal, duty, and affection. It was at first prorogued, then dissolved, and another convoked by the same proclamation. On the fourteenth day of March, the nuptials of the prince of Orange and the princess royal were solemnized with great magnificence ; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

Parliament dissolved.

The Russians besiege Dantzick.

The powers at war upon the continent acted with surprising vigour. The Russian and Saxon army invested the city of Dantzick, in hope of securing the person of king Stanislaus. The town was strong, the garrison numerous ; and, animated

animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obstinate defence. For some time they were supplied by sea with recruits, arms, and ammunition. On the eleventh day of May, a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was landed from two French ships of war and some transports, under Fort Wechsefmunde, which was so much in want of provisions, that they were not admitted: they therefore re-embarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen. But afterwards a larger number were landed in the same place, and attacked the Russian intrenchments, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Russian fleet arrived under the command of admiral Gordon; and now the siege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechsefmunde was surrendered: the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Russian ships, to be conveyed to some port in the Baltic. Stanislaus escaped in the disguise of a peasant to Marienwarder, in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzick submitted to the dominion of Augustus III. king of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expence of the war to the Russian general count de Munich, who had assumed the command after the siege was begun. The Polish lords at Dantzick signed an act of submission to king Augustus, who, on the tenth day of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva. There a counsel was held in his pre-

A.C. 1734.

fence. The recusant noblemen took the oath which he proposed. Then a general amnesty was proclaimed; and the king set out on his return to Dresden.

Philipf-
burgh taken
by the
French.

On the Rhine the French arms bore down all resistance. The count de Belleisle besieged and took Traerbach. The duke of Berwick, at the head of sixty thousand men, invested Philipfburgh, while prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defensive, in the strong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the empire. On the twelfth day of June, the duke of Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved upon the marquis d'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene being joined by the different reinforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines; but found them so strong that he would not hazard an attack; and such precautions taken, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the besieged. At length general Watgenau the governor capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honourable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg; and the campaign ended about the beginning of October. The Imperial arms were not more successful in Italy. The infant Don Carlos had received so many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he resolved to take possession of that kingdom.

He began his march in Feb. at the head of the Spanish forces; published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression under which it groaned, and entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the people; while the count de Viscompti the German viceroy, finding himself unable to cope with the invaders thought proper to retire, after having thrown succours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to assemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The count de Montemar marched with a body of forces against this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the Imperialists were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners. Don Carlos being proclaimed and acknowledged king of Naples, created the count de Montemar duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garrisoned with Imperial troops, and resolved to subdue the island of Sicily. About twenty thousand troops being destined for this expedition, were landed in the road of Solanto in August, under the command of the new duke of Bitonto, who being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don Carlos as their sovereign, and took arms in support of his government; so that the Imperial troops were driven before

A. C. 1734. before them, and the Spaniards possessed the whole kingdom, except Messina, Syracuse, and Trepani, when the infant determined to visit the island in person.

While don Carlos was thus employed in the conquest of Naples and Sicily, the Imperialists were hard pressed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the king of Sardinia and the old marechal duke de Villars. In the month of January they undertook the siege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May, count Merci, who commanded them, passed the Po in the face of the allies, notwithstanding all the skill of Villars, obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the castle of Colorno. The old French general being taken ill, quitted the army and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the king of Sardinia repairing to the same place, the command of the allied forces devolved upon the marechal de Coigny. The confederates were posted at Sanguina, and the Imperialists at Sorbola, when the count de Merci made a motion to San Prospero, as if he intended either to attack the enemy, or take possession of Parma. The marechal de Coigny forthwith made a disposition for an engagement; and, on the twenty-ninth day of June, the Imperial general having passed the Parma, began the attack

A. C. 1734.

attack with great impetuosity. He charged in person at the head of his troops, and was killed soon after the battle began. Nevertheless, the prince of Wirtemberg assuming the command, both armies fought with great obstinacy, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the Imperialists retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving five thousand men dead on the field of battle, and among these many officers of distinction. The loss of the allies was very considerable, and they reaped no solid fruits from their victory.

The Imperial forces retreated to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received some reinforcements; then general count Konigsegg arriving in the camp, took upon himself the command of the army. His first step was to take post at Quingentolo, by which motion he secured Mirandola, that was threatened with a siege. On the fifteenth of February, he forded the river Secchia, and surpris'd the quarters of marechal de Broglio, who escap'd in his shirt with great difficulty. The French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above two thousand were taken prisoners. They posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the nineteenth day of the month, they were vigorously attacked by the Imperialists, and a general engagement ensued. Konigsegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, how-

ever

The Imperialists are again worsted at Guastalla.

A. C. 1734. ever he could make no impression. The infantry on both sides fought with uncommon ardour for six hours, and the field was covered with carnage. At length the Imperial general retreated to Lazara, after having lost above five thousand men, including the prince of Wirtemberg, the generals Vaipareze and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction: nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repassed the Po and took post on the banks of the Oglio. The allies crossed the same river, and the marquis de Maillebois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola; but the Imperialists marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprize: then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succours from don Carlos. So little respect did the French court pay to the British nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was published in Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds and sent to the galleys. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great-Britain, who were surpris'd and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished

An edict in France compelling the British subjects to enlist in the French army.

perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris as ambassador from the king of Great-Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry, upon this unheard-of outrage, against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

While these transactions occurred on the continent, the king of Great-Britain augmented his land-forces; and warm contests were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing representatives for the new parliament. But in all these struggles the ministerial power predominated; and the new members appeared with the old complexion. The two houses assembled on the fourteenth day of January, and Mr. Onslow was re-elected as speaker. The leaders of both parties in all debates were the self-same persons who had conducted those of the former parliament; and the same measures were pursued in the same manner. The king, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave them to understand, that he had concerted with the states-general of the United Provinces, such measures as were thought most adviseable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe: that they had considered on one side,

the

Meeting of
the new
parliament.

A. C. 1734. the pressing applications made by the imperial court both in England and Holland, for obtaining succours against the powers at war with the house of Austria; and on the other side, the repeated professions made by the allies, of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles upon honourable and solid terms: that he and the states-general had concurred in a resolution to employ their joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation: that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a short time a plan would be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negotiation of peace. He told them he had used the power vested in him by the last parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark of great importance in the present conjuncture. He observed, that whilst many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great-Britain must be more or less affected with the consequences; and as the best concerted measures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared against all events. He therefore expressed his hope, that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace and universal tranquility, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be necessary and incumbent upon him to take. The address
of

of thanks produced a dispute as usual, which ended with an acquiescence in the motion. The house, in a grand committee on the supply, resolved, That thirty thousand men should be employed for the service of the ensuing year: and, That the land-forces should be augmented to the number of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four effective men. But these resolutions were not taken without dispute and division. The minister's opponents not only produced all the reasons which had been formerly advanced against a standing army, but they opposed this augmentation with extraordinary ardour, as a huge stride towards the establishment of arbitrary power. They related those fears of external broils on which the ministry pretended to ground the necessity of such an augmentation; and they exposed the weak conduct of the administration, in having contributed to destroy the balance of power, by assisting Spain against the emperor in Italy, so as to aggrandize the house of Bourbon.

Sir William Wyndham moved, that the estimate of the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee. He expressed his surprize, that notwithstanding the vast sums which had been yearly raised, and the long continuance of the peace, the people had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war. He said, he could not comprehend how it was possible to find pretences

A. C. 1734.

for exposing the nation to such exorbitant charges; and he took notice of some unconscionable articles in the accounts of the navy-debt that lay upon the table. He was seconded by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney; but after some debate the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under consideration in a grand committee, Mr. H. Walpole moved, that the sum of fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds should be granted to his majesty as a subsidy to the Dane, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the opposition exclaimed against the subsidy as unnecessary and unreasonable. They observed, that as the English had no particular interest of their own for inducing them to engage in the present war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be exposed by that event; and as all the powers of Europe were as much, if not more interested than the English in the preservation of that balance, should it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable consideration from Great-Britain; but, should the English be always the first to take the alarm upon any rupture, and offer bribes and pensions to all the princes in Europe, the whole charge of preserving that balance would fall

Debate on
a subsidy to
Denmark.

fall upon Great-Britain: every state would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation: even the Dutch might at last refuse to assist in trimming this balance, unless Britain should submit to make the grand pensionary of Holland a pensionary of England, and take a number of their forces into English pay. The debate having had its free course, the question was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The ministry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons; but, at the second reading it was rejected on a division, after a learned debate, in which it appeared, that the opposition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the person of lord Polwarth, son to the earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who spoke with all the fluency and fervour of elocution.

The minority in the house of lords were not less vigilant and resolute in detecting and opposing every measure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. But the most remarkable object that employed their attention during this session was a very extraordinary petition, subscribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensbery, and Montrose, the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing that undue influence had been used in carrying on the election of the sixteen peers for Scot-

Petition of some Scottish noblemen to the house of peers.

A. C. 1734.

land. The duke of Bedford, who delivered their petition to the house, proposed a day for taking it into consideration; and to this they agreed. It was afterwards moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a short day, before which the petitioners should be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the last election of all the sixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them. This affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the house seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The partisans of the ministry would have willingly stifled the inquiry in the beginning; but, the petitioners were so strenuously supported in their claim to some notice, by the earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the lords Bathurst and Carteret, that they could not dismiss it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the house, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the lord chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing, that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the sixteen peers for Scotland; but, they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods, as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution; and might in future elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland; if

not

not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the house, the duke of Devonshire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the house in writing, instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. He was warmly opposed by the country party; and a long debate ensued, after which the question was carried in favour of the motion, and the order signified to the petitioners. Next day their answer was read to the house to this effect: That as they had no intention to state themselves accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordships upon their taking the proper examinations; nevertheless, they did humbly acquaint their lordships, that the petition was layed before them upon information that the list of the sixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the elections by persons in high trust under the crown: that this list was shewn to peers as a list approved by the crown: and was called the king's-list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they should conform to measures: that peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty of making any alteration:

A. C. 1734. that endeavours were used to engage peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums were given for this purpose: that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown, were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: and, that on the day of election a battalion of his majesty's troops was drawn up in the Abbey-court of Edinburgh, contrary to custom, and without any apparent cause but that of overawing the electors. This answer gave rise to another violent dispute; but the majority voted it unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the resolution was clogged with a vigorous protest.

A. C. 1735. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the earl of Abingdon moved, That although the petition was dismissed, an inquiry might be set on foot touching an affair of such consequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The earl of Hlay declaring his belief, that no such illegal methods had been practised, the other produced a pamphlet, intituled, The protests of a great number of noble lords, entered by them at the last election of peers for Scotland. Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, lord Bathurst exhibited an authentic copy of those protests, extracted from the journal of that election, signed by the

A. C. 1735.

two principal clerks, and witnessed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. These were accordingly read, and plainly demonstrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more scandalous, arrogant, and shamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of those who acted the part of understrappers to the ministry on this occasion. But all this demonstration, adorned and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a desert. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a protest was entered, and the whole affair consigned to oblivion. Divers other motions were made successively by the lords in the opposition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted success of the ministry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the struggle as often as an opportunity offered. They disputed the continuation of the salt-tax, and the bill for enabling the king to apply the sum of one million out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year, though success did not attend their endeavours. They supported with all their might a bill sent up from the commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottish parliament, for preventing wrongous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials. This was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas-corpus act; though it did not screen them from oppression. Yet the earl

Bill explaining an act of the Scottish parliament touching wrongous imprisonment.

A. C. 1735. of Hay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England in this respect; and the bill was thrown out on a division. The session was closed on the fifteenth of May, when the king in his speech to both houses declared, that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the states-general had not produced the desired effect. He thanked the commons for the supplies they had granted with such cheerfulness and dispatch. He signified his intention to visit his German dominions; and told them he should constitute the queen regent of the realm in his absence. Immediately after the prorogation his majesty embarked for Holland in his way to Hanover.

Misunderstanding between the courts of Spain and Portugal.

By this time the good understanding between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon was destroyed by a remarkable incident. The Portuguese ambassador at Madrid, having allowed his domestics to rescue a criminal from the officers of justice, all the servants concerned in that rescue were dragged from his house to prison, by the Spanish king's order, with circumstances of rigour and disgrace. His Portuguese majesty being informed of this outrage, ordered reprisals to be made upon the servants of the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon. The two ministers withdrew abruptly to their respective courts. The two monarchs expressed their mutual resentment. The king of Spain assembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal; and his
Portu-

A. C. 1735.

Portuguese majesty had recourse to the assistance of King George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Alzaveda was dispatched to London with the character of envoy extraordinary; and succeeded in his commission according to his wish. In a little time after the king's departure from England, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead with a powerful squadron, in order to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards; and on the ninth day of June arrived at Lisbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr. Keene, the British envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his catholic majesty the resolution of his master to send a powerful squadron to Lisbon, with orders to guard that coast from insults, and secure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great-Britain were deeply interested. Don Joseph Patinho, minister of his catholic majesty, delivered a memorial to Mr. Keene, representing, that such an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandize in the flota. But, in all probability, it prevented a rupture between the two crowns, and disposed the king of Spain to listen to terms of accommodation.

Sir John
Norris sails
to Lisbon.

The powers in alliance against the house of Austria having rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the king of Great Britain and the states-general, Mr. Walpole ambassador at the Hague presented a memorial to their high

A. C. 1735.

high mightineffes, defiring they would without loss of time put themselves in a posture of defence, by an augmentation of their forces at sea and land, that they might take such vigorous steps, in concert with Great-Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But, before they would subject themselves to such expence, they resolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance against the emperor; and conferences were renewed with the ministers of those allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the interest of Stanislaus; for, though a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother the primate, after having sustained a long imprisonment, and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that prince his sovereign. In Italy the arms of the allies still continued to prosper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole island, almost without opposition; while the Imperialists were forced to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored succours of the czarina, who sent thirty thousand men to his assistance. This vigorous interposition, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the
court

court of Versailles to a pacification. A secret negotiation was begun between France and the house of Austria: and the preliminaries were signed without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In these articles it was stipulated, That France should restore all the conquests she had made in Germany: that the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the duke of Lorraine: that Lorraine should be allotted to king Stanislaus; and, after his death, be united to the crown of France: that the emperor should possess the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma: that the king of Sardinia should enjoy Vigevano and Novara: that Don Carlos should be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elba, with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany: and, that France should guaranty the pragmatic sanction.

A. C. 1735.

Preliminaries signed by the emperor and the king of France.

The king of Great-Britain returned from Hannover to England in the month of November: and on the fifteenth day of January opened the session of parliament. On this occasion he congratulated them on the near prospect of a general peace in Europe, in consequence of the preliminary articles to which the emperor and the king of France had agreed; and of which he had expressed his approbation, as they did not differ in any essential point from the plan of pacification which he and the states-general had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them that

he

Substance of the king's speech.

A. C. 1735.

he had already ordered a considerable reduction to be made in his forces both by sea and land; but, at the same time observed, it would be necessary to continue some extraordinary expence until a more perfect reconciliation should be established among the several powers of Europe. An address of thanks was unanimously voted, presented, and graciously received. After the house had received several petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members of parliament; it proceeded to consider of the supply, and Sir Charles Wager moving, that fifteen thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year, the proposal was approved without opposition. But, this was not the case with a motion made by Mr. Pulteney, "That the ordinary estimate of the navy should be referred to a select committee." The ministry discouraged all such prying measures: a debate was produced, the house divided, and the motion was rejected. Such was the fate of a motion for raising the supplies within the year, made by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Willimot, and other patriots, who demonstrated, that this was a speedy and practicable expedient for discharging the national debt, lowering the interest of money, reducing the price of labour, and encouraging a spirit of commerce.

The bill for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons was again revived.

The

The king was impowered to borrow six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable on the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year ; though this power was not easily granted ; and the house resolved to lay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on all spirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee appointed for that purpose, that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this resolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that fifty pounds should be yearly payed to his majesty for a licence to be annually taken out by every person who should vend, barter, or utter any such spirituous liquors. Mr. Walter Plumer, in a well concerted speech, moved for the repeal of some clauses in the test-act : these he represented as a species of persecution, in which protestant dissenters were confounded with the Roman catholics and enemies to the establishment. He was sustained by lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote ; but, Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen against the motion as dangerous to the established church ; and the question being put, it was carried in the negative. When Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the house, according to order, a bill founded on the resolutions they had taken against spirituous liquors, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them by his majesty's command, that as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill, in the duties charged upon all spirituous liquors, might in a great degree affect some part of

A. C. 1735.

A. C. 1736.

A bill for preventing the retail of spirituous liquors.

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A. C. 1736. the civil-list revenues, his majesty, for the sake of remedying so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties. The bill was read a second time, and consigned to a committee of the whole house; but that for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons, was thrown out at the second reading. Petitions against the bill touching the retail of spirituous liquors were presented by the traders to the British sugar colonies, by the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, representing the hardships to which they would be exposed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from molasses. In consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted, in favour of the composition known by the name of punch; and distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment. The sum of seventy thousand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil-list by this bill, which at length passed through the house, though not without reiterated disputes and warm altercation. Violent opposition was likewise made to a bill for the relief of the people called quakers, who offered a petition, representing, that though from motives of conscience they refused the payment of tythes, church-rates, oblations, and ecclesiastical dues, they were exposed to grievous sufferings by prosecution in
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the exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the ruin of them and their families. A bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed; then petitions were preferred against it by the clergy of Middlesex, and of many other parts of the kingdom. Counsel was heard in behalf of these petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which after long repeated debates surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the lords.

A. C. 1736.

Another for the relief of quakers in the article of tythes.

In the month of February the king had sent two members of the privy-council to the prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the princess of Saxegotha. The proposal being agreeable to the prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of April. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttleton and Mr. William Pitt, who seized this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the prince of Wales and his amiable consort. These two young members soon distinguished themselves in the house by their eloquence and superior talents. The attention of the house was afterwards converted to a bill for the prevention of smuggling; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament. Both

made

A. C. 1739. made their way, through the lower house, and were sent up to the lords for their concurrence. The number of land-forces voted for the service of the current year was reduced to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four effective men. The supplies were raised by the malt-tax and land-tax, at two shillings in the pound, additional duties on mum, cyder, and perry, stamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and by an act empowering his majesty to borrow six hundred thousand pounds of the sinking fund. In this session the parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits. The commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Against this measure petitions were presented by the two universities, the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations. In favour of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which passed thro' both houses, and obtained the royal assent. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for naturalizing her royal highness the princess of Wales; and another for building a bridge cross the Thames from the New-palace Yard in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surry. The points chiefly debated in the house of lords were the

address

Mortmain
act.

address of thanks for his majesty's speech, the mortmain bill, the quakers bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of smuggling, which did not pass without division and protest. On the twentieth day of May the king closed the session with a speech, in which he told both houses, that a farther convention touching the execution of the preliminaries had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and most christian king: and, that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle a general pacification. He expressed great concern at seeing such seeds of dissatisfaction sown among his people: he protested it was his desire, and should be his care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state as by law established: he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all protestants of the nation, as the great security of that happy establishment; and signified his intention to visit his German dominions. Accordingly the parliament was no sooner prorogued than he set out for Hanover, after having appointed the queen regent in his absence.

Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in a due execution of the laws. The most remarkable of these disturbances hap-

A. C. 1736.

Remarkable
riot at Edin-
burgh

pened at Edinburgh on the seventh day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard payed by that city, a man of a brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had at the execution of a smuggler been provoked by some insults from the populace, to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death: but the queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shewn to a criminal who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression; they were fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten of the clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town

guard : they broke open the prison-doors, dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence : it therefore became the object of a very severe inquiry.

A. C. 1736.

During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black-sea, and over-ran the greatest part of Crim Tartary. The czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers ; and when she complained of these disorders to the vizir, she received no satisfaction : besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces, in despite of the empress, and committed terrible havock in their route. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive, which he had many years before concluded with the czarina. Yet, before he declared himself, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the sultan, who was very well disposed to peace ; but, the czarina insisted upon her retaining Asoph, which her forces had reduced ; and this preliminary article being re-

Rupture between the czarina and the Ottoman Porte,

A. C. 1736. jected as dishonourable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The duke of Lorraine had espoused the emperor's eldest daughter, the archduchess Maria Theresa, and ceded Lorraine to France even before he succeeded to Tuscany. Don Carlos was crowned king of Sicily: Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Augustus was universally acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and accepted by the diet of the empire: the king of Spain sent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuscany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the house of Austria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the interests of the emperor on this occasion, did not live to see the happy fruits of his negotiation. He died at Vienna, in April, at the age of seventy three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and consummate politician. He was not long survived by count Staremberg, another Imperial general, who ranked next to the prince in military reputation. About the same time Great-Britain sustained a national loss in the death of lord chancellor Talbot, who, by his worth, probity, and acquired accomplishments, had dignified the great office to which he had been raised. He died universally lamented, in
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Death of
prince Eu-
g. n. e.



TALBOT Lord *CHANCELLOR.*

the month of February, at the age of fifty-two; and was succeeded on the bench by the lord Hardwicke. A. C. 1736.

The king being indisposed, in consequence of having been fatigued by a very tempestuous passage from Holland, the parliament was prorogued from the twenty-first day of January to the first of February, and then the session was opened by commission. The lord chancellor as one of the peers authorised by this commission, made a speech in his majesty's name to both houses. With respect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced: that, however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement. He said his majesty could not without surprize and concern, observe the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. That the consideration of the heighth to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should af-

The session of parliament opened by commission.

A. C. 1736. feſt private perſons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the commons had agreed to an addreſs, and heard counſel on ſome controverted elections, they proceeded to take the ſupply into conſideration. They voted ten thouſand men for the ſea-ſervice. They continued for the land-ſervice the ſame number they had maintained in times of tranquility, amounting to ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and four; but this meaſure was not adopted without oppoſition: the money was raiſed by the land and malt-taxes, and one million granted out of the ſinking fund.

Motion for
a ſettlement
on the
prince of
Wales.

The chief ſubject of contention that preſented itſelf in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to ſettle one hundred thouſand pounds a year upon the prince of Wales. He repreſented that ſuch proviſion was conformable to the practice of antient times; that what he propoſed had been enjoyed by his preſent majeſty in the life-time of his father: and, that a ſettlement of this nature was reaſonable and neceſſary, to aſcertain the independency of the apparent heir to the crown. The motion was vigorously oppoſed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's family-affairs; and as an effort to ſet his majeſty and the prince at variance. But a miſunderſtanding

A. C. 1736.

it seems had already happened in the royal family : for, the minister in the midst of his harangue told the house, by his majesty's command, that on the preceding day the king had sent a message to the prince by several noblemen of the first quality, importing, that his majesty had given order for settling a jointure upon the princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before the parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual : that, although his royal highness had not thought fit by any application to his majesty, to desire that his allowance of fifty thousand pounds might be rendered less precarious, the king, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful measures which his majesty was informed the prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his royal highness for his majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil-list revenues, over and above the prince's revenues arising from the dutchy of Cornwall, which his majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expence which did and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for the whole royal family : that the prince, by a verbal answer, desired their lordships to lay him with all humility at his majesty's feet : to assure him, that he did and ever should retain the utmost duty for his

A. C. 1736.

royal person : that he was very thankful for any instance of his majesty's goodness to him or to the princess, and particularly for his majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure upon her royal highness; but, that as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it : that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty ; adding, " Indeed, " my lords, it is in other hands, and I am sorry " for it ;" or words to that effect. He then endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance ; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

Warm debate on this subject.

These suggestions did not pass unanswered. Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales ; and, that in the case of Richard II. who upon the death of his father the black prince, was created prince of Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by the king himself. In answer to this assertion it was observed, that probably the king would not have been so forward in creating his grandson prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this step by his parliament ; for, Edward in his old age fell into a sort
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A. C. 1737.

of love-dotage, and gave himself entirely up to the management of his mistress Alice Pierce, and his second son the duke of Lancaster; a circumstance that raised a most reasonable jealousy in the black prince, at that time on his death-bed, who could not but be anxious about the safety and right of his only son, whom he found he was soon to leave a child in the hands of a dotting grandfather, and an ambitious aspiring uncle. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the prince's yearly expence, without allotting one shilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thousand pounds. They affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the dutchy of Cornwall, did not exceed fifty-two thousand pounds a year, though, by his majesty's own regulation, the expence of the prince's household amounted to sixty-three thousand. They proved, that the produce of the civil-list exceeded nine hundred thousand pounds, a sum above one hundred thousand pounds a year more than was enjoyed by his late majesty: that in the first year of the late king the whole expence of his household and civil government did not much exceed four hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year. They observed, that the parliament added one hundred and forty thousand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the

article

A. C. 1737. article of secret-service money; and allowed one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of the prince of Wales: that the article of secret-service money had prodigiously increased in the late reign: by an account which happened to be layed before the parliament, it appeared, that vast sums of money had been given for purposes which no body understood, and to persons whom no body knew. In the beginning of the following session several members resolved, that this extraordinary account should be taken into consideration; but the inquiry was warded off by the other party, who declared, that the parliament could not examine any account which had been presented to a former session. The debate was fierce and long; and ended in a division, by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the same nature was made by the lord Carteret in the house of peers, and gave rise to a very keen dispute, maintained by the same arguments, and issuing in the same termination.

The next remarkable contest was occasioned by a motion of Sir R. Walpole, who proposed, that the sum of one million should be granted to his majesty, towards redeeming the like sum of the increased capital of the South-sea company, commonly called South-sea annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this sum to the payment of the debt due to the bank, as part of that incumbrance was saddled with

with an interest of six per cent. whereas the interest payed for the other sums that constituted the public debt, did not exceed four per cent. Many plausible arguments were offered on both sides of the question ; and at length, the motion was carried in the affirmative. The house having resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-sea annuities ; and, that such of the said annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others. He said, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent. only, were sold at a premium in Change-alley : he was therefore persuaded, that all those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security, would gladly lend his money to the government at the same interest, should books of subscription be opened for that purpose, with an assurance that no part of the principal should be payed off for fourteen years. He expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest. From easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the interest upon all the South-sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith ;

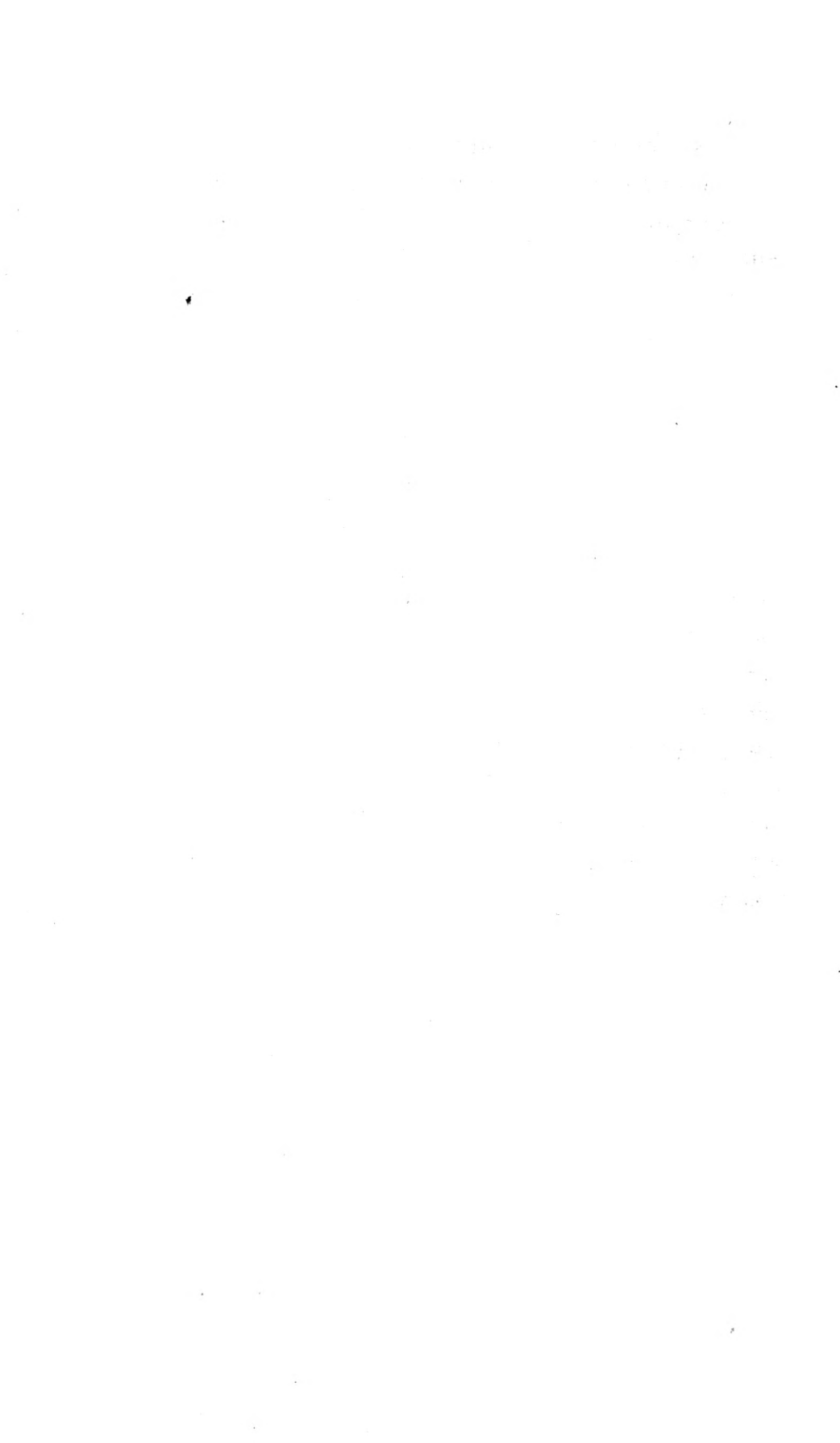
A. C. 1737.

Sir John Barnard's scheme for reducing the interest of the national debt.

A. C. 1737. faith : that then the produce of the sinking-fund would amount to fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies : this measure would bring every one of them so much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms ; in which case the sinking-fund would rise to one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum. Then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and other such impositions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers : the remaining part of the sinking-fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies till the term of fourteen years should be expired ; then the sinking-fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation intirely from all its incumbrances. This salutary scheme was violently opposed by alderman Heathcote and other partisans of the ministry ; yet all their objections were refuted : and, in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourse to artifice. Mr. Winnington moved, that all the public creditors, as well as the South-sea an-



S^r. JOHN BARNARD Bar.^t



nuitants, should be comprehended. Sir John Barnard demonstrated, that it might be easy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. sufficient for paying off such of the proprietors of four and twenty millions as were not willing to accept of that interest, but extremely difficult to borrow enough to satisfy the proprietors of four and forty millions, who might choose to have their principal rather than such an interest. Nevertheless, resolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original scheme; and a bill was immediately prepared. It produced many other debates, and was at last postponed by dint of ministerial influence. The same venerable patriot who projected this scheme, moved, that as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to three per cent. the house would take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor and the manufacturers. But this motion was rejected by the majority.







