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

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

**Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope of  
Dublin, 1777**

Section V.

[urn:nbn:de:hbz:466:1-52184](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:466:1-52184)

## S E C T I O N V.

THE commonwealth of the United Provinces had hitherto avoided to act as principals in the present dispute. They had shewn an equal reluctance to abandon the queen of Hungary, and to commence hostilities against the French king. Faithful to their great De Witt's maxims, they had enjoyed peace amidst the tumults of war; and, *considering the commotions of their neighbours as so many opportunities for them to enlarge their trade and increase their wealth, they seemed little inclined to drop the substance, in order to catch at a shadow* [1].

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This irresolute conduct had exposed them to some inconveniencies. Roused to action by the representations of their own as well as of English patriots [2], and awed into submissive tranquillity by the eloquence and menaces of French agents, they were forced to take some ambiguous steps, unsatisfactory to one of the parties, and displeasing to the other. They granted some subsidies to the late emperor's daughter, but those were given slowly, and with a sparing hand. They increased the number of their troops, but employed them chiefly to supply the deficiencies of the Austrians in their own barrier towns; and those of their corps

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which



1745. which had taken the field the year before, were cautiously kept from coming into action.

The earl of Chesterfield had been too well acquainted with the principles of Dutch politics during the course of his first embassy in Holland, to believe that so cautious a people could easily be induced to desert them. He knew that *to be safe was their first concern, and to be rich their second*. Indeed he was so far converted to their system, that he adopted it in great measure for his own country, and made no scruple openly to declare, that *except when the Dutch barrier is in danger, it can never be the interest of this nation to enter into a land war* [3].

This, indeed was now the case. The invasion of the Low Countries by the French struck terror into the different orders of the state. The Dutch mob, not unlike other mobs, and perhaps still less manageable, when excited by wild enthusiasts and artful demagogues, exclaimed that their rulers were lulled by French influence, or perhaps by French gold. The exhausted state of the public treasure, the ruinous condition of the fortifications, the emptiness of the magazines, the neglect of the military discipline, the inexperience of the officers, and the weakness of the administration, had reduced the republic to the state in which it was in the year 1672, when Lewis XIV. subdued four of the provinces; and, as the cause was the same, to wit, the want of a chief, similar consequences were justly apprehended, and the same remedy desired and pointed out.

This critical situation had long been foreseen by lord Chesterfield. He had warned his countrymen repeatedly not to persist in measures calculated to  
serve



serve a foreign interest. As the queen of Hungary had unexpectedly been restored to the best part of her hereditary possessions, he judged it inexpedient to contend for the rest. All further schemes for her aggrandisement were treated by him as chimerical and destructive. He thought *an equivalent for Silesia was to be looked upon as the most romantic of all the state Quixotisms of these Quixot times* [4], and wished to save his country *from the reproach of being the wind-mill-fighter of Europe* [5].

As our earl's ideas were so well known to the old ministers, the resolution of sending him over to Holland, in order to defeat prejudices so deeply rooted, must at the first view appear extremely absurd. But two ends were to be answered, from his undertaking so difficult a negotiation. The first was to represent his lordship's *acceptance of that employ as an argument that he had undergone a political regeneration, and that he was not only satisfied with his majesty's measures, but ready to further them to the utmost of his power* [6].

The second was to be enabled to convince their sovereign that what so popular a minister could not accomplish, was really impracticable, and by degrees to induce him to adopt true national measures from the impossibility of pursuing any other [7].

The new ambassador arrived on the 11th of January at the Hague; where he was to meet with the assistance of Mr. Trevor, the present lord Trevor, who was then his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary with the States General. As he was to stay there but a short time, he did not take a great number of attendants with him, nor any companions but his friends Mr. Mallet and Mr. Dayrolles, in whom he expected and found an agreeable society, as well as useful assistance.

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The credentials given to the earl, expressed his majesty's desire that the States might be induced to unite their forces and interests in the support of the common cause; and he was authorized to concert with their ministers and generals, as well as with those of the other allies, the proper measures to be pursued, in order to obtain as speedily as possible a good and solid peace, by carrying on the war with vigor.

The plan laid down in the ambassador's instructions was strictly followed by him; and, were the account he is said to have written of his embassy ever to see the light, it would appear how earnest he was to obtain from the Dutch what he believed they ought, and perhaps wished they would refuse. He pressed them *to come roundly into the war*, and stipulated with them the proportion of the subsidies and troops to be furnished by each side.

The Spanish ambassador, the marquis de St. Gil, but especially the abbe de la Ville, who succeeded the marquis de Fenelon as French minister at the Hague, did not fail to oppose lord Chesterfield in the course of his negotiation. The abbe was in every respect an antagonist worthy of him; and his lordship has given so lively an account of the manner in which he endeavoured to carry his point, notwithstanding his competitor's efforts, that I shall not scruple to insert it in a note. [8].

Philanthropy, however, and true policy, were stronger in the earl's breast than the desire of succeeding in his warlike negotiation. He held up the olive branch at the same time that his duty obliged him to spirit up the Dutch to gather laurels. He tried to induce the ministers of the contending powers to bring their respective courts to terms of accommodation,



commodation, if an honorable peace were proposed; and he seems afterwards to have done full justice to abbe de la Ville, in supposing that these were likewise his real sentiments [9].

Unfortunately several causes concurred in rendering their joint efforts ineffectual. The two parties which divided the republic were, from different motives, equally averse from peace. Fear deterred the one, and interest influenced the other. The republicans, already suspected of having betrayed their country to the French [10], were apprehensive of being made the victims of an incensed people, if they consented to an ignominious desertion of the common cause. The stadtholder on the other hand rejected all offers, even of an advantageous pacification, which would have overturned their schemes, and retarded the elevation of the prince of Orange. But the circumstance which more effectually obstructed the wished-for reconciliation was the death of the emperor Charles VII. Grief and disappointment put an end to his life, the very day that the ambassador set out from London. This event, together with the quadruple alliance concluded at the same time, and the attack made upon the Hanoverian territories by marshal Belleisle, opened a new field of enterprize to the sanguine projectors of both nations. The wild schemes of humbling both France and Prussia were resumed with rather a better prospect of success; especially after the young duke of Bavaria's treaty with the queen of Hungary had secured to her a body of auxiliary forces, a majority of votes in the electoral college, and the restoration of the imperial dignity to her family by the election of her husband.

Thus pushed on by the current, lord Chesterfield succeeded beyond the expectations of those who sent him.



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him. The states, indeed, refused to declare war, but they agreed to carry it on. They promised, upon paper, to maintain 50,000 men in the field, besides 10,000 in their garrisons. The mercantile spirit manifested itself in settling the proportion of the expences. But the ambassador had orders not to object to trifles; and he punctually obeyed. Instead of the two fifths, which had formerly been demanded, one third of the old subsidies, and only one fourth of the new ones, was now accepted.

In the principal article our earl gave great satisfaction to his royal master. The duke of Cumberland, already put at the head of the British forces, was by the ambassador's industry appointed commander in chief of the confederate army [11]. This appeared as if the Dutch were in earnest; and yet perhaps they only complimented a foreign prince at the expence of their own. The young duke was deservedly the favorite of a brave people, as well as of their king. First of the Hanover line born in England, he had shewn himself at Dettingen worthy of the title of a British prince, and possessed all the military ardor of his father. But these very circumstances, joined to the superiority of his rank, which put him above the controul of a colleague [12], must even then have alarmed considerate people. They must have been shocked to see that with inferior forces he was suffered to encounter the ablest general of the age, placed at the head of an army exercised in many campaigns, and fighting under the eyes of their king. I know that, nearly under the same disadvantages, the son of Edward III. defeated a French army, and made the king his prisoner. But the commander of that army was not a marshal de Saxe; and men such as the black prince are seldom met with more than once in the annals of any nation.

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As the great superiority of the French troops over those, with which the duke entered the field, was sufficiently known, a defensive campaign might have been most eligible, at least till a fresh supply of auxiliary forces could be procured. But this by no means suited with the disposition of the young general. The plan which the king and his ministers had settled at St. James's, and which the English ambassador was instructed to communicate to the respective commanders at the Hague, was to wait only till the French were engaged in a siege, and then to attack their divided army [13].

This project might have succeeded, had the inequality been less, or the secret better kept. But the enemy were apprised of the design, and had with great skill prepared to render it ineffectual. Their lines were made almost inaccessible by the art of their engineers, and impregnable as well as destructive by their artillery. Such notwithstanding was the intrepid behaviour both of the national and electoral troops; such was the gallantry of the royal chief [14], that the issue was like to have been as glorious as it proved fatal to the confederates. Their formidable column, intrepid and unshaken, had driven the whole force of the enemy, and there remained only a small reserve to encounter, much inferior to a body of eight thousand Hanoverians, which had unaccountably been dismissed [15]. But this reserve, consisting chiefly of Irish regiments [16], was sufficient to repel the last efforts of men, led for the third time to destruction, thinned by the enemy's cannon, wearied out with the slaughter they had made, and retiring with this consolation, if it could be one, that they yielded the palm to their own countrymen.

Had this fatal event, convincing as it was that no good could be expected from the continuation of  
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the war, produced the same effect upon the sanguine monarch and his temporizing minister as it did upon lord Chesterfield, the nation perhaps would have profited by the disappointment. France, especially after the loss of Cape Breton, was sufficiently disposed to balance accounts. It was not her interest that the king of Prussia should aggrandize himself, even at the expence of the house of Austria. To maintain an equilibrium between these two powers, she was ready to favour the election of the grand duke of Tuscany to the imperial dignity. The other points in dispute might easily have been adjusted, and the contending powers would all have been benefited by a cessation of hostilities. The elevation of a stadtholder would still have taken place, but in a more secure and less tumultuous manner. The wealth, the strength, the honor of the British nation would no longer have been sacrificed to foreign interests, the rebellion would not have ensued, or at least would not have remained so long uncrushed, and one useful lesson would have saved the repeated mortifications of succeeding campaigns.

Lord Chesterfield had long wished for an opportunity of rewarding the services of his chaplain; and this opportunity offered while he was at the Hague. A vacancy having happened in the bench of bishops in Ireland, lord Chesterfield wrote to lord Harrington who was then with the king at Hanover, recommending doctor Chenevix to the vacant see. He received a polite answer, rejecting in civil terms the recommendation. Lord Harrington at the same time assured lord Chesterfield, that his Majesty would accept of any other person he should name, and therefore advised him to *look out* for another bishop; to which lord Chesterfield replied, that he begged



begged his lordship would desire the king to *look out* for another lord lieutenant. The reply had its effect; doctor Chenevix was made bishop of Killaloe, and a few months after translated without opposition to the see of Waterford.

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The business of the embassy being finished, the earl received his fresh credentials, and took leave of the states general, eight days after the battle of Fontenoy. The discourse which he delivered on this occasion, was a short, lively, and indirect reply to Fenelon's farewell speech. He described the advantages arising from the close union of the British and Dutch nations, an union not the effect of transient views or accidental junctures, but the consequence of their reciprocal and invariable interests, pointed out by their respective situations, and confirmed by the uninterrupted experience of almost a century. This was artful, as it recalled to the states the dreadful effects of their former dissensions, and in particular the imminent danger which their country had so narrowly escaped in 1672; a danger which as it now again hung over their heads, could only be avoided by adhering closely to their alliance with Great Britain. He likewise expressed his grateful regard for their high mightinesses, and his attachment to the republic. The states, in return to the ambassador's professions, testified in their letter to his sovereign, their esteem for the talents, abilities, and prudence, of so eminent a negotiator [17].

The early close of the session of the British parliament this year, permitted the monarch to revisit his electoral dominions. Lord Chesterfield arrived at his house in London the same day that the king set out from Harwich, and was deprived of the honor of delivering to him a verbal account of his embassy.

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It is a matter of doubt whether this was altogether the effect of chance; but as his landing at Dublin some months after happened also the same day that the king arrived in England, it may be suspected that neither of the parties was desirous of an interview as cold as the preceding had been.

The representations, which his excellency made to the regency [18], of the dispositions of the Dutch, and of the state of their affairs, were by no means calculated to recommend a perseverance in measures which they had agreed with him to discourage. But the earl's colleagues had now altered their notions; nor could the further successes of the French in the course of this year, the four victories of the Prussian king, the advantages gained by the Spaniards and their new allies the Genoese in Italy, nor even the alarms of the rebellion at home, disturb them from their unaccountable security. Flushed with the conquest of Cape Breton [19], and buoyed up with expectations from new expeditions, new negotiations and new subsidies, they received with coldness the proposals of the French ministers at the Hague, for assembling a congress, and putting an end to the war. Instead of availing themselves of the intelligence procured by the ambassador, and agreeable to their stipulations of making use of the full power they had to bring about a peace, they determined to continue the war, and lord Chesterfield was prevented from making any further remonstrances, by being obliged to set out for Ireland, in consequence of the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland [20].

The situation of domestic affairs, indeed, was such as to require the most prudent management, as well as most vigorous exertion of power, in the  
several



several parts of the British empire. England, which was supposed to be out of reach of danger, was suddenly struck *from a cloud that seemed to be at first no bigger than a man's hand* [21]. The rebellion that broke out about the middle of this year, too much despised in the beginning, soon became formidable from the weak efforts made to crush it proving ineffectual.

The landing of a young and daring adventurer, the sudden and almost total submission of Scotland, the surprizing and routing of an English army by a handful of rebels, were the harbingers of still greater misfortunes. An undisciplined band of mountaineers, hardened by their climate and their zeal, were led on by a few ruined desperate chiefs, who by a sudden invasion, attempted to shake their sovereign's throne. In their hopes of reinforcements they were disappointed, but having seized upon Carlisle, unaccountably unprovided, they as unaccountably pursued their wonderful march towards London. The western road being left open to them, they did not fear to be overtaken by marshal Wade, who kept the eastern; and while he slowly crossed the country to measure the tract they ran over, they nearly gave the slip to the more alert duke of Cumberland. An universal alarm was now spread, and instead of asking whether the ministry had any design to extinguish the rebellion, it came to be asked whether it was in their power [22]. Every day gave rise to false reports from the secret well-wishers to the cause, and from the ministerial quarter [23]. Public credit was affected, jobbers were encouraged to advance money at extravagant rates, and great men to raise inactive regiments at their own expence [24]. The attachment of the nation to the reigning line  
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of princes, under whom alone their liberties and religion could be preserved, was not more conspicuous than their anxiety in being at once deprived of those blessings, and one hundred thousand people in arms dreaded the approach of eight thousand banditti, ill clothed, ill armed, and ill fed. This crisis did not last long. The rebels stopped at Derby, and as nothing had kept up their spirits but the celerity of the march, they no sooner halted, but their courage failed them. Fresh divisions broke out among the chiefs, the motley crew could no longer be kept together at such distance from home, and they agreed in nothing but in turning back. Their retreat was as expeditious as their progress had been, they still had the good fortune to out-run the royal army, and next year that of surprizing and putting to rout an unguarded general. But this slight advantage accelerated their ruin. The duke pursued them into the heart of their country. They were again forced to fly before him, and being pushed to the northern extremity of the island were in sight of their own mountains completely defeated by him.

There was reason to apprehend still greater danger in Ireland. The state of government there was more unsettled, and civilization less advanced. Men deprived of their property, or rendered uneasy in the possession of it, were naturally inclined to change. As it was obviously the interest of the pretender to tempt his fortune in that island which had so long supported the king he claimed his descent from; so it was natural that he should make a last effort in the third kingdom, after having been disappointed in the two former. The number of his friends there was supposed to be much more considerable. A constant inter-  
course



course had subsisted between the descendents of the court at S. Germans, and the Irish, who from their connection and prejudices, were inclined to the same side; and the French were much more at hand to assist them.

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Far from being terrified by these unfavorable appearances, lord Chesterfield set out with great alacrity for his government the last day of August. But before he left England, he was willing to shew that he intended to govern by himself. The office of principal secretary is not only a place of considerable profit, but it is likewise attended with considerable power, when the lord lieutenant is willing to throw upon another the load of public affairs. If the secretary be capable and enterprising, he becomes the principal, the governor is eclipsed, and shares only the odium, but never the honor, of his substitute's management. Several persons of great abilities as well as experience were accordingly proposed to the earl for that important office. But faithful to the rule he had prescribed to himself in his two embassies, he resolved to make superior abilities no part of the secretary's qualifications. He listened not to the intimations of favorites and ministers, and even resisted the insinuations of friendship which might have determined his choice in favor of Mr. Mallet. The gentleman he preferred was the late Richard Lyddel, esq; member of parliament for Bossiney in Cornwall. That gentlemen, he says, in a letter to his son [25], *was a very genteel pretty young fellow, but not a man of business.* This was the circumstance which dictated his choice, and on the first visit his secretary paid him, he told him, *Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place, but I will do the business myself, being determined to have no first minister* [26].

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In another instance he likewise chose to be singular and peremptory. He openly declared, that if, during his stay in Ireland, any person should make a successful application to the king, for any place in his majesty's gift, through any other channel but his own, he would immediately throw up the lord lieutenancy [27]. Conscious of his integrity, he certainly was right in making this declaration, which perhaps would neither have been decent nor easily attended to, if a man of less resolution and consequence had at that time ventured to make it.

On his landing he found the high character he had acquired, of the greatest service to him. In an island esteemed not less boisterous than the element that surrounds it, he was particularly happy in quieting and captivating the turbulent disposition of the inhabitants; and Cicero, whom he had constantly before his eyes as an orator, became also the object of his imitation in his government.

The Irish parliament assembled the 8th of October. His lordship opened the session in a manner becoming the representative of a great king, addressing himself to a feeling people, with the authority of a ruler, and the affection of a father. His discourse was admired [28], and the dignity as well as gracefulness of his action was a great advantage to it. Truth and virtue, as he said of lord Scarborough, seemed to borrow his voice, and reason spoke the language of the heart. This gave such a weight to what he delivered that he gained unanimous praise and approbation. The august assembly that heard him were convinced that they might trust him, and that whatever power was lodged in his hands by the king and by themselves,

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no other use would be made of it but what tended to their safety and happiness.

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A military force and money are generally esteemed the two principal engines of government. The one as well as the other are applied for, in times of trouble, with earnestness and avidity, by timid or covetous chiefs. Lord Chesterfield had other resources. He knew, that the fewer wants he discovered, the more certain he should be of finding supplies in case of need; and that the affections of the people being once secured, their persons and purses would be at his service.

The regular troops then in Ireland amounted to so small a number, that they were thought very insufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Accordingly, several persons, for very obvious reasons, advised that four thousand men should be immediately raised. Lord Chesterfield acted differently. The British cabinet were distressed; they continually pressed him for assistance, and he consented to part with four battalions to reinforce the duke's army. These troops, thus transferred from the Irish to the English establishment, were afterwards replaced; but this was done, not by the expensive mode of new regiments, which, from the disposal of the commissions, would have enabled the governor to oblige his friends, and increase the number of his dependents; but by additional companies, in which the officers children, who were desirous of it, were presented with ensigns commissions, which he himself signed by virtue of his majesty's royal sign manual for that purpose.

The same principle of generosity directed him both in his application for supplies, and in the man-



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ner of raising them. He asked for no more than £.607,080, and part of this sum was to be applied to the discharge of a former debt. It was proposed to raise this sum by debentures, which would have been soon filled, if all those who immediately offered to subscribe considerable sums, had found his lordship ready to receive them. He suspected, that the hope of considerable advantage was the motive that made them so pressing; and upon enquiry he found that these debentures already bore a premium of six *per cent.* This would have been thought a very moderate profit in England. But lord Chesterfield had the good of the people committed to his care too much at heart, not to endeavour to alleviate their burthen. He took the resolution of trying to borrow the money without paying interest for the first year; and this experiment, which had never been attempted before, succeeded to his wish.

A principal article of the expences was the buying of arms for the service of the provinces in case of an invasion. It was computed that thirty thousand firelocks and bayonets and ten thousand broad swords would be necessary, for the purchase of which sixty thousand pounds had been voted. If common contractors had been employed, the money would have been spent, and perhaps the arms would not have been good. Lord Chesterfield chose to employ honest as well as intelligent men, and pitched upon two officers for that service. They were ordered to inspect the arms, and to accept of none but after having proved them. Mr. Chenevix, brother to the bishop, and lieutenant-colonel of the carabineers, had the management of the arms made at Dublin, and the other officer was sent to Birmingham for the same purpose. They both executed



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cuted their commission in a manner consistent with their character, and answerable to the noble employer's expectations. There was no defect in the arms, and a saving in the expence of five and twenty thousand pounds. That sum was applied to many public uses, and in particular to the completing of the buildings in the castle.

In a country, where a majority of the inhabitants refused allegiance from motives of conscience, it might have been thought adviseable to express a detestation of these rebellious principles, and a dislike to those who avowed them. The prevailing religion of the country was, with too much reason, looked upon as the nursery of blind zeal, disaffection, and revenge. Though it had not the same number of followers as at the period of the revolution; since, instead of five and thirty to one, which they were then, the Roman catholics were now supposed to be only five times more numerous than the Protestants; yet such a disproportion was alarming. Popery and jacobitism were supposed to be inseparable; and it was thought that the only way to check the progress and prevent the fatal consequences of either, was strictly to carry into execution and enforce the penal laws enacted against both.

Lord Chesterfield could not possibly have been censured, had he conformed to the method practised in the three kingdoms, and particularly at this time in England. Upon the first breaking out of the rebellion, the private Popish chapels in the metropolis had been searched for, and ordered to be shut up, proclamations were issued to compel the priests to leave the capital, and the refractory were imprisoned and threatened with severe punishments. The



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new lord lieutenant did not want for advisers, who pressed him to follow this example. His enlarged notions of humanity and true politics induced him to pursue a different and much wiser course. He allowed the Roman catholics the free use of their religion, and far from attempting to shut up their places of worship, he rather wished them to continue open; and prevented any disturbance from being given to those who resorted to them [29]. His view was to discover whether the people of that denomination remained in the kingdom, or left it to go over to their supposed friends in Scotland. To be informed of that material fact, he took care to engage persons to attend at their chapels and fairs, and received with great satisfaction assurances that they were both as much frequented as ever. A certain proof of the confidence they placed in his promises, and of their desire not to molest government. The deluded adherents to the exiled family were treated with equal lenity and prudence. One of them, a Roman catholic, who had an estate in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and was looked upon as an agent to the pretender, was privately sent for to the castle. "Sir, said lord Chesterfield, I do not wish to inquire whether you have any particular employment in this kingdom, but I know that you have a great interest amongst those of your persuasion. I have sent for you to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet. If they behave like faithful subjects, they shall be treated as such; but if they act in a different manner I shall be worse to them than Cromwell." Whether he would have really been so may be doubted; but this conversation, together with his watchful eye, had such an effect, that not one of them stirred during the whole time of the rebellion, and all the  
informations



informations against particular persons were found absolutely groundless.

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His efforts to remove prejudices, and maintain harmony and benevolence, were seconded by writers whom he encouraged to support the same cause. Dean Swift was still alive, when lord Chesterfield arrived, but reduced to a state of total dotage and insensibility, which one month after ended in his death. This short interval was laid hold of, to publish under his name a new letter of a drapier [30] to the good people of Ireland, and particularly to the poor Papists. It was so much in the dean's stile, and was so greedily received, that it went through a variety of editions in a month's time. Indeed the many strokes of wit and humour that it contained, would induce me to suspect that his lordship had some share in it.

Berkeley, the bishop of Cloyne, employed himself in the same cause, perhaps more usefully than in his recommendation of tar water, or in his dialogues against matter. His letter to the Roman catholics of his diocese was worthy of a Christian bishop. He endeavoured to dissuade his fellow citizens and neighbours from falling into the same errors, which had been so fatal to their fathers; and, appealing to their reason, convinced them that their situation was as advantageous as they could wish it to be, and that it would be the height of imprudence to engage in a dangerous cause, to which neither interest did invite, nor "conscience did oblige them."

Reason never speaks in vain; the most hardened are insensibly softened by its voice. The Irish priests, sensible of the gentleness of the present administration, co-operated with their Protestant brethren to maintain order and tranquillity. Their pastoral letters,

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letters, public discourses from the pulpit, and private admonitions, were equally directed for the service of government.

The ill-grounded apprehensions of the friends to the present system were not less to be guarded against, than the enterprises of its enemies. This was by much the most difficult task; but lord Chesterfield was equally successful in encouraging the former and disarming the latter. By constantly appearing to be afraid of nothing [31], he spread an universal belief that nothing was to be feared, and by the ridicule he threw upon the violent measures which were proposed to him, he manifested his desire of abstaining from them till there was real danger.

In the mean while, he neglected no precautions, and prepared himself for all events [32]. If the rebellion had reached Ireland, he had taken the resolution of commanding the army in person. Though he was himself no soldier, he believed that he could assist with his counsels those who were. In a conversation which he had with his chaplain, he told him that he would never submit to the pretender's government, but play with him double or quits. This, he said, was an expression which he borrowed from the earl of Devonshire, in answer to a message which he received at his seat in Derbyshire from king James II. upon the landing of the prince of Orange. That unfortunate monarch was weak enough to offer him, that if he would be his friend, he would remit the fine of thirty thousand pounds sterling laid on him for having struck a person within the verge of the court.

The Protestants in general gave on this occasion uncommon marks of zeal. All of them were not  
equally



equally acceptable. Some great men applied for leave to raise regiments; but this proposal was rejected by lord Chesterfield. He thought it burthenome to the state, useles in point of service, and only calculated to promote private views. No man hated a job, and despised jobbers, more than he.

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On a very different footing were the associations formed by the protestants of different provinces, and especially of those which might have been most exposed to insurrections from within, or attempts from abroad. To be armed, and ready for defence, could at no time be improper; and those who, sensible of the blessings they enjoyed under a settled government, put themselves in a condition to fight for what is most dear to men, their laws, liberty, and religion, must at all times be an overmatch against private incendiaries or audacious invaders. This laudable spirit displayed itself and was encouraged in a particular manner in different parts of the kingdom. The county of Antrim alone furnished upwards of thirty thousand men; and the city of Dublin provided a regiment of horse militia consisting of six thousand men, three of foot of two thousand men each, besides several independent companies, and a corps of three hundred men volunteers [33].

As it was owing to the lord lieutenant's vigilance and resolution that the French and Spaniards did not attempt to land any troops in Ireland during the time of the rebellion, it was likewise an effect of his prudence and moderation that the horrors of a civil war did not reach that country. Distinctions of parties seemed to be abolished, and animosities to be forgotten as well as prejudices and suspicions. Religion became what it ought to be, a bond of union instead of an instrument of discord; superstition

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It is the province of history to perpetuate the transactions of an administration, which it will ever be the interest of future lord lieutenants to study and to imitate. Unprovided as we are with sufficient materials, we must content ourselves with mentioning a few detached facts and general observations, which have been transmitted to us [34].

Lord Chesterfield, on his arrival in Ireland, found himself obstructed in his desire of rewarding merit and public services. The reversion of places granted by his predecessors to their friends left him but little to bestow. He resolved not to give the same reason of complaint to his successors. He accordingly never would grant any reversion; and even resisted the solicitations of a person for whom he had a particular regard; being determined, as he told one of his friends, to leave the kingdom with clean hands in every respect.

He thought the only honest and effectual methods to be employed with regard to Roman catholics, were good usage, supporting the charity schools, and adhering strictly to the gavel act [35]. The popish religion and influence could not, he said [36], be subdued by force, but might be undermined and destroyed by art. Slight of hand was necessary rather than a heavy hand. He therefore wished that



that the law by which papists are restrained in Ireland from purchasing land was annulled. By that indulgence he believed that their money would be kept in the kingdom, the government would have the strongest pledge of their fidelity, and sooner or later the estates would revert to protestants.

A public register of popish priests, with a limitation of their number, had engaged his thoughts, but he feared that it would be impossible to get the consent of parliament. He found that the members were still too much blinded by prejudices of sect-animosity to treat the subject of popery with temper and moderation. The late lord Clanbrazil however, some years afterwards, brought into the house of lords a bill of the like nature; but lord Chesterfield's suspicions were verified; the bill was first clogged with unjust clauses, and afterwards rejected.

Among the alterations which he proposed, that which he had most at heart was to dispense all papists from taking the oaths of supremacy and abjuration, which no real papist could take; but to substitute to these the following solemn form of an oath of allegiance.

“ I A. B. duly considering the sacred nature of  
“ an oath, and the horrible crime of perjury, which  
“ by all religions in the world is justly abhorred as a  
“ most damnable sin, do most sincerely promise  
“ and swear that I will be faithful and bear true alle-  
“ giance to his majesty king George the second, so  
“ help me that great and eternal God, who knows  
“ my inmost thoughts, and whom I now most so-  
“ lemnly call upon to attest the truth of them.”  
The person taking such an oath his lordship would  
have obliged to recite it distinctly and deliberately,  
and



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and not be allowed to mutter it over in the indecent manner in which oaths are generally taken [37].

If his lordship had returned to Ireland, he would have ordered new barracks to be built in those parts of the kingdom which are not amenable to the laws of the country. By this provision he wished to make the inhabitants know that there is a God, a king, and a government [38].

No person in so high a station was ever more easy of access. His door was open generally from nine in the morning to three in the afternoon, to any one who requested an audience. Nobody appeared in fear before him, none retired discontented. His manner of granting favors added to their value; and his refusals were softened with engaging marks of concern. Where he could redress, he did it speedily, and was particularly ready to assist the weak against the oppressions of the strong [39].

During his lordship's residence at Dublin, respect for the dignity of his office as viceroy prevailed over his natural propensities as a man.—No Pharaoh table, or high gaming of any kind, was permitted at the castle; he entirely abolished the perquisites of the groom-porter, and, to make it up to an officer on the half-pay who had the place, he procured a pension of sixty pounds for his daughter, and gave his son a commission in the army.

One day at his levee he observed an officer with scars in his face. He found upon inquiry that he was a captain on half-pay, and a person of good character. The scars, he likewise was informed, were the honorable marks of wounds received in his majesty's service. A nobleman of his benevolence wanted no further recommendation; and the first opportunity



opportunity that offered he gave a company to that brave man.

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The pay of the officers of the yeomen of the guards having been represented to him as insufficient, it was raised at his solicitation. But no one had spoken to him in favor of the private men; whom however he thought equally intitled to an augmentation. One evening, as he returned to the castle, attended by some of the yeomen, called in Dublin *battle axes*, he told one of them, I suppose you have heard that the pay of your officers has been raised. Why don't you apply to some of your friends to speak to me in your favor? Upon their answering that they had no friends, he asked them, what do you think of me? I am sure you deserve an increase as well as your officers, and I will be your friend. He accordingly soon afterwards raised their pay.

He procured, unasked, the title of earl of Blessington to lord viscount Montjoy, in consequence of the steady attachment of that family to the protestant interest. Lord Montjoy's lady, who was an heiress of a distinguished family, and greatly attached to an only son a most promising youth [40], was very much surpris'd when he complimented her on that occasion. He likewise procured the same distinction for two other viscounts, viz. for the late lord Tyrone father to the present earl, and for lord Grandison.

Soon after lord Chesterfield's return from his first embassy in Holland, Dr. Berkeley presented him with his *Minute Philosopher*, which was just then published, and met with uncommon approbation. His lordship esteemed the author still more than the book; but no intimacy subsisted between them. When he came to Dublin, with the power as well

as



1745. as desire of rewarding merit, he embraced the first opportunity of shewing his regard for so respectable a character, and accordingly made an offer to the doctor of changing his bishopric of Cloyne for that of Clogher, which was of a much greater value. This consideration had no influence upon a philosopher, who had nothing little in his composition. He could not bear even the suspicion of having been bribed to write in favor of government, and therefore declined the exchange.

The most distinguished persons in Ireland for their talents and merit were those with whom lord Chesterfield was the most intimate. He used chiefly to consult the lord chancellor Jocelyn, Dr. Stone then bishop of Derry, and afterwards through his interposition raised to the primacy, Anthony Malone prime serjeant, Sir Richard Cox, lord chief justice Singleton afterwards master of the Rolls, Mr. Foster now lord chief baron, and especially Dr. Edward Synge bishop of Elphin. He entertained the highest opinion of Dr. Synge's integrity and abilities, and from motives of regard for him promoted his brother from the archdeaconry of Dublin to the see of Killaloe. A person having told lord Chesterfield that the public was at a loss to know by what interest he had been made a bishop, his answer was because he thought his brother the bishop of Elphin deserved two bishoprics.

1746. There was no opposition raised in either of the houses of parliament during lord Chesterfield's administration. A small flame only was kindled in the house of commons just before the close of the session, which was soon extinguished. As this trifling dispute had been raised by the master of the Rolls,



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Rolls, the lord lieutenant sent for him, and after having heard what he had to say in vindication of his conduct, "Master," said his excellency, "you must do the king's business, or be turned out of your employment, and if you are, I shall not do with you as they do in England, for you shall never come in again as long as I have any power." The master finding the lord lieutenant so peremptory, was glad to submit. If his post had become vacant during the time of his administration, he intended to have procured it for Mr. Anthony Malone; but to have obliged him to assist the lord chancellor as the master of the rolls does in England, whereas in Ireland the place is a mere sine-cure.

Though compliments, and especially in verse, bestowed upon persons in high stations, are seldom to be depended on, yet when they come from different quarters, and particularly when they express the language of the heart, and remain uncontradicted, even though nothing more is to be feared or expected from those to whom they are addressed, truth may be gathered from them. The Irish muses were very fruitful in their productions in praise of lord Chesterfield while governor of Ireland, as well as of the countess [41]; and, it would be equally difficult to enumerate them, and to point out the best. One of the shortest may be seen in the note [42]; and, if I am not mistaken, the ode, which was inscribed to his lordship on his receiving the seals of secretary of state in England, may not be thought unworthy of the place which I have given it in the appendix.

What has been said of verses holds equally good in regard to common dedications, the value of which is exactly in an inverse ratio to what the authors

authors



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authors receive or expect for their panegyric. The following address, therefore, by the contrary rule, may claim an exception. It came from Mr. Prior, a gentleman who had an estate of about £. 500 a year, and, what is preferable to any estate, a communicative disposition without any selfish views. Lord Chesterfield offered him an employment, but he refused it, saying that he wanted nothing, and would not accept of any thing. As he had every scheme at heart, which he thought for the advantage of his country, and was an intimate friend of bishop Berkeley, he caught his enthusiasm, and became a public advocate in favor of tar-water. To the narrative of cases which he published this year, he prefixed a dedication to the lord lieutenant. Such a man might be mistaken in his opinion of medicine, but could not be bribed in favor of any *person*; and we may believe him, when he gives to a nobleman whom he refused for his patron, a head to discern, and a heart to apply; when he holds forth to posterity his administration as founded on a thorough knowledge of the interests of the country; when he represents his management as equally generous of his own, and frugal of the public treasure; and, lastly, when he owns himself at a loss which to admire most, the true policy or the probity of the governor.

The physico-historical society, established two years before at Dublin, with a view to make inquiries concerning the natural and civil history of the different counties in Ireland, in order to perpetuate their antiquities, and to introduce useful improvements, consulted their own interests as well as the public voice in electing their new governor for their president. He became their patron, encouraged their pursuits, and received this year the first fruits  
of



of their labours in the description of the antient and present state of the county and town of Waterford, which was dedicated to him by Mr. Charles Smith the author. "The tract now offered to your lordship," says the dedicator, "though but a description of a remote corner of the kingdom, may afford some idea of the country, which, under your excellency's prudent administration, has the happiness to enjoy a serenity at present unknown to the greatest part of Europe; and it is not doubted, but that, under your influence, she will become every day more and more an additional increase of strength and honor to the neighbouring kingdom, which has so long nourished and protected her."

That these were the sentiments and expectations of the whole nation, appears from the warm expressions of all the public bodies, on the lord lieutenant's preparing for his return to England, but especially from the silence of envy, both at that time and ever after. To be as much regretted when he quitted his employment as he had been extolled when he entered upon it, is a glory singularly attached to the earl of Chesterfield, whose name still continues dear to that grateful and respectable people. His bust placed in the castle does him the greater honor, as it was fixed with public acclamations, and out of part of the savings of the public money.

Truly sensible of the nation's esteem, and conscious that he deserved it, he took his leave of their representatives in parliament, in a speech equally well expressed and received as that which he made on their first meeting. Happy the man, who, speaking of himself, is sure that the voice of the public will be the echo of his own.

Upon



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Upon his leaving the country, he desired the lord chancellor, the bishop of Elphin, and the lord chief justice, to consider of any laws that might be for the advantage of the kingdom, and to have them ready against his return.

Unfortunately for Ireland, that event never happened. Persons of all ranks, denominations, and religions, followed him with his lady to the water-side, to which he walked, and from which he *publicly* embarked. The bishop of Waterford, who was present at this pleasing but melancholy procession, expresses in the most feeling manner the universal acclamations of the people, who praised him, blessed him, and intreated him to return. But that return became perhaps less necessary, as the complete victory, which providence was pleased to grant to the British army under the command of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland [43] at the battle of Culloden, put a most happy end to the rebellion, and restored quiet to both islands. Yet to a man of lord Chesterfield's humanity, the scenes which always attend a rebellion must have been particularly distressing.

The affairs of the continent were far from having been amended by the diversion in Scotland; and the new ministry, though masters of a superior interest in parliament, by no means enjoyed the confidence of their sovereign. So little indeed was he satisfied with their management, that he had attempted to recall the dismissed minister, now become earl of Granville, of whose spirit and abilities in continental affairs he entertained a much higher opinion than of those of his rivals. The earl spoke the king's own language, and had done more for the electorate than even his predecessor Walpole. But those who had turned him out before were still against him, and by threatening to resign  
all



all together, obliged their master to part with his minister, who kept the seals only three days [44].

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Before we consider the share which lord Chesterfield had in the administration, and take a view of him as a statesman, after having attended him as a negotiator and a governor, let us be permitted to observe him in the still more interesting character of a father. Not having the happiness of being blessed with a legitimate offspring, he had transferred all his affections upon the natural son before-mentioned, and endeavoured to render him worthy of the name of Stanhope. While still a child, the care of instilling into his mind the rudiments of learning and the principles of morality had been committed to a French clergyman belonging to the same chapel, which his own preceptor had enjoyed [45]. That clergyman's gentleness of manners, and enlarged way of thinking, highly qualified him for such a trust. The famous Mr. Maittaire was at the same time employed in teaching him Latin. From these two masters every thing could be expected except the graces. These are not frequently found at Westminster school, where young Stanhope was sent by his father, and where he acquired a great fund of classical erudition. All this time we behold with pleasure his fond parent, amidst his important functions at Dublin, keeping up a constant correspondence with him, exciting his industry, enjoying his success, and mixing pleasantry with the most endearing admonitions. "As soon as I return to England, says he in one of his letters [46], there is a book that I shall read over very carefully, a book that I published not quite fourteen years ago: it is a small quarto, and though I say it myself, there is something good in it, but at the same time it is incorrect, and so inaccurate that

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"I must



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“ I must have a better edition of it published, which  
 “ I will carefully revise and correct. It will soon be  
 “ much more generally read than it has been yet,  
 “ and therefore it is necessary that it should *prodire*  
 “ *in lucem multo emendatior.*”

Had lord Chesterfield proposed to himself no other view than to make his son fit for the middle, and perhaps the more happy station of life, his success would have been complete. But he wished to qualify him for a more shining situation, or, to hazard his own expression, to raise him upon a higher pedestal than his figure would bear. The science of the world is full as necessary as that of books for such a situation, and the young man, though not unfavourably treated by nature, required the assistance of art. The penetrating eye of his father soon discovered to him his son's deficiencies, and he immediately resolved to seek abroad for the remedy, which he despaired of finding at home. His view was to unite what he never had met with before, in any one individual, the solid learning of his own nation, and the ease, manners, and graces, which he thought were to be found no where but in France [47]. The war did not permit him to send Mr. Stanhope immediately to that great school of politeness, and he wished to prepare him gradually for those regions of taste, by making him spend a few years in Germany and Italy. To preserve the integrity of his heart untainted, and to cultivate his mind, he put him under the care of Mr. Harte, a gentleman of Oxford [48], who had been recommended to him by his friend lord Lyttelton. That gentleman certainly had none of the amiable connecting qualifications, which the earl wished in his son. But this was not all; as neither the taste, profession, nor indeed person of this new guide, would allow



allow him to attend his pupil in polite company, he too often, especially in Italy, trusted him to his young countrymen, who made him acquainted with the worst. We have reason to suspect that Mr. Harte's partiality to Greek, Latin, German law, and Gothic erudition, rendered him rather remiss in other points. Whoever will take the trouble of tracing the different steps of Mr. Stanhope's education, will perceive that this fundamental error in the plan was the source of all the future mistakes in his conduct. The graces escaped, and some at least of the virtues were lost.

A severe fit of illness obliged lord Chesterfield to have recourse to the faculty, the professors of which he alternately trusted and abused [49]. Thanks however, to them, and the Bath waters, he was soon restored to health.

The important services which his lordship had performed, both in Holland and Ireland, had in a great measure removed his majesty's prejudices against him; and the friend of his youth was likely to recover his former ascendancy over him. The pleasures of private and social life are seldom known to kings. If any person could have inspired the taste of them to the monarch, it would certainly have been a nobleman, not more distinguished by the brilliancy of his conversation, than by the engaging sweetness of his manners. Assiduous in paying his court at those hours when kings may sometimes lay aside majesty and remember they are men, and ready to seize any opportunity to divert and to please, he sometimes succeeded in unbending the brow of his master, and seducing him into a laugh [50]; an art of greater importance than is commonly imagined.



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It is therefore by no means surprizing that the sovereign should have wished to draw near to his person the possessor of that art, and it would be more so that the old and prime minister, as jealous of his power as a lover is of his mistress, should have consented to see him so near the beloved object. But the fear of another favorite still within call [51], made him consent to substitute the only man who could counterbalance a more unpopular but more dangerous rival.

Lord Harrington [52], secretary of state for the northern department, as the duke of Newcastle was for the southern, had long felt the inequality of this association. Convinced of the ruinous tendency of a land war under the present circumstances, he refused to serve any longer with a colleague, who had veered from peace to war [53], and kept him out of the secrets of his office. It may be doubted whether he wished that his resignation should be accepted [54], but the king took him at his word, and pressed lord Chesterfield to accept of the seals in a manner which made a refusal impossible, even if he had had no secret view of preparing his son for the same office [55]. Lord Harrington was appointed to succeed him in the government of Ireland.

Thus was lord Chesterfield transferred from a post, where he enjoyed ease, dignity, and profit [56], to one attended with great difficulties, and in the present circumstances with danger. His inducement to accept of this post was noble: it was the motive of a good citizen, the hope of serving his country, and of saving a neighbouring sinking nation.

The state of the United Provinces was indeed critical. Their barrier was pulled down, their frontier laid open, their enemy preparing to overrun their



their country, their rulers divided, and their people more and more dissatisfied with them. A congress for a peace had been assembled at Breda, but from the difficulties, which arose among the plenipotentiaries, it was apparent that an accommodation was at that time by no means desired by the British and Imperial courts.

Vigorous measures might have been expected to be pursued by those who shewed so little inclination to peace; vigor however was not to be expected from them. The queen of Hungary, for want of an early remittance of supplies, could not send the troops stipulated for in time; the Bavarians, too late engaged, arrived still later, and prince Charles of Lorraine, the commander in chief, was exposed at Raucoux to the attack of an enemy, who, by the superiority of numbers, knew how to secure victory [57].

Under these unfavorable circumstances, the news of lord Chesterfield's having accepted the seals was received by the States-General with the highest satisfaction. He had constantly shewn himself the friend of the republic; and though attached to the interests of the prince of Orange, was by no means desirous of protracting the war, in order to accelerate his elevation. This rendered the aristocratic party, which still held the rudder, equally happy in the hopes that the conciliatory talents of the new secretary would be exerted in procuring a peace, upon which alone their country's safety, as well as their own, depended. I have before me a letter from their principal minister at the conferences at Breda to his lordship, which expressed the state of the republic and his reliance on the earl's efforts to save it, in so strong a manner, that I hope the extracts from it, which I shall insert in a note, will not be unacceptable to my readers [58].

The

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The plan of the next campaign had been settled before lord Chesterfield came into the administration. The expectations that were entertained of its success were alledged as reasons not to listen to the terms of accommodation repeatedly offered by France. The aristocratic party in Holland sent over baron Boetzelæer, to enforce these proposals; but he could not prevail over the enthusiastic spirit of the times. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland was to take the field early with an army of one hundred and forty thousand men, superior by twenty thousand to the utmost force the French could collect. The new secretary of state was, much against his will, hurried away by the torrent into the very measure which he had most opposed. But he did not fail to protest against it; and was assured, that if this effort did not prove effectual it should be the last, and the next offers which France or Spain might make, should be forthwith accepted [59].

Lord Chesterfield, however, was soon convinced that it would be very difficult to succeed in his great object. His colleague left him scarce a shadow of power. The disposal of every place, the secret correspondences abroad, the desertion of those friends whom himself had introduced, all conspired to convince him, "that all his art and address, "though diversified into a greater variety of shapes "and colours than the Proteus of the poets was supposed capable of assuming [60], would still be "insufficient to get the better of royal prejudices "and ministerial versatility."

But if his hands were to be tied, he was resolved to preserve the use of his eyes. He availed himself of the king's personal regard, and of his credit with Mr. Pelham, to procure the nomination of a resident at the Hague in whom he could confide.

This



This gentleman was Mr. Dayrolles, whom we have mentioned before [61]. From that intelligent and faithful minister's informations lord Chesterfield was soon convinced of what he previously suspected, that the bad management of the war was at least equal to the obstinacy with which it was continued.

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In one particular the event seemed to answer the promises of the minister. The national forces first took the field. They were made to quit their winter quarters before the end of March, and were encamped by the middle of the following month. As the spring advanced, the year itself was not so forward as the expectations raised at home of their exploits. Unhappily the magazines had been so much neglected, that instead of snatching some considerable advantage, the troops were forced to rest upon their arms for six weeks together, making war against the elements. This bravado, as well as the vain attempt upon Antwerp, were treated with a mortifying contempt by marshal Saxe; who, calm and unmoved in his cantonments, said, "when my antagonist has sufficiently weakened his army, I will convince him, that the first duty of a general is to provide for its preservation [62]."

He strictly kept his word; and while his enemies were hovering about in marches and counter-marches, detachments from his army, under Lowendahl and Contades, made an irruption into Dutch Flanders, took, almost without resistance, the most important fortresses, and subdued the whole province in less than a month.

This step, it must be owned, was more a proof of superior generalship than of wise politics. Instead of forcing the Dutch to conclude a separate peace, and throw themselves into the hands of  
France,



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France, the people were roused into indignation and fury. The magistrates of the towns, whom they accused of treachery [63], were discarded; a stadtholder was tumultuously forced upon the States, and the revolution, in favor of the prince of Orange, was the work of a few days.

This event changed the face of affairs, and threw a sudden damp upon the projects of the enemy. If a rash engagement had been avoided, agreeably to the wishes of the new stadtholder [65], if the action of Laufelt had proved fortunate, or even if a sensible use had been made of that defeat, this campaign would have been the last, and lord Chesterfield would have had the satisfaction of contributing to the re-establishment of the peace on a solid and lasting basis [66].

It is well known, that in the evening of that day in which the gallant general Ligonier risked his life and lost his liberty to save both the army and his royal general, the French king, to whom he was presented, received him with all the regard due to his rank and merit. He asked him [67] in a most condescending style and manner, when he might hope to obtain peace from his sovereign, and ordered his generals to enter into conference with him upon the subject. The terms proposed were by no means dictated by an enemy flushed with success and the spirit of conquest: they were moderate, and more favorable than those that were accepted at Aix-la-Chapelle. But the new ministers in Holland, and the cabinet at St. James's, thought proper, notwithstanding lord Chesterfield's intreaties, to refer the articles to the congress, for the same reason, says his apologist, that mysterious points of faith are referred to general councils, to be frittered away in squabbles without end.

The



The stadtholder's cabinet was divided. The moderate wished that his establishment might be the work of leisure and tranquillity; the more zealous were desirous to avail themselves of the present ferment, fears, and distress, to increase his power. This last party prevailed. To spirit up our ministers, and impede the opening of the congress, count Bentinck and his brother were deputed to London. The state of their country did not seem to alarm them; they were sanguine in their hopes, and lavish in their offers. Neither did the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, or the unaccountable taking of it, alter their sentiments, or at least their expressions. It seems doubtful, whether the loss of that important fortress was not much and purposely over-rated by the anti-republican party, as it furnished a pretence for settling of the stadtholdership in the female line of the Orange family, for taking from the magistrates the disposal of city employments, and for annexing to the State the revenue of the posts, which hitherto had been in private hands.

Lord Chesterfield's pacific dispositions were so well known [68], that the deputies did not chuse to explain themselves with him about the real object of their mission. Zealous as he was for the restoration of the stadtholder to the dignity of his ancestors, he thought the decisive moment had been lost, and that the miscarriages of the state might bring on a new revolution less to his advantage than the former. The prince's authority seemed to him sufficiently established if peace were once made. He conceived, that in that case the stadtholder would have influence enough to carry any constitutional point, that no wise prince ought to wish for more, and that a further increase of power ought not to be sought for at the hazard of ruining the state. The fate  
both



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both of the republic and of Great Britain, he said, was now at stake, and he saw no prospect of either better cards or better play next year, than the ministers had had in this [69].

Among the reasons which prudent people had to be alarmed at the present situation of the Dutch, the low state of their finances was not the least. Holland alone was supposed to be indebted about forty millions sterling, a prodigious sum for so small a country. The decay of the commerce and manufactures, together with the discouragement of the inhabitants, the high taxes, and the mode of levying them, afforded but an indifferent prospect for raising such sums as might be required for the defence of the state. The extraordinary demand for money, however, pointed out an extraordinary mode of taxation. This was called a free gift; but might rather be termed a contribution laid upon the inhabitants, in proportion to their fortunes. Those who possessed two hundred pounds or upwards were rated at two *per cent.* of their estate; one *per cent.* was expected from those who were worth between one and two hundred; and the poorer sort were left at liberty to give what they pleased, provided they gave something. Every one was ordered to come to the *stadthouse*, and bring with him the amount of what he was to pay, in cash, notes, or plate, and after taking an oath that he had made the estimation of his estate to the best of his knowledge, he threw, without being seen, what he had brought into a locked trunk, through a slit provided for the purpose. This mode of taxation first took place in Holland, but was afterwards adopted by the other provinces, and even extended to the Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies [70].

Lord



Lord Chesterfield, who, it must be owned, was rather inclined to despondency on many occasions, entertained a very indifferent opinion of this method of raising a supply. He did not think that the produce would any way be equal to the expectations of the state, and much less to its wants [71]. In this last article he certainly was right; but he undervalued the readiness of the Dutch to throw in their mite for the preservation of their country, and their honesty in doing it faithfully. There never was any suspicion but that the oath was as conscientiously observed as it was cheerfully taken [72]; and though the whole produce has never been known, it certainly amounted to a very considerable sum, and was by some conjectured to have been no less than five millions sterling.

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The money thus collected was intended in part to pay for the troops that were to be employed next year. A most extraordinary army was to be formed, consisting of 132,000 men; *viz.* Austrians 66,000 in British pay, and as many at the expence of the Dutch. Experience, however, had so well convinced lord Chesterfield of the fallacy of the accounts for the preceding years, that he by no means trusted to this. He foresaw that the greater part of these troops would never reach the scene of action; or at least that they would not come till the French had stricken another, and perhaps a decisive, blow.

The only measure that the earl approved of, was the negociation with Russia; but this measure, to have had its effect, should have been concluded long before the end of the year. The best part of it, on the contrary, was consumed in altercations with the Dutch about their proportion of the charge; and when they, at the instigation of the prince of Orange, had consented to the terms



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terms proposed in England, and appeared pressing to have the treaty concluded, the British cabinet were still undetermined, and did not conclude till the middle of November. Neither could lord Chesterfield prevail to have these troops conveyed by sea, which would have been a great saving both of the expence and time. They began a tedious march of two thousand leagues in the winter, and, with the utmost diligence, could not possibly have arrived till the campaign was over.

This negotiation, however, greatly alarmed the French. Their defeats at sea, the destruction of their naval strength, the decay of their manufactures and commerce, the distress and danger of their colonies, the misery which began to rage in the internal parts of the kingdom, induced them to wish to terminate a war which, however glorious, was much more detrimental to them than to their enemies [73]. The terms were short; nothing for France, and very little for their allies [74]. Our earl did not fail to use his endeavours to induce his colleagues not to let slip this opportunity. He insisted, "that they were never to hope for better terms; that, though Holland should at last incline to co-operate in earnest, they had demurred till this nation was exhausted; that, for his part, he had undertaken to assist in carrying on the war only for one campaign, or till either France or Spain should be brought to reason; and that he would take care to be no longer answerable for the issue of a measure which he had never approved." The answer was, "that a separate peace with Spain was not to be wished; and that, if the two crowns were once separated, the breach would never be closed; and that a minister's conduct ought not to regard months and sessions, but all futurity [75]." A noble language



language if it had been properly supported; but ill suited to a leader without plan either for peace or war, and, as our noble lord expressed it, always at the top or bottom of the house, and never in the middle floor.

A separate negotiation with Spain had in truth been carried on for some time; but with the same want of design, expedition, and perseverance. Nothing could be more favourable than the present circumstance. The French king of Spain was dead; the queen had lost her influence, and the new monarch, who was not her son, seemed inclined to give peace to his country. The marquis de Tabernega, a Spanish nobleman exiled from his country, though a sort of favorite with the present king, having taken up his residence at London, assumed to himself the conduct of this negotiation. He amused the ministers with vain hopes, and was himself amused with insignificant informations from his country. This reciprocal amusement became more serious, when Mr. Wall [76], an Irish gentleman, employed as major general in the Spanish service, came over furnished with proper powers to open a treaty. He was desired to confer upon that matter with the marquis, and it was a remarkable circumstance that as a British-born subject was employed to negotiate the interests of Spain at the British court, a native Spaniard was employed by that court to negotiate the interest of Great Britain. Their conferences were fruitless, and those who knew the ascendancy which the Sardinian minister had acquired, were not surprised that no conditions could be accepted, but with his and his master's approbation [77].

Then it was that lord Chesterfield, having attempted in vain by a masterly memorial, in which he painted

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painted in true colours the state of Europe and of his own country, to open the eyes of the council, and finding that he could engage but one of the members to side with him, thought fit to retire. He had given hints of this design in several letters to his intimate friend Mr. Dayrolles; but did not declare to him before the 26th of January his final resolution, which he executed on the 6th of the following month.

During this interval, it still fell to his lot to do service to his country: for though the power was lodged in other hands, the active part of office, at least that which required parts and dexterity, was commonly left to him. In the beginning of the year, he answered an artful memorial, given in by the Prussian minister in the name of his master, to claim for his flag and ships an exemption of search and other privileges, granted to particular powers, but never by treaty to that of Prussia. Lord Chesterfield's reply united all the precision of argument, and firmness for the honor of the crown, to the personal regard which he thought due to the Prussian monarch, and always expressed for him. He was the adviser of the new efforts that were made to induce that prince to take part with his natural allies; and his last work was to draw up the instructions, which were given to Mr. Legge, who on the second of February was appointed envoy to the court of Berlin [78].

The audience which lord Chesterfield had of his majesty on resigning the seals, passed in a very different way from that which he had four years before when he took leave on setting out for his embassy. The king urged him to retain his office, and expressed his satisfaction of the manner in which he had filled it. His lordship's answer was, that he found he could be but an uselefs servant, and that his honor and conscience



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conscience did not permit him to continue in a post, in which he had not been suffered to do any one service to any one man; and in which his master himself was not at liberty to distinguish those who had his service most at heart. The monarch was not offended at this freedom. He even offered to give him personal marks of his satisfaction either by a pension or the title of duke. These offers were declined, and only one of the places at the board of admiralty for his brother John Stanhope accepted [79]. In return he begged leave to assure his majesty, that though he ceased now to be in his immediate service, he would never cease to give him proofs of his respectful attachment, and, reserving to himself the liberty of giving his vote on national points as his reason should direct him, he would keep himself entirely clear of cabals and opposition. The part, he added, I shall take upon any question, shall only be known in parliament. The situation of the subject at that instant appears more to be envied, than that of the monarch.

Having thus conducted the earl to the period of his retreat, we should here close this section; but as the measures consequent upon his resignation evidently proved both the propriety of that step, and the justness of his lordship's predictions, it may not be thought improper to extend this part to the conclusion of the peace.

The necessity of making one on the best terms soon appeared, by the unprovided condition in which the states were left. One of the prince of Orange's ministers, who last year had been so sanguine in representing that the republic was in no danger, now came over on purpose to contradict the former reports. He owned that it was impossible the republic should withstand the efforts of their enemy without

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out extraordinary assistance, and Marshal Saxe made that circumstance still more evident by his unexpected enterprize on Maestricht. The king, finding the language of his allies so materially and so suddenly altered, could not help saying, *Chesterfield told me six months ago that it would be so* [80].

If our earl's prophecies shewed the necessity of a peace, his resignation at last inspired his former colleague and his successor the duke of Bedford with the desire of accepting it. Three days only after his resignation, the British plenipotentiary, who had been sent to Aix-la-chapelle with orders to procrastinate, received new instructions to lose no time in signing the preliminary articles.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that his most Christian majesty still continued in his pacific dispositions. The consideration of the distressed state of his kingdom, concurred with his love of ease to make him weary of war. His ministers accommodated their politics to his wishes; and as they did not much rise in their demands, the English ambassador seized the critical instant, and restored peace to Europe.

This fortunate event saved one state from destruction, the other perhaps from bankruptcy. It maintained the stadtholder in his dignity, and secured some ministers from the consequences of their delusion. Let me add, that it likewise exempted our earl from signing articles somewhat less advantageous than those he would have obtained the year before, and from setting his name to the only ignominious circumstance with which the treaty was laden.

SECTION



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